

TRICONTINENTAL





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to the reader

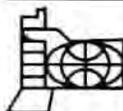
Several of the articles in our present issue are devoted to the study of one of the evils which, for centuries, has afflicted humanity: colonialism and its variant in this century, neocolonialism. Thus, under the general title of "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples," which we print in Notes for History, we offer an article by Ho Chi Minh written on the occasion of the death of the builder of the first Socialist State, followed by the participation in the discussion of the national and colonial questions by Nguyen Ai Quoc, as he was known, at the Fifth World Congress of the Communist International.

In Starting Points the Cuban journalist Gregorio Ortega returns to the incisive analysis of the colonial problem by the founders of Marxism and the result is an article that brings new insights into focus for the emancipation possibilities of the peoples still subjected to foreign rule.

In Experiences and Facts, Gunnar Persson, the solidly prestigious Swedish intellectual, analyzes the corresponsibility of social-democracy in sustaining the colonial-imperialist domination. His essay, "Social-Democracy and Imperialism," illustrates unequivocally the Quisling role played by the Social-Democrats from the end of the Second World War up to the present, in their relations with the peoples of the Third World.

As leader of world imperialism, the United States has the present function of chief policeman for the colonial status quo. Thus, faced with the increasing consciousness of the oppressed peoples, it has had to resort to refined techniques of counterinsurgency. In "USA: Policing the Empire," which also appears in Experiences

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and Facts, the young North American journalist Michael Klare is again represented in our pages (see Tricontinental 18), informing us of the methods utilized by the governors in Washington in their effort to preserve their zones of influence.

The section is completed with "Burundi and Rwanda: The Same Imperialist Strategy" and "Brazil: The Last Days of a Dictator." The former is the title of an interesting analysis of the political and social-economic situation of these two small African nations, written by Nadine Nyangoma, young Belgian journalist and writer. The second is by Lino Luben Pérez, Prensa Latina correspondent, and discusses the intermilitary struggles over the successor to da Costa e Silva.

The Brazilian theme continues in Books of Today, in "Marighella: Creative Life and Action," with the prologue by Joaquim Camara Ferreira — new martyr of the Latin-American struggles — to OSPAAAL's book on the leader of National Liberation Action.

In Land of Ideas, a people who recently delivered the first blows against the neocolonial structure speak in the voice of their highest leader. In "Chile: The First Battle," President Salvador Allende expresses the significance of his victory and the measures to be adopted in order to consolidate the victory of the Chilean masses.

"Cambodia and People's Struggle," which we publish in Man and His Word, is an interview with Sarin Chhak, Foreign Relations Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. His words underline the firm unity of the Khmer people with the Laotian and Vietnamese people in the common struggle to expel the North Americans and their stooges from the peninsula of Indochina. The troops of Lon Nol, the Minister points out, can "neither advance nor retreat." This, in the long run, is the situation of the imperialists in the region, despite their enormous military power, as we have already pointed out on the cover of this edition.

Tricontinental on the March presents an interview with Huynh Van Ba ("For a Peace With Liberty"); a letter from the Japanese organization, Red Army, and the speech made by the delegation of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL to the Ninth Session of the Council of AAPSO held at the end of last year in Libya. Finally, Carlos Padilla, in charge of MPI international relations, talks about his country in "Puerto Rico: Crisis and Independence."

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land
of ideas

Chile: The First Battle

Salvador Allende

The electoral victory of People's Unity in Chile represents, for the first time, the ascent to power of a Latin-American people by way of the voting booth.

Never before in the republican history of the countries of Latin America has a true representative of the dispossessed classes, elected by the force of votes, directed the historic destiny of one of the nations that make up the geographic region in which the neocolonialist policy of world imperialism was born.

Since the beginning of the last century, the "divine" arrogance of the North American governors has been channeled according to the racist principle of "manifest destiny" and the interventionist policy of the Monroe Doctrine, to impose their neocolonial domination on the relations of capitalist production in Latin America.

The displacement of free market capitalism by monopolistic capitalism signified the beginning of the "era of exploitation" of the Latin-American economy by the Yankee monopolies that brought with them the conversion of the Hispanic republics into sources of raw materials for the industry of the metropolis and into profitable markets for Wall Street trade.

The economic control by the United States plutocracy over the fundamental means of production opened the doors to imperialist ideological penetration into the political scenario of lands located south of the Rio Grande, which have been "misgoverned" by their native oligarchies, faithful servants of the dollar empire that scatters the crumbs of the imperialist booty within the framework of the "inter-American system."

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution marked the beginning of the end of imperialist hegemony on this continent of underdevelopment, convulsed by hunger, misery and the death of millions of blacks, Indians and mestizos.

The presidential election of the socialist senator Salvador Allende is one of the historic events that advances the process of the second and definitive independence of the America of Bolívar, Martí and Che.

The new Chilean president has had to confront the maneuvers of the ruling classes that are not resigned to let go of the reigns of power, and try to provoke economic chaos, incite the constitutional army to a military coup, and stir up reactionary terrorism against the political personalities of People's Unity.

In a speech made on October 11 at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party, which **Tricontinental** publishes in its entirety, the elected head of Araucanian land points out the historic mission of the People's Unity government, which will be to put into practice an economic policy to rescue the wealth of the country from foreign exploitation and eliminate the class inequality in Chile's social structure.

A few days before he was installed in the Moneda Palace, the socialist leader, who had the support of various progressive and left parties and movements in the electoral campaign for first magistrate of the nation, issued a call to the Chilean people to remain alert and vigilant in order to defend their political victory.

DEAR SOCIALIST comrades of Chile and Santiago,

Esteemed companion and friend, Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, Senator Aniceto Rodríguez, Comrade leaders of the Central Committee and of the regional committees of the country,

Very dear and esteemed friends and national leaders of the parties and movements that comprise People's Unity,

Socialist members of Parliament and people's members of Parliament, socialist governors and mayors, Members of People's Unity:

It is a very moving and profound event for me to raise my voice in a Party meeting ending hours of work and our collective preoccupation for the future of Chile and its working masses.

For me — you must understand this well — it is a feeling of intimate, profound and strong emotion to be here speaking to you as a socialist, because I will never forget that what I am, have been and will be I owe to the Party, to the people, to the understanding of FRAP (People's Action Front) yesterday, and today to People's Unity — I tell you comrades — talking to you has a

profound significance for me because the years that I have lived within this, the socialist family, crowd together in my memory.

Founder of the Party in Valparaiso and participating member of its first central committees, within Party life, in an expression of internal democracy, I have held all positions including — on two occasions — Secretary-General of our collectivity and deputy, minister, senator and today socialist President through the will of the people.

My friend Senator Volodia Teitelboim has done very well speaking in the name of the parties and the People's Unity movement, and Aniceto Rodríguez in recalling our fallen comrades — I wish also this morning to recall the old-timers and render homage to a worker who has been incorporated into the Party since its birth, leader of the bakers, who has been ill for years but is here today, to say that he and his class know that this is their victory.

I render homage to the workers in the person of Isidoro Godoy, leader of the bakers.

I wish to point out, and I know that in doing so I touch a sister of ours very deeply, I wish to recall one who was the best of the best, the Secretary-General of the Party,

the Senator who fell organizing the Chilean peasants. I wish to render homage to all those who have fallen, in the ever-present name of our comrade, Salomón Corbalán.

Comrades, we socialists come together after a victory which is ours but not only ours. And the Party must understand this very thoroughly and I must insist on it very strongly.

The victory that has been won is not the victory of a man; the victory that has been won is not the victory of the Socialist Party. The victory won, the victory achieved, is the victory of People's Unity, it is Chile's victory.

The Party has a greater responsibility, and I know that it is going to meet that responsibility because after November 4 a member from its ranks will be President. Moreover, each Party member, its old members, its adults, its generous and sacrificing women, its tough youngsters of the Socialist Youth Federation, must understand that this is an extraordinary responsibility. That, as Aniceto Rodríguez has said, it goes beyond the frontiers of the nation. That there is a responsibility in the common victory of the People's Unity. This responsibility must grow in each member of our collective.

We must be the most united, we must be the most sacrificing, we must be the example in the fulfillment of duties, we must show an unshakable morality; in summary, we must be socialists in the service of the people and in the service of the Chilean revolution.

Only thus, only thus can we answer the confidence given us by other parties and movements that are a part of the People's Unity. They also had the right to have one of their members carry the banner of the people. They had the responsibility, sufficient breadth and

democratic practice to place this banner, which is the hope of the fatherland, in the hands of one of your men. Because of this the socialists must understand the supreme responsibility implied in having triumphed and in having the fundamental base of this victory in one of your men who has contributed to the formation of a consciousness throughout Chile in his 37 years of life within the Socialist Party.

Comrades, this being my thought as I stand here before you, I wish to single out some recent political events. Before the Party now, and tomorrow always before the people, I will tell you, in the form of a fraternal and responsible dialogue, all that is happening in this country and the projections our action as governor can achieve in the international field.

I wish to say that the meeting of the 4th of September ended following exemplary and extraordinary behavior by the people of Santiago and the people of Chile — yes, because 200 000 or more people assembled the night of the 4th from Arica to Magallanes, from the mountains to the sea, and thousands and thousands of men and women of the people also gaily celebrated their victory, their own victory, which is also our victory — and we did so with a lofty feeling of patriotism, and we did it with an exemplary attitude, and we did it without arrogance, we did it, more than anything else, with responsibility.

And this is what will give the people the strength to be able to say as well that we had this attitude, that we did not and will not cease to have it, because if the legal channels seem fully opened, there are still the obstinate who are try-

ing to prevent our victory. But let them be aware that this serenity is not to disarm the people, that this tranquillity is the tranquillity of those who are strong, it is the firmness of those who know how and when they must proceed.

With a people like the people of Chile, it is very difficult, it is impossible that on the 4th of November the people should not enter the governor's house with me.

The steps we have taken publicly, meaning, as comrade and friend Aniceto Rodríguez said, that People's Unity, with the people, has conversed with the Christian Democrats in order to convert into Constitutional amendments, ideas that were in our program. I say that this dialogue took place with the people's knowledge and that no one in Chile can deny that our acceptance of an attitude that we consider to be just does not imply, nor can it imply in any way, a modification in the content of the program People's Unity puts forth.

And it is honest and it is just that the people understand that within Christian Democracy itself there were sectors that were in opposition.

But there was a majority that understood that they also had a responsibility to the people, not only because of its majority composition as a social force among the workers, but also because of the proposals formulated in the face of Chile's conscience by their candidate Señor Tomic. And this afternoon I expressed my recognition of the attitude and the political honesty of Radomiro Tomic and of the attitude taken by the leader of Christian Democracy, Senator Benjamín Prado.

But by the same token and reaffirming what Aniceto Rodríguez

has said, I respectfully [exclamations from the people] — quiet comrades — and very clearly ask the Chief of State not to rush through Congress certain laws that do not have a clear explanation, just as he obtained President Alessandri's agreement, for example, to postpone the beginning of work on Lo Prado tunnel, to resolve it finally under Frei's governorship.

From this tribune I ask him that the project on national television not be speeded up.

I ask President Frei not to insist on the veto which implies not just nonremoval of functionaries, whose careers we are going to respect, but a limitation on the possibility of placing our own people in the vital administrative and economic centers. It is not a question of a struggle for bureaucratic posts but that the levers of the economy must be in the hands of those who are going to govern the country.

I respectfully but clearly request President Frei not to accelerate the creation of the Metropolitan Association because it is an investment in a project that the People's Unity government must determine.

I request of President Frei that his Minister of Mines not speed up an association of mixed capital between a socialist country and Chile. This problem must be resolved by the future government, by my government, by the people's government.

The country — Aniceto Rodríguez noted it and also Volodia Teitelboim pointed it out in greater summary — has lived through a stage, I should say, the last or next to last death rattle of the ultrareactionary right. The economic panic, the economic chaos it has tried to unleash, the illicit and cunning commerce with foreign exchange and money in order to prejudice the escudo, the failure to buy raw ma-

terials, the unnecessary sale of cattle, the difficulties in spring planting, all this underscored by one unwonted fact of Chilean political life: the direct attack on the common good endangering the life of innocent people.

How many times have we said it, how many times have we explained to the people that we would never resort to unnecessary violence nor to personal terrorism, that this is not a part of the tactics of the people.

We have seen how bombs and bombs and bombs have been placed in the face of the inefficiency of the investigatory services, and secondly in the face of an attitude on the part of Judicial Power toward those first arrested that I do not wish to analyze in depth.

I do want to say to the people that the investigatory agent who pointed out the presence of the Schillings and the González who were first arrested, affirmed — and the pertinent authority knew of it — that from the car in which he was taken to be shown the locations where the bombs were going to be planted, they had told him that from there they had fired on the humble guardsman who was in the service of the British Embassy.

I say to the people that we are not going to permit and will not tolerate dropping exhaustive investigations which would punish the law breakers. What would never occur is that a man of the left would attack a modest functionary. As they know, we are aware of who the culprits are and we want them to understand that we know their names, but that justice and the government of Frei have the obligation of revealing them now and not tomorrow.

Comrades, listen well to this: these seditious attitudes are not improvised. There are foreign advisers

here, people with experience, mercenaries sent in to create this climate. That is where the responsibility is yours. Four hundred thousand and some votes we received in Santiago. I always said this is not just one more electoral battle. If we received 400 000 and some votes, that makes 800 000 eyes, 800 000 ears that must be alert to tell the people of Chile and the present government who they are and where they come from.

Each one of you must meet this duty, which is not one of informing but rather is a patriotic duty to defend the country's welfare and to prevent the attempt to wrest the people's victory from them by cunning and cowardly means.

Comrades: a very small and impersonal chapter. I told you about it at the big meeting in the Alameda. The insolence of the reactionaries reached the point of saying that a general or admiral in the Chilean army or navy was worth 500 000 dollars. I told the people: we have said and we reaffirm that we have confidence in the word of the Chilean soldier who treats our armed forces as forces that are professional and independent but responsible to the dictates of the law and the Constitution.

I know that the dignity of a Chilean soldier has no price in the market of international crime. If there are those who claim this they will meet with the answer of the people in uniform, the armed forces of the country.

For this reason — and also because they are businessmen — they said it is cheaper to eliminate Allende. Three hundred million pesos will do it.

In Valparaiso there is a Mr. Montero that I am going to tell you about, who belonged to one of the

branches of the armed forces and who talked too much and said that on the 17th they are going to assassinate me in Valparaiso. I am going to Valparaiso on the 17th and Mr. Montero and his accomplices are not going to be able to accomplish their mission.

But if something should happen to me, let them understand that the people of Chile know perfectly well that I am only one of you, there is no one who is irreplaceable. And the highest homage that could be given a fallen comrade would be to continue fighting by every means possible to win the revolution and victory.

In addition to this aspect of internal policy, I have an obligation to inform the people very briefly on certain events of international importance.

It has been said that we would invite such and such persons and that we would not invite others. At the moment and in accord with custom it is the Frei government that handles official invitations. We will handle ours through the Central Workers' Union, the Youth Command of People's Unity and the universities.

I also have the right to invite certain personalities and I say that we will invite whomever we consider it convenient to invite without submitting to any authority other than our own the right to invite whomever we please.

I have already pointed out that your victory, the people's victory, has brought forth an incalculable degree of solidarity. Thousands and thousands of cables have come from all parts of the world, letters and communications from all progressive, revolutionary and authentically democratic forces. I can tell you that I have already been invited

by the socialists of Sweden and of Norway, for example, that I have been invited by the Italian socialists, that I have been invited by peoples' movements in Latin America.

I want to single out as an example the letter received — and it is a shame there isn't time for me to read it — from the former President of Mexico, whose name is engraved in the consciousness of the men of Latin America. I refer to the man who nationalized oil and began the march toward agrarian reform for the commoners, the general and the man always present in the people's struggle, Lázaro Cárdenas.

Official information emanating from the organizations responsible permits me to tell you that from July to September 5300 North American citizens have entered the country.

Welcome tourists, welcome journalists, intellectuals, artists, North American citizens who are authentically North Americans, and are therefore representatives of the people who understand our right, which is irrenounceable.

And unwelcome! Because among these 5300 a not insignificant percentage of CIA agents must have infiltrated. Let them understand that we are vigilant and that if Chile's frontiers are open in a fraternal fashion to those clean and responsible citizens of any country, the fist of Chile, of its people, of People's Unity, will fall implacably on those who try to alter our lives by the criminal methods of international traffic.

Thirty Cuban *gusanos* have arrived. We know their names and we're just about able to say that we know where they are hiding. From that point on, we advise the investigation authority — and I personally advised the director of investigations yesterday — that we

will take no individual action. Until November 3, this government is responsible. Let it fulfill its duty. But let it know that we are alert, and those who have been traitors to their country, their revolution and their blood are not going to come here to sow counterrevolution. If they were thrown out or left their country, they will also leave here punished.

I am hurt and concerned, because I have respect for the dignity of the position, that the President of the Congress of Chile, Senator Tomás Pablo [exclamations from the people] — silence, comrades — has said that 40 or more Hungarians have entered Chile, that they came to train the guerrillas. I believe Senator Tomás Pablo is a little behind the times.

What happened is that, for the first time in 1969, the famous great spectacular of Budapest came — the Hungarian state circus.

That is what Senator Tomás Pablo must be referring to.

As for the other Hungarians, it is regrettable that he told the country his information was authentic because it had been given to him by a Minister of State.

Well, regrettably for the President of the Congress of Chile, head of one of the state powers, his statements have been demolished by the Hungarian representative in Chile, and also by a letter published in all the daily newspapers by the Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires in Chile and even by the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself.

The Chargé d'Affaires or the Hungarian Ambassador in Chile told the President of the Chilean Senate that actually guerrillas had entered but that they are engaged in an educational guerrilla activity, that they are university professors, and that they have been in Chile for

several years.

It is regrettable that the head of a public office has to receive such a hard lesson from a representative of another country and from Chile's own representative in Hungary. And it is to be hoped that Mr. Tomás Pablo will never again forget this lesson.

A daily newspaper whose name I will not mention and which you know and know why I do not name it, has launched a steady attack against People's Unity in a series of editorials. But there is one editorial in this paper which in my judgment has an extraordinary intent and a deceitful point of view. Not only does it touch on aspects of national life but also projects its sinister imagination onto the international scene. And it maintains that Chile is going to be isolated, that we will not be able to trade with Latin-American countries, that we are going to be outside the international organizations.

Very well. This is what that editorial said when the press stated among other things that I had conversed for long hours with Felipe Herrera, president of the BID. And if I conversed with him it is because I am interested in knowing what credits Chile has or can obtain.

That I had conversed with the ex-President of Colombia, Carlos Lleras Restrepo, with whom we analyzed the perspectives of the Andes Pact.

These journalists know that Pedro Zusjoric, under my direct charge, had conversed with the Argentine commercial representative to explain our problem concerning the desire to increase commercial interchange with Argentina, which I believe already comes to \$200 000 000 a year.

Very well, they knew all this.

And nevertheless they write an editorial stating that our proposal is to isolate Chile.

Here before all the people gathered in the Caupolicán Theater, and to those who are listening over the whole network, I tell you: we are going to have diplomatic and commercial relations with all the countries of the world, only by defending Chile's interests and recognizing that commerce is bilateral and that there are reciprocal interests in buying and selling.

We will not give up any market, nor any trade. Not in Europe, nor the United States. But we have the right to effectively seek out new markets, and we will do so without asking anyone's permission, looking out for Chile's interests only. And we are going to stay in the OAS (Organization of American States) in order to expound our position within this somewhat unprestigious organization. We will go to the United Nations taking the ideas, the proposals and the creative sentiment of the people's government of Chile, and we will stimulate the LAFTA (Latin-American Free Trade Association) because this course is correct for the country, and we will stimulate the Andes Pact more and more in order to have more trade with Ecuador, with Peru, with Bolivia and with Colombia, and hopefully Venezuela will join the Andes Pact.

It is true that we will have our criteria there, in the sense that this trade benefits the people and not the imperialist monopolies and national oligarchies.

And this is what we will do in the international field. But briefly — and I hope you hear me in silence because it is not a matter of making an agitational speech — I

want to explain to the socialists and to Chile in brief form (and I am pleased that it is 2 pm, which proves to me that the people's spiritual hunger is greater than their material hunger), I am going to explain some essential ideas that we are going to carry out which must interest everyone here and all those listening.

In the economic field, we must start the People's Unity program going. We do not hide the magnitude of the task that we have proposed. We will receive an economy of the sharpened contradictions of a regime which at the very least has been incapable of resolving the people's essential problems.

The unemployment figures were already very high before September 4 and new problems of unemployment have been added in the last weeks. In addition to the low level of economic growth, the activities of important sectors have fallen still further. Inflationary pressures have been accentuated, resulting in a 33% increase in the cost of living in the current year. The fiscal situation has deteriorated. Because I can point out that according to the technical office of the United Nations, Chile is surpassed only by South Viet Nam in the inflationary process. The people know very well what is behind the maneuvers that have taken place in the last few weeks. You know that the big foreign monopolistic and national interests have moved with a double finality to create a chaotic economic situation and to search for a way to ignore the people's will. Or at the least to create conditions that interfere as much as possible with our action after the 4th of November.

The workers know or should know very well that we have a job to do now in the face of these unpatriotic

maneuvers. It is necessary to watch and to denounce anyone who fails to replace raw materials that have been stored, or who takes out and does not replace stocks of spare parts, is careless in maintaining machinery. It is necessary to watch and to denounce any maneuver directed against the criminal debilitation of the productive capacity.

I was in Concepcion. The comrades in the Bellavista cloth industry recited their tragedy to me and I said publicly that if we could not personally resolve it, because we were not the government, we could raise our voice and our effort to solve this problem which had dragged on for three months or more. And when the Ready-To-Wear Association came to talk to me, they explained that no one had been dismissed but that they lacked raw materials from Bellavista. I knew that the owner of this industry had gone to Buenos Aires. It seems that he received a message, returned, and because of the intervention of our people in the Ministry of Work, the problem was solved and the aforementioned *empresario*, in a trembling hand, signed what he had not wished to sign in three months. Not by imposition but because it was correct that he sign it. And so the workers of Bellavista are working again and those who are a part of the Ready-To-Wear Association are going to receive their raw materials.

Similarly I sent a letter to the Chuquicamata workers. The petition requests were not taken care of and a strike was called. I sent a communication to these workers to tell them to realize that, respecting their rights and without renouncing them, this strike must be resolved quickly, and let no worker think that we won't explain to him the meaning of the disproportionate rise that brings as its consequence — as in

copper — a chain reaction not only in the copper market enterprise, but also in the inflationary national process.

When the moment for the readjustment of pay and salaries arrives, comrades, I will speak to the people, I will explain what scale we are going to use, and I know perfectly well that the people will support it. In our judgment, the Chuquicamata strike must start on the path to solution because we will not wish to receive a more damaged national economy, because the very enterprise that knows we are going to nationalize it will be able to behave generously at the last minute, at our expense; and while respecting the rights of the Chuquicamata workers, we are not going to create a workers' aristocracy in any work sector.

I am certain that the copper workers will understand this language. And they will understand that the government of the people is their government, and so they and the rest of the workers are not going to allow themselves to be pushed into strikes, and without renouncing their rights nor the irrevocable right to strike, they will find just and speedy solutions in order to defend, now above all, the national economy.

Therefore, I want the comrades who are listening to me to understand that the present difficulties cannot obscure our principal objectives. Our gigantic task is to master the conditions which the present system has been incapable of resolving.

Greater economic expansion and, at the same time, control of inflationary pressures. Rapid increase in productivity and at the same time greater use of the work force.

Greater speed in technological advancement and at the same time less dependency on sources from which the techniques come. Greater dovetailing of the Chilean economy with that of other Latin-American countries, as I already said, and at the same time full ability to differentiate our objectives for internal transformation. To that end we must undertake from the first day of government the basic changes outlined in the People's Unity program. The character of these changes will be reflected in two fundamental aspects: in relationship of domination and control of the Chilean economy. Listen carefully: the essential point is the substitution of foreign domination and certain large monopolistic interests by social domination of an extent and type compatible with the continuation and development of private productive activities.

The categorical reply to what I am suggesting is contained in the program of the People's Unity in the three areas that this program covers. The area of social ownership: its conduct of the economy. In this there is no revenge nor zeal to expropriate simply to expropriate. Listen carefully, neither revenge nor zealous expropriation for expropriation's sake, in which we appear as pseudorevolutionaries. But by the same token we say that expropriation is necessary in order to develop the Chilean economy, that we are going to do it implacably, without any type of bargaining.

In order to insure the operations and strengthen the social area of this economy, Chile's control of its basic wealth is indispensable: its copper, iron, steel. Public control of all financial mechanisms such as banks — let it be known — social

ownerships of basic activities, strategic to the process of development, capable of generating a volume of surpluses whose channeling cannot be allowed to be surrendered to monopoly capital. Example: the iron and steel industry — that is to say, steel and its derivatives.

In the area of mixed industry there will have to be an integration by means of activities in which there is an interest in reconciling — let them note this — the means of assuring a social function, along with the private enterprises. For example, automobile assembly, certain lines of production of capital goods: agricultural machinery, for instance. Not only will state decisions contribute to the set up in these areas but we will also accept and seek the initiative of those private sectors that have a spirit of nationalism and understand what we wish to do and the means by which we are going to succeed.

The private sector: in this area there are 30 000 or more small- and medium-sized industries or enterprises and crafts that we are going to aid.

Their perspectives are not those of subsistence but rather operation under better conditions than now exist, with more precise and stable regulations within the framework of a plan of national economic development which is not subject to the whims of the big monopolies, on whom they now depend for raw material supplies, distribution of their products, etc.

With easier credit terms, less bureaucratic control and the important simplification of the system imposed. What is important in defining the extension of each area is a fundamental criteria: that the basic decisions concerning the future of the national economy do not depend on interests that are tied up

with foreign capital and certain national monopolistic groups, but rather on the legitimate interests of Chile and her people. For this reason, we have said that the program of People's Unity breaks Chile's economic dependency, breaks Chile's political dependency, and breaks Chile's cultural dependency. We want to be a free country economically and sovereign master of its social and political destiny, comrades.

Consequently, all these measures will be taken to reorient the productive force toward the necessities of the great masses of the population. The distribution of profits will be different so that the extremes of wealth and poverty will be eradicated. As I have told you, we cannot tolerate the fact that, as far as pensions are concerned, for example, 80% of the workers receive 247 escudos a month while there are rich men who receive 20 or 25 million pesos¹ in monthly pensions. This is going to be ended — definitively, comrades.

We must raise the levels of popular consumption, control squandering and waste in the form of lavish consumer goods. The structure of the productive capacity will have to be adjusted to this change in distribution of revenues. The task of reorientation is enormous in taxes, in the traditional attitude of enterprise. In the new method that has to be developed, in the reconversion of what now exists there is a true challenge for the technicians and the industrialists themselves. Essential consumer products must be guaranteed. Large segments of the population must be raised to higher levels of consumption and forms of human existence. We cannot tolerate the moral and physiological misery in which millions of Chileans live. Our battle is against

hunger, against unemployment, against the lack of housing and education. And we are going to conquer as we have conquered and will conquer and overthrow exploitation and misery.

For the first time in history we will be able to evaluate for purposes of our own interests, the natural resources in which we are extraordinarily rich. Our task is to be capable of projecting ourselves onto the world market as great and efficient producers of copper goods and not only as important exporters of raw copper. The same is true of our forest reserves and other activities.

In sum, a reorientation that raises us to the level of efficient producers of popular consumer goods. To sustain this production with our own capacity for making possible new equipment and the necessary basic investments. For specialization in several central industrial lines on a high technological level which will allow us to enter the world market without complexes.

This is our task in the economic field for these first years. And as time is short I want to reiterate and affirm only that this is the initial stage we must reach, after which will indisputably come the six-year plans that we are going to fulfill year after year and in which the people will participate not only by understanding but also by discussion.

And here too, socialist comrades, women and men, I want you to understand definitely that everything must be viewed with a new mentality. Yesterday we were the fighting opposition against the re-

¹ One thousand pesos equals one escudo; 11.63 escudos equals \$1.00. (Ed. note)

gime and the system.

From the 4th on, we will be the government and, comrades, then we are going to have to measure not only our responsibility but pour out our creative capacity as well. And while singing our revolutionary hymn which we hold so close to our socialist hearts, I say to you: perhaps we must sing these verses for the last time. Do not forget that there is a stanza which says: "against the present shame." After November 4 we're not going to be able to say that, comrades [laughter from the people]. I say that because I am sure that we are capable of fulfilling our goals.

And this is the task, among others, of the Party: to be ever vigilant, pushing, pushing, and pushing ahead, comrades, toward the achievement of the true liberation of Chile and of its heritage.

You already have a vision then, however small, of the aspects we wish to confront, of the national and international projections of the people's government.

I have already said here, and it must be emphasized, that this is the first time in the history of the world that a people has won the government by electoral means in order to take power from the government and use the power to make revolutionary changes which permit the creation of a new society, a new morality, a new life and a new concept of man and of the human couple.

We are undertaking an extraordinary task and one made more difficult by the vacillations of the government of Mr. Frei since the 4th of September, with an insolent, provocative, conspiratorial attitude or the part of reactionary sectors in Chile that have wished to waste the

national economy and destroy without concern for the harm it does to Chile, goods that belong to everyone, and endangering the lives of innocent human beings.

How well the people have already learned what it means to talk of democracy and not practice it! How well the people have already learned the lesson that those who talk about respecting all victories meet the victory of the people by trying to close the roads and even reach the point of using foreign mercenaries to prevent our triumph!

But comrades, finally and now I say to you socialists gathered in this theater and to those who are listening to me throughout the country that, with the profound satisfaction of being a founding member of the Party and with the awareness that I am also a founder of People's Unity, I will come to the government knowing that the people will always stimulate me to move forward, that the people, with legitimate right, will demand explanations if by chance I should hesitate.

But that the people must know, and on this I stake my word as a social fighter, that never will they see me retreat, and I cannot retreat because you are the barricades that say Chile has the right to advance and advance until it is possible for the man and the woman of our nation to have a new life, to make a different kind of nation a possibility, with its own characteristics, so that Chile is a family from Arica to Magallanes and from the mountains to the sea, because we are a people united in the great national task of making possible the material and spiritual progress of Chileans.

Comrades, we won yesterday, we will win today and we will win tomorrow because we remain united and because, comrades, we are the people.



starting
points

Marx and Engels and Colonialism

Gregorio Ortega

Gregorio Ortega, Cuban journalist well-known to our readers, continues in this article the task he has set himself, to study the colonial problem in depth from the point of view of the Marxist classics. In our number 17, we presented his essay, "Lenin and the National Liberation Movement." His present work, which covers the analysis and observations of Marx and Engels on the colonial problem of their period, contains elements of great interest for those who are concerned with one of the worst evils that afflicts our peoples.

Karl Marx tells us that, by breaking up the small rural communities, British trade and industrial goods provoked the only social revolution that Asia had ever seen. These communities, based on the patriarchal union of agriculture and domestic industry, had seen civil wars and successive foreign invasions pass over their heads without altering their structures. Manchester's textiles and the steamboat would break them up, opening a terrible cycle that the people are closing today as they bury colonialism and its consequences under the mighty blows of their national liberation struggles and their striving to leave behind economic backwardness.

As journalists, Marx and Engels, in their regular collaborations for the New York Daily Tribune offer us a very lively picture of the historic period in which colonialism galloped unchecked toward the total division of the world among the imperialist powers. The unscrupulous voracity and the cruel and wretched policy of the conquerors, as well as the brutal stagnation in which they buried their victims, gushed forth from the pen of the two revolutionaries of the last century, teaching us to go on beyond moral condemnation and anecdote, to the study of world reality in all its facets, as the only means of drawing valid analyses and conclusions. The people's war that Engels hoped for in China and India against Great Britain did not come to pass; but to be aware of its possibility was in itself an important factor in years in which nothing and nobody were able to hold back the colonial fleets and armies.



*The question is, can mankind
fulfill its destiny without a basic
revolution in the social state of Asia.*
Marx¹

THE PRODIGIOUS possibilities of a national people's war through the use of irregular forces, as a system for routing the invading colonial troops, was contemplated with sharp clarity by Friedrich Engels in 1857.

Months before, with the brutal bombing of Canton, the English had initiated the so-called second opium war against China. Alarming news for the English press began to reach Europe; mutinies of coolies on ships, uprisings in Chinese colonies in Sarawak and Singapore, surprise attacks and nocturnal slaughters. The traders of civilization, as Engels would write, who had applauded the destruction of a defenseless city and the cold assassination of Asian populations, indignantly termed these the methods of cowards, barbarities and atrocities; but what did these terms matter to the Chinese, he would add, if they were the only methods that brought them results, if they knew they could not resist the European methods of destruction by means of ordinary war?

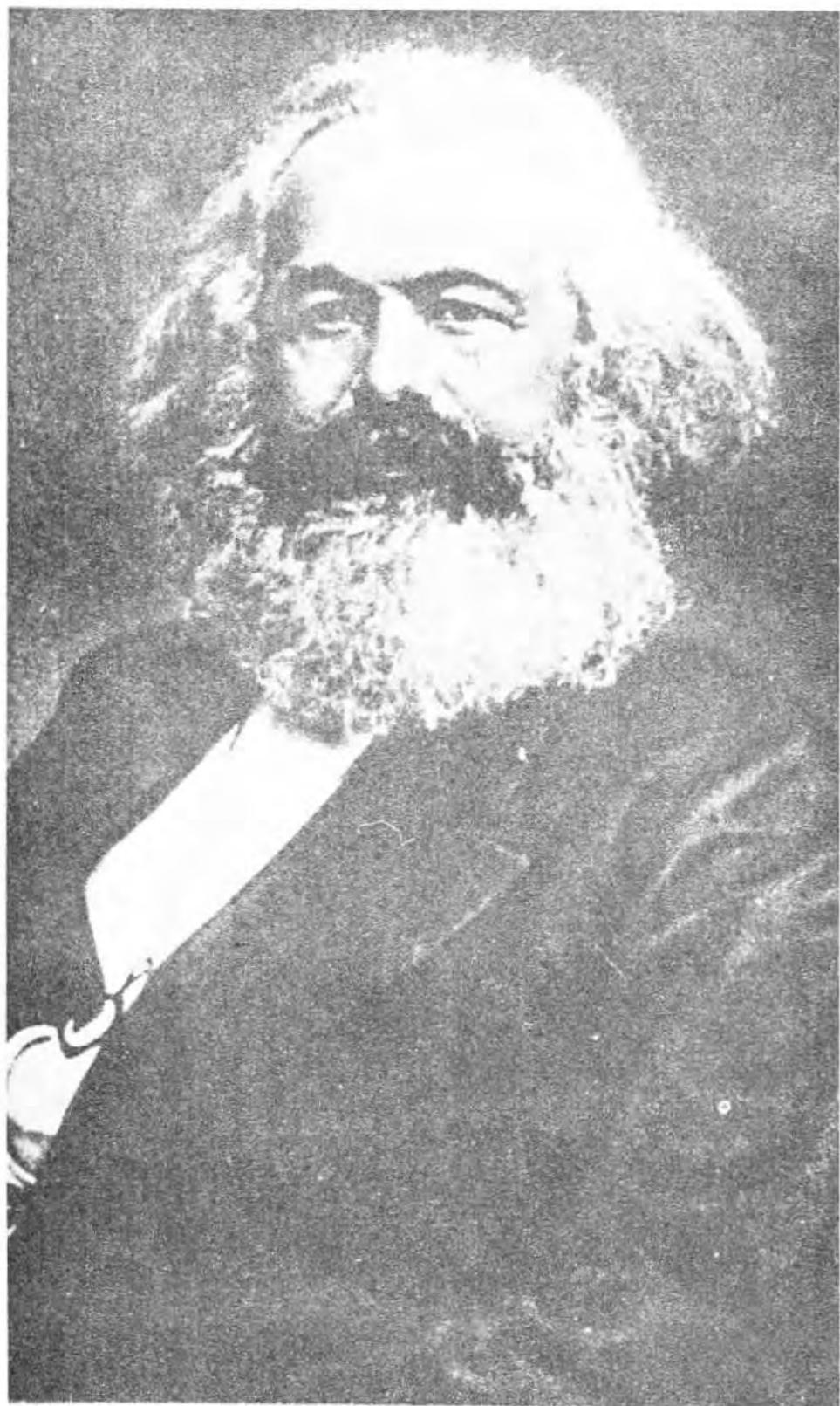
In a people's war, the means employed by the insurgent nation can only be measured by the grade of civilization it has succeeded in achieving. And this was a people's war for the maintenance of China's nationality. Engels pointed out: "What is an army to do against a people resorting to such means of warfare? Where, how far is it to penetrate into the enemy's country, how maintain itself there?"² And it was already announced that Canton would be totally destroyed and all the possible coastal points occupied, but all the forces the British could bring together would be insufficient to conquer and hold the two southern provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi.

But the moment had not arrived when the Chinese people would carry through that war. The form of resistance which made impossible the easy triumphal marches of the colonialists would not begin to develop until the 20th century, and it would have to be on the ashes of the rotten Tsing dynasty. Nor a year later, in 1858, did the long, sharp guerrilla war come to pass that Engels hoped the rebellious sepoys would launch against the English troops in India. A war that British officials themselves considered more extenuating and deadly than that which was then going on in sieges and battles. Neither Emperor Celeste from Peking nor the nobility of northern India could lead these people's armed struggles.

Friedrich Engels preferably concerned himself with military themes in the division of work shared with Karl Marx in the editing of the chronicles intended for the North American newspaper **New York Daily Tribune**. These chronicles, which cover the better part of events that occurred during the decade of the

¹ *New York Daily Tribune*. June 25, 1853.

² *Ibid.*, June 5, 1857.



fifties of the last century and include as well articles on the rapacious East India Company, the revolt of the Indian army and English aggressions against China, not only contain the freshness of something written in the immediacy of events, but also the richness of the thoughtful and rigorous analysis absorbed in the passage of time, the mastery of themes and the ceaseless search for their precise meaning. In them there is the speed of dealing immediately with news received by sea the day before ("the mails of the **America** which reached us yesterday morning bring a variety of documents concerning...") or the parliamentary debate still not ended but in which tendencies are already evident, because they are working for a far-off newspaper on the other side of the Atlantic, which if it publishes the account will do so two weeks later — even in some cases as an unsigned editorial with arbitrary modifications which the management considers opportune in order to adjust it to its opinions. Never mind, Marx and Engels will not fail to deepen each matter with which world events force them to deal. It is in these articles for the **New York Daily Tribune** and in the correspondence of the two great revolutionaries that we can find their juiciest observations on the phenomenon of contemporary colonialism.

In the **Communist Manifesto** of 1848, as well as 20 years later in his major work **Capital**, Karl Marx studied the role that colonialism played in the birth and expansion of the bourgeois means of production. The period of original accumulation is a violent and insatiable whirlpool, the gold and silver of America penetrates the final interstices of European society, subverting class relations and smashing feudal ownership of the land; entire peoples in the colonies are buried in the mines; Africa is converted into a slave cauldron, while European public opinion sheds every pretext of virtue and the nations hurl themselves cynically into every infamy that serves to accumulate capital. While they multiply from decade to decade the ships dedicated to slave trade, the traders of Liverpool intone moving odes to slave trade. The famous companies, monopolistic commercial associations, and colonial exploitation — omnivorous and rapacious monstrosity — are converted into powerful controls of capital concentration. The booty of the plunder, the massacres and the enslavement of entire nations flows to Europe and becomes capital.

In the initial period of manufacturing, commercial supremacy ensured superiority in the field of industry. The colonial system acquires a decisive importance. There are maritime wars among the western European powers, and Great Britain continues capturing colonies and markets. While helping its industries with protectionism, it imposes free enterprise on its consumers. Marx points out: "Whenever we look closely into the nature of British free trade, monopoly is pretty generally found to lie at the bottom of its 'freedom.'"³

³ *Ibid.*, September 25, 1858.

Later the wars against the French Revolution assured England the monopoly over new industrial methods. When the wars and the blockade of Europe by English ships ended in 1815, Great Britain was in control of the real monopoly of world commerce in the principal branches of industry. Moreover, the development of machinery up to this time, which turns things upside down, and industrial supremacy, bring with them commercial supremacy.

Force, the midwife of every old society that carries the new within its bowels, as Marx says, is also an economic power, and by the use of state power, of the concentrated and organized force of society, the process of transformation of the feudal production regime into the capitalist regime is accelerated in great steps, and the transitional stages are cut short. The "natural and eternal laws" of capitalism were born with the use of forceps.

The true mission of the bourgeois society, that of creating the world market and a production based on it, seems to Marx to be already finished in 1858 after the settlement of California and Australia and the opening of Japan and China. Marx then communicates to Engels his fear: The difficult question for us is this: on the continent the revolution is imminent and will immediately assume a socialist character. "Is it not bound to be crushed in this little corner, considering that in a far greater territory the movement of bourgeois society is still in the ascendant?"⁴

Decades later, under imperialism the peoples of the world would have to confront a very different situation.

*Capital comes dripping from head
to foot, from every pore, with
blood and dirt.*
Marx⁵

Karl Marx points out that the profound hypocrisy and the very barbarity of bourgeois civilization, seen in all its nakedness, is in the colonies. In his articles for the **New York Daily Tribune**, he lost no opportunity to denounce the duplicity of the bourgeois press which covers up the colonial cruelties. Thus, commenting on the incident of the ship **Arrow**, which the English took as a pretext to start the second opium war against China, he calls the reader's attention to the attitude adopted by the governmental newspaper of England and a segment of the North American press which, without presenting a single concrete proof, accumulate calumnious accusations against the Chinese rising out of alleged violations of the agreements imposed on them by treaties, including offenses against the British flag and treatment degrading to foreigners. During the Indian revolt, he observes how the English press, which so enjoys exaggerating the atrocities of the indigenous population, now when it relates the cruelties of the

⁴ Letter of Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels, October 8, 1858

⁵ **Capital**, Volume I, Chapter XXIV, p. 6.

English, presents them as acts of martial valor, recounting them simply and briefly, without going into gruesome details. And Marx does not fail to note the letter that Hammond, at the direction of Lord Clarendon, writes to the Secretary of the Admiralty expressing the admiration of the government for the "moderation" with which Admiral Seymour had acted during the fierce bombing, without advance warning, against Canton, "and the respect which he had shown for the lives and properties of the Chinese."

Objects of special and reiterated denunciation are the merciless methods employed by the young European bourgeoisie in its avid determination to conquer and plunder the world as shown provokingly in the bold prow of its fleet. Not only in Africa does the slave hunt take place; the Dutch colonialists rob men from the Celebes islands to obtain slaves to work in Java. The young men captured with the complicity of native princes were hidden in secret prisons in the city of Makassar, where in barred cells and shackled in chains they awaited the propitious moment to be shipped. In *Capital*, writing on original accumulation, the form in which the Dutch seized Malacca, Marx recalls: they bought off the Portuguese governor and when he opened the doors of the city to them, they ran to his palace to assassinate him. Friedrich Engels in his article on Algeria for the *New American Cyclopaedia* describes how each Algerian city, large or small, had been conquered by the French, inch by inch, at the cost of innumerable lives. He emphasizes how the Arab tribes and the Kabiles, who value their independence and place hatred of foreign domination above their very lives, had been smashed and destroyed by terrible invasions of colonial troops, during which their homes and possessions had been burned and destroyed, their crops torn up and survivors exterminated or subjected to every horror of deprecation and brutality.

The rebellion of the sepoys was repressed with extreme cruelty by the English. Marx takes from London newspapers the letters in which outstanding officials and functionaries in India describe the indiscriminate repression. And he seizes on all those phrases that best reveal the true spirit of the colonial army: an officer alluding to an execution of a large group of Indians on the gallows, without any indication of due process or judgment, observes: "Then our fun commenced." Another states: "The European troops have become fiends when opposed to the natives." After describing the plunder of Lajno in 1858, Engels writes: "The fact is, there is no army in Europe or America with so much brutality as the British. Plundering, violence, massacre — things that everywhere else are strictly and completely banished — are a time-honored privilege, a vested right to the British soldier." Marx also recalls the abominations committed, simply to pass the time, by the English army during the first war against China: women violated, children stabbed to death and whole villages burned. Finally, on the first of December of 1865, following the repression

by British troops of the blacks that revolted in Jamaica, Engels, in a letter to Marx, returns to the observation of this condition that characterizes colonial armies: "The letters of English officers about their heroic exploits against unarmed blacks are priceless. The spirit of the British army has at last emerged unblushingly. **The soldiers enjoy it.**"

It was precisely the army, therefore, that Prime Minister Lord Palmerston required to carry out the bombing of Canton and the provocation of Pei-ho at the same time that Great Britain pretended to be a victim of the barbarous Chinese. An army that believed, with the **Daily Telegraph** of London, that "the Chinese must now be taught to value the English who are their superiors and ought to be their **masters.**"

And the Dutch, French and English colonists were not alone. No less cruel to the indigenous population were the Pilgrim Fathers, the Puritans of New England, those untouchable virtuous ones who came on the **Mayflower** in search of religious freedom in America and are considered the founders of the United States. As Marx points out in **Capital**, from 1703, by accord of the assembly, they authorized a prize for each Indian scalp and for each "Redskin" taken prisoner. Prizes that were increased over the years, and which in 1744 were already as follows: for male scalps from 12 years and up, 100 pounds (new currency); for each male prisoner, 105 pounds; for women and children, 55 pounds; for scalps of women and children, 50 pounds!

Cruelty above all else had to be a basic element of domination in a system such as that of the famous Dutch or English companies of the East Indies, organized by cultivating European despotism on the terrain of Asian despotism. It was the European bourgeoisie placing at its disposal the traditional expedients of Asian oppression, Karl Marx said it was also true of the English companies that exploited India as Sir Stamford Raffles had written of the Dutch company that devastated the Indonesian islands. The governor of Java during the five years that Great Britain wrested it away from Holland (1811-16) related that the Dutch company, motivated exclusively by a lust for profit, had utilized the entire existing machine of despotism to extract from the population the last cent in contributions and obliged them to work until they were completely exhausted. Sir Stamford Raffles resumed: "And thus aggravated the evils of a capricious and semibarbarous government, by working it with all the practised ingenuity of politicians, and all the monopolizing selfishness of traders."

In an article published in August 1853, Marx analyzed the way in which the net profits from India were distributed. Seventeen percent went directly to England to support the administration of the East Indies Company in the homeland (3%), and to pay the annual interest of the internal debt with the dividends of the stockholders (14%). Of the remainder, two thirds were consumed in military activities. The costs of England's wars in Asia fell on

the shoulders of the Indians. Only 2.75% of the total profits were reinvested in public works. Taking as an example the years 1851-52, of the total profits of 19 800 000 pounds sterling, a mere 166 300 pounds were spent on roads, canals, bridges and other necessary public works.

The profits came chiefly from levies on land, the tax on salt and the opium monopoly. Land produced about three fifths, opium a sixth and salt more than a ninth. The Company, with a view to the collection of taxes, modified all the forms of land ownership and did not fail to resort to torture in order to extract the taxes. Torture extended to the families of the peasants. Marx cites cases in which "The kittee was put on the breasts of the wives of peasants who had not been able to pay their contributions due to poor harvests."

The Indian Government, which held the monopoly on opium production, imposed the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal, forcing some peasants and seducing others by granting them credits. With an army of official spies, they guarded the carting of the poppy to specific places, its reduction and the preparation of opium according to the taste of its principal consumers, the Chinese. They controlled its bailing in packets especially adapted to the conveniences of contraband, and finally, its transportation to Calcutta, where government officials put it up to public auction so the speculators could buy it. From them, it went to the smugglers who introduced it into China. The case of opium that cost the British Government some 250 rupees was auctioned in Calcutta at a price that ranged from 1210 to 1600. And even after that the British Government of India shared in the profits of the traders and privateers that delivered opium to Chinese ports.

The contraband in opium for China rose sharply. If in 1820 it was 5147 cases, it reached 39 000 in 1837. In 1856 it was already producing some \$35 000 000. That same year the British Government in India received a profit of \$25 000 000 from the monopoly of opium.

The importation of opium exhausted the buying capacity of Chinese society whose economic structure, based on the unity of the small farm with domestic industry, excluded the possibility of importing great amounts of foreign products. The British traders who attributed these market limitations to artificial obstacles were desperate and always disposed to support any minister who promised, by aggressions, to force a commercial treaty on the barbarians. Of course, as Marx showed, the wars with China and the treaties that Great Britain imposed on her after humiliating her could not increase her market purchasing power; but on the other hand it gave John Bull the opportunity to correct the debits in his balance of trade through the periodic device of war contributions extracted on the pretext of piracy.

Karl Marx does not limit himself to offering this gloomy picture of colonialism unbridled in its aggressiveness and covetousness

over a defenseless world, but also pokes into the bowels of the East Indies Company to show what it really was. And so in his articles for the **New York Daily Tribune**, the true power behind the throne emerges and one sees how behind the Court of Directors and the Council of Inspection there are the 2000 individuals, ancient ladies and sickly gentlemen who hold India stock, who have no other interest in the immense Asian country than to realize their dividends from Indian income. These 2000 persons are the ones who elect the 24 directors from among the traders, bankers and directors of the London company who struggle to be chosen for the Court. Marx summarizes: "The Court of Directors is nothing but a succursal to the English moneyocracy."

Who really rules the East Indies Company? One of the major empires of all times is, in reality, governed by the bureaucracy, by a corporation of old and ruined office holders who bury everything in red tape and scarcely one of whom once upon a time and quite by chance was in India. On the other hand, the principal requirement of the members of the Court of Directors was the distribution of all the civil and military positions in India. The positions vacant annually were divided equally among the directors and each one disposed of those he had in any way that suited him. The profits which each one produced rarely went below 14000 pounds sterling a year.

From the pen of Marx and Engels emerges the true face of this universe defined by an appalling mediocrity. A universe governed by intriguing and petty politicians, served by diplomats and militarists incapable of demonstrating any talent and by officials of such low moral calibre that they not only pillaged every city they conquered but also, as in the case of Lajno, when they had not yet conquered the Indian uprising and therefore the campaign was not yet over, there were cases like that of the 150 officers who finished enriching themselves on the plunder and ordered retreat. An attitude, as Engels says, which in any army in the world would be followed within 24 hours by military demotion and the most severe punishment, but which in the British army is considered perfectly appropriate for "an officer and gentleman" who has just made his fortune.

The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. Communist Manifesto

Marx and Engels could not stop here in their analysis. What caused the most ancient and apparently solid empires of the world to crumble in the face of the European bourgeoisie? It was undoubtedly imperative to study the economic and social bases

of these empires and to determine the terrible effect that the industrial articles brought by the English boats were beginning to produce in them. The walls that were shaken by the guns of the fleet were finally destroyed by the textiles of Manchester.

Marx frankly declares he does not share the opinion of those who believe in the existence of a golden age in India. He goes further, he denies the existence of a history of India since what we call its history is no more than the history of the successive invaders that founded their empires on the passive base of this immutable society that offered no resistance. A country in which not only do Moslems fight Hindus but tribes fight tribes and castes fight castes, a society held together by a type of equilibrium based on general repulsion must become easy prize of the conquerors.

From ancient times, Marx affirms, two circumstances — on the one hand that public works, as in all countries that require an artificial irrigation system for agriculture, were the basic task of the central government, and on the other hand that the population was concentrated in communities which produced a patriarchal unity between agriculture and crafts — created a very specific social system, the so-called system of rural communities (village system). Each one of these communities was an autonomous organization with its own life based on the domestic industry, in this particular combination of hand weaving and spinning and hand labor, which permitted its self-sufficiency. These stereotyped forms of social organization that had survived all previous invasions and which without doubt could have survived the collector of taxes and the British soldier, could not, on the other hand, resist British textiles and steam.

The process of dissolution of the small rural Asian communities because of the introduction of modern industry and commerce, as Marx says, took place as the only social revolution that had ever been known in Asia. And he added a paragraph that has to be considered if one wishes to make a truly serious and scientific analysis of the reality of the world that colonialism conquered:

Now, sickening as it must be to human feeling to witness those myriads of industrious patriarchal and inoffensive social organizations disorganized and dissolved into their units, thrown into a sea of woes, and their individual members losing at the same time their ancient form of civilization and their hereditary means of subsistence, we must not forget that these idyllic village communities, inoffensive though they may appear, had always been the solid foundation of Oriental despotism, that they restrained the human mind within the smallest possible compass, making it the unresisting tool of superstitions, enslaving it beneath traditional rules, depriving it of all grandeur and historical energies. We must not forget the barbarian egotism which, concentrating on some miserable patch of land, had quietly witnessed the ruin of empires, the perpetration of unspeakable cruelties, the massacre of the populations of large

towns with no other consideration bestowed upon them than on natural events, itself the helpless prey of any aggressor who deigned to notice it at all. We must not forget that this undignified, stagnant, and vegetative life, that this passive sort of existence evoked on the other part, in contradistinction, wild, aimless, unbounded forces of destruction, and rendered murder itself a religious rite in Hindustan. We must not forget that these little communities were contaminated by distinctions of caste and by slavery, that they subjugated man to external circumstances instead of elevating man to be the sovereign of circumstances, that they transformed a self-developing social state into never changing natural destiny, and thus brought about a brutalizing worship of nature, exhibiting its degradation in the fact that man, the sovereign of nature, fell down on his knees in adoration of Hanuman, the monkey, and Sabbala, the cow.⁶

Throughout the century, India had experienced conquest, civil war, years of hunger and epidemics; but its social conditions had remained intact. Now England was uniting the entire country, 200 000 000 indigenous people were subjugated by a native army of 200 000 men commanded by English officers, held in subordination in turn by an English army of 40 000 men. The Indian princes had been reduced to the status of ridiculous marionettes who received great pensions from the East Indies Company but whose authority didn't go any further than the walls of their palaces where, seated on their thrones in theatrical gold-embroidered robes, "this idiot royal race, left to itself, procreated like rabbits." But none of it was basic.

What was basic was that the social structure of India, based for centuries on hand weaving and spinning, origin of an uncountable army of weavers and spinners, was uprooted without clemency by the cotton textiles that came from England. In 1824, India imported a bare million yards of English muslin; in 1837 the importation had already risen to 64 million yards. India lost its old world without conquering another new world which, as Marx says, "imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu and separates the Hindustan ruled by the British from all its ancient traditions and from the whole of its past history." And he concludes: "There cannot, however, remain any doubt but that the misery inflicted by the British on Hindustan is of an essentially different and infinitely more intensive kind than all Hindustan had to suffer before."⁷

This tremendous revolution, capable of engendering an irreversible situation, provoked against the ancient empires by the impositions of the European countries: manufactured goods and modern commerce, was also observed by Marx and Engels

⁶ New York Daily Tribune, June 25, 1853

⁷ Ibid., June 25, 1853.

in the enormous martyred hide of China.

The ancient Middle Kingdom whose population constituted almost a third part of the human race "vegetating in the teeth of time" hermetically sealed off from the outside world and deceiving itself with the illusions of its celestial perfection, hit by a blow from the British cannons which not only destroyed its superstitious faith in the eternity of the Manchu dynasty, but also imposed on it the contraband of opium.

Contraband in the Indian drug left the empire without money while bribery demoralized and corrupted the entire system. "It would seem [Marx would say] as though history had first to make this whole people drunk before it could rouse them out of their hereditary stupor."⁸ What a strange tragedy, he would add later, that of a decaying empire moved by ethical motives in its prohibition of the contraband of opium, and the civilized nations that oppose it with the principle of greed.

Also in China the imported industrial materials dissolved the traditional system of the small peasant economy. It meant the plunder of millions of human beings and a mortal blow to the old society. Marx reiterates: "Yet it is a gratifying fact that the bales of calico of the English bourgeoisie have in eight years brought the oldest and most imperturbable empire on earth to the threshold of a social upheaval, one that will in any case hold most significant consequences for civilization."⁹ In the Yangtze valley the uprising of the Taiping peasants increased but the moment of the Chinese Revolution had not yet arrived.

History did not occur as Marx conceived it in his article, "The Future Results of the British Rule in India." The introduction of a railway system in India as in the other colonies, although they had iron and coal, did not result in the development of a modern industry. As he himself would observe a decade later in *Capital*, the machine industry, while it ruined manual industry, reduced the colonies to simple production centers for raw materials. The railroad would serve only to reduce the cost of cotton, wool, hemp, jute and indigo for Great Britain. A new international division of work would be born, imposed by capitalism; one part of the planet would be converted into a preferential area for agricultural production for the needs of the other part, organized as the area of industrial production. The liquidation of indigenous industry, this fact which Marx classified as revolutionary and which had wiped out the autonomous character of the rural communities, had turned them into plantations for the production of opium and other vegetable products for exportation and into consumer populations for English industrial goods.

The new elements that surged forth in this transformation which had dragged the country through blood and mud, misery and

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1853.

⁹ *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, political-economic magazine, number 2, 1850.

degradation, could not be taken over by the Indian people until they were sufficiently strong to end for once and all the British yoke. Friedrich Engels admired not only the valor of the Arab tribes and Algerian Kabiles, who valued independence and held above their very lives a hatred of foreign domination, but also the courage of the 1500 Tartar-Chinese soldiers who fought to the last man in Chinkiang trying to close the passage of the English fleet, which in 1842 went up the Yangtze to Nanking. And he hoped that the Chinese and the Indians would unleash the people's war against the English invaders.

But neither Marx nor Engels would see the colonized peoples rise up against their foreign dominators. Up until around 1882, according to a letter he sent to Karl Kautsky, Engels would think that the colonies with a population of European origin, such as Canada, the Cape and Australia, would gain total independence; on the other hand, India, Algeria and the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, which were merely subjugated and populated by indigenous peoples, would have to remain provisionally occupied until the proletariat, triumphant in the metropolis, after having made the socialist revolution, would lead them to independence as quickly as possible.

But Marx's observation was very accurate when he said of the sepoys' insurrection that "it is a curious *quid pro quo* to expect a turn in India that would acquire the characteristics of the European revolution,"¹⁰ as were his conclusions on the Irish question. The independence of Ireland, he affirmed, was not only the primary condition of the emancipation of the English working class, but the struggle in Ireland would also be a hundred times easier because it was a national struggle, because the economic aspect there was concentrated in the ownership of the land and the landowners were not, as in England, the dignitaries and traditional representatives of the nation, but the oppressors hated to death and because the people were more revolutionary and more fed up than in England.

Decades later these conditions — the national liberation struggle against imperialist oppression, the necessity for agrarian reform, and as a consequence of both factors, the upsurge of a powerful revolutionary movement among the exasperated peoples of the Orient — would make Vladimir Ilich Lenin understand that the incorporation of hundreds of millions of persons from the oppressed nations into the battle against imperialism would guarantee the definitive end of the world struggle.

And then, when triumphant social revolution takes over the world market and the productive forces developed under the bourgeois regime and gathers them under the control of all the peoples, the most advanced and those that are advancing, "then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain."



experiences
and facts

USA: Policing the Empire

Michael Klare

The "human computers" of Pentagon militarism consider police forces to be the bastion of imperialist counterinsurgency in the cities of the Third World. A functionary of the Agency for International Development (AID) affirms that the police apparatus of the neocolonial regimes has become an instrument for the repression of "communist subversion" on the urban scene.

The revolutionary war started in the bowels of underdeveloped urban areas by the national liberation movements has shaken bourgeois law and order, which proposes to perpetuate the apocalyptic exploitation and oppression by Yankee imperialism.

The armed struggle against monopolist interests and their defenders in each peripheral satellite is the banner of combat for the urban guerrillas, who direct their tactical actions toward destruction of the repressive corps and the expropriation of goods belonging to the ruling classes.

The urban guerrilla — Brazilian leader Carlos Marighella noted — is an implacable enemy of the government and systematically inflicts damage on the authorities and the men who dominate the country.

The destruction of the people's armed vanguard by killing off its leadership is the principal objective of the uniformed beasts, who receive arms and technical aid from the North American specialists of the Office of Public Safety, an organization created by AID to "act rapidly, vigorously, and effectively" in aiding the reactionary power in those countries disturbed by the revolutionary uprising of those "below" who threaten the seats of privilege of those "above."

The repressive methods of the strong-arm police, together with espionage and accusation by mercenaries, are used with equal fury and madness in all the asphalt centers of the underdeveloped cities, bloodied by the club and the gun and asphyxiated by tear gases.

In Brazil and Uruguay as in South Viet Nam, the reactionary violence of the bourgeois world, which is reflected in police brutality and savagery, has not succeeded in drowning in blood the revolutionary violence of the men who build a new life with the staccato of machine guns.

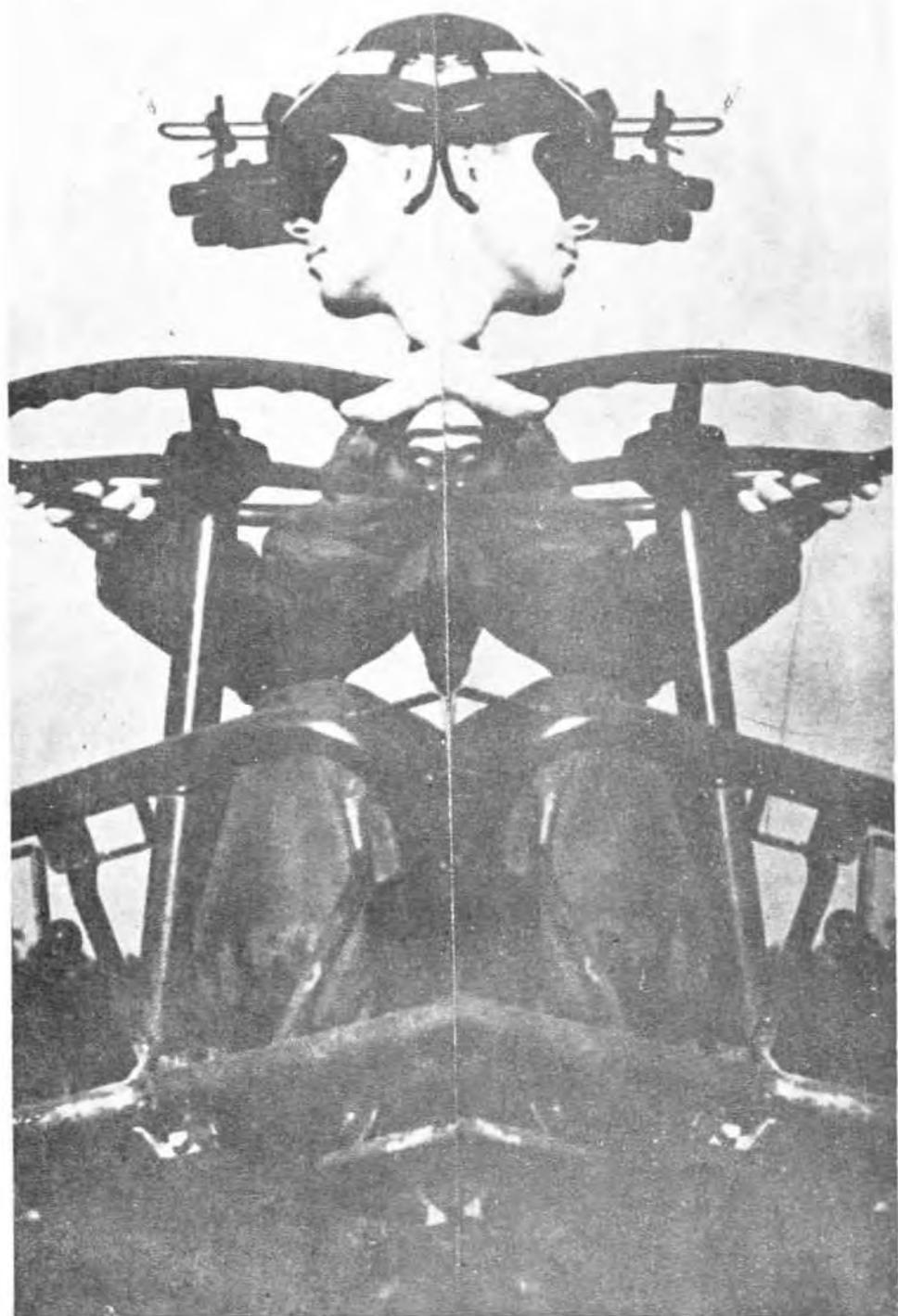
In this article, the North American journalist Michael Klare unmasks imperialist penetration into police forces for the purpose of strengthening the bases of support for US monopolistic pillage in neocolonial lands.

THE BY now familiar panacea for domestic ills, "law and order," has long been used to describe American objectives in the troubled areas of Africa, Asia and Latin America. While the Federal Government did not start aiding local US police agencies until 1968 (under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act), we have been supplying the police of selected underdeveloped nations with equipment, arms and training since 1954. US funds have been used to construct the National Police Academy of Brazil, to renovate and expand the South Vietnamese prison system, and to install a national police communications network in Colombia.

The Agency for International Development (AID) estimates that over one million foreign policemen have received some training or supplies through the US "Public Safety" program — a figure which includes 100 000 Brazilian police and the entire 85 000-man National Police force of South Viet Nam.

US foreign aid programs in the underdeveloped "Third World" call for a modest acceleration of economic growth, to be achieved wherever possible through the normal profit-making activities of US corporations and lending institutions. It is obvious, however, that an atmosphere of insecurity and rebelliousness does not provide an attractive climate for investment. In the rapidly urbanizing nations of the Third World, however, civil disor-





ders have become a common phenomenon as landless peasants stream to the cities in search of economic and cultural opportunities. Since most of these countries cannot satisfy the aspirations of these new city-dwellers under present economic and social systems, built-up tensions are increasingly giving way to attacks on the status quo. During his spring 1969 tour of Latin America, Nelson Rockefeller had an opportunity to witness some of these disorders in person; in his report to the President, the Governor commented that,

with urbanization in the Western Hemisphere have come crowded living conditions and a loss of living space in physical and psychological terms. [...] These sprawling urban areas of the hemisphere spawn restlessness and anger which are readily exploited by the varying forces that thrive on trouble.

Rockefeller warned that while Latin armies "have gradually improved their capabilities for dealing with Castro-type agrarian guerrillas," it appeared that "radical revolutionary elements in the hemisphere [are] increasingly turning toward urban terrorism in their attempts to bring down the existing order." This prediction has already been borne out in Brazil and Uruguay, where urban guerrillas have staged spectacular bank robberies and kidnappings.

Since the late 1950s, a paramount concern of American policymakers has been the preservation of social stability in countries deemed favorable to US trade and investment. US military planning has been shaped by the need to provide, on a moment's notice, trained counter-

insurgency forces that can be flown to the aid of friendly regimes threatened by popular insurrection. The Military Assistance Program has been used to upgrade the capabilities of indigenous forces to overcome rural guerrilla forces. Finally, on the premise that the police constitute the "first line of defense against subversion," the Agency for International Development has funneled American funds and supplies into the hands of Third World police forces.

During hearings on the foreign assistance appropriations for 1965, AID Administrator David Bell described the rationale behind US police assistance programs as follows:

Maintenance of law and order including internal security is one of the fundamental responsibilities of government. [...]

Successful discharge of this responsibility is imperative if a nation is to establish and maintain the environment of stability and security so essential to economic, social, and political progress. [...] Plainly, the United States has very great interests in the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere of law and order under humane, civil concepts and control. [...] When there is a need, technical assistance to the police of developing nations to meet their responsibilities promotes and protects these US interests.

The Public Safety program is not large in comparison to the military aid program — but its supporters can muster some impressive arguments in its favor. It is argued, for instance, that the police — being interspersed among the popula-



tion — are more effective than the military in controlling low-scale insurgency. According to Administrator Bell,

The police are a most sensitive point of contact between government and people, close to the focal points of unrest, and more acceptable than the army as keepers of order over long periods of time. The police are frequently better trained and equipped than the military to deal with minor forms of violence, conspiracy and subversion.

A conspicuous feature of this argument is the belief (based on painful experience) that the military will overreact to an insurgent threat and thus alienate the civilian population. Thus, in testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs, Prof. David Burks of Indiana University commented that:

... I think we have to face a reality. The reality is that when insurgents appear, the government will call upon the army to eliminate the insurgents. And, in most cases that I have examined, this was not too difficult to do. But there comes a point — and this came in Cuba in 1957 and 1958 when Castro was in the Sierra Maestra — there can come a point when the army cannot handle this kind of situation simply because the military establishment tends to use too much force, tends to use the wrong techniques and tends, therefore, to polarize the population and gradually force the majority of those who are politically active to support the revolutionary or insurgent force. [...] Whereas a civil police force [...] is with the people all the time carrying on the normal

functions of control of or apprehension of ordinary or common criminals and can, therefore, move very quickly whenever an insurgent problem develops.

Supporters of the police assistance program also point out that foreign police forces are cheaper to maintain than military forces, since they do not require expensive "hardware" like planes, tanks and artillery.

These arguments, advanced by men like Col. Edward Lansdale of the CIA, received their most favorable response from President John F. Kennedy and his brother Robert, then the Attorney General, in the early 1960s. Presidential backing was responsible for a substantial expansion of the Public Safety program in 1962, and for the centralization of all US police assistance activities in AID's Office of Public Safety (OPS). The State Department memorandum establishing OPS is noteworthy for its strong language — the memo, issued in November 1962, declared that AID

... vests the Office of Public Safety with primary responsibility and authority for public safety programs and gives that office a series of powers and responsibilities which will enable it to act rapidly, vigorously, and effectively [...] powers greater than any other technical office or division of AID.

(These special powers will be discussed further below.) The two Kennedys also gave enthusiastic support to the creation of an Inter-American Police Academy in the Panama Canal Zone. (In order to open the Academy to police officers from

other countries, it was later moved to Washington, DC, and reorganized as the International Police Academy.)

The Office of Public Safety is empowered to assist Third World police organizations in three ways:

- 1) by sending "Public Safety Advisers" who provide "in country" training for rank-and-file policemen;
- 2) by providing training at the International Police Academy and other US schools for senior police officers and technicians; and
- 3) by shipping weapons, ammunition, radios, patrol cars, jeeps, chemical munitions, and related equipment.

Using Latin America to measure the scope of these activities, we find that 90 Public Safety Advisers are stationed in 15 countries, and that some 2000 Latin police officers have received training at the International Police Academy. Total OPS expenditures in these 15 countries reached an estimated \$39 million by July 1, 1970 (outlays in individual countries ranged from the \$1-\$2 million spent in Bolivia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guyana, Honduras, Uruguay and Venezuela, to \$3 to \$4 million subsidies to Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Panama, and Peru). The leading beneficiary of the Public Safety program in Latin America was Brazil, which received \$7.5 million in OPS funds by the middle of 1970. The US police assistance program in Brazil is described in AID's **Program and Project Data Presentations to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971** as follows:

Through December 1969, the Public Safety project in Brazil has

assisted in training locally over 100 000 federal and state police personnel. Additionally, 523 persons received training in the US. Major project accomplishments include: construction, equipping and development of curriculum, staff and faculty for the National Police Academy, National Telecommunications Center and National Institutes of Criminalistics and Identification. [...] Also, the project has supported a substantial increase in police telecommunications with the construction and installation of base and mobile facilities and equipment which provide for communication from every state to Brasilia as well as limited intra and interstate communications. Substantial increases in police mobility have been achieved, primarily through funding for Brazilian manufactured vehicles.

In providing this kind of assistance, OPS notes that most countries possess a unified "civil security service" which, "in addition to regular police include paramilitary units within civil police organizations and paramilitary forces such as gendarmeries, constabularies, and civil guards which perform police functions and have as their primary mission maintaining internal security." The AID program is designed to encompass all of these functions; according to OPS,

Individual Public Safety programs, while varying from country to country, are focused in general on developing within the civil security forces a balance of (1) a capability for regular police operations, with (2) an investigative capability for detecting and identifying criminal and/or sub-

versive individuals and organizations and neutralizing their activities, and with (3) a capability for controlling militant activities ranging from demonstrations, disorders, or riots through small-scale guerrilla operations.

As noted in the State Department memo cited above, OPS possesses unique powers not granted to other AID bureaus. These powers enable OPS to "act rapidly, vigorously, and effectively" in aiding Latin regimes threatened by popular uprisings. "In order to deal with the dynamics of internal security situations," Mr. Bell explained, "the public safety program has developed and utilized methods to deliver to threatened countries, in a matter of days, urgently needed assistance including equipment, training, and technical advice." When a crisis develops in a Latin capital, OPS officials often stay up "night after night" in their Washington, DC, office to insure that needed supplies — including radios and tear gas — reach the beleaguered police of the friendly regime.

Several instances of such rapid action by OPS can be identified. In 1962, when the Government of Venezuela (then headed by President Rómulo Betancourt) came under heavy pressure from urban guerrillas of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN), President Kennedy launched a crash program to improve police operations in Caracas. A Public Safety Adviser named John Longan was secretly flown into the Venezuelan capital to head a team of police instructors. Using techniques developed by Special Forces instructors, Longan and his assistants provided Venezuelan police with in-

tensive training in riot-control operations. According to Peter T. Chew, a journalist sympathetic to OPS, Longan's men "persuaded Venezuelan police to favor the old-fashioned shotgun and showed how shotguns, firing buckshot and gas grenades, could be effectively used against terrorists." OPS advisers were also brought into the Dominican Republic after the 1965 insurrection to give crash courses in crowd-control techniques. In the space of a few months, thousands of Dominican police were schooled in the handling of anti-riot chemical agents, large quantities of which were presumably supplied by AID.

AID officials insist that Public Safety assistance is "not given to support dictatorships." But there are apparently exceptions to this rule: Administrator Bell told a Senate Committee in 1965 that "it is obviously not our purpose or intent to assist a head of state who is repressive. On the other hand, we are working in a lot of countries where the governments are controlled by people who have shortcomings." Not wanting to embarrass AID or any of the people we support who have "shortcomings," Bell did not mention names; nevertheless, he did give these examples:

Assistance to one country was completely stopped after a coup, has been reinstated only recently on a reduced scale while there is an evaluation of the country's performance on meeting public safety requirements to create a reformed and civilian-controlled police force.

In another country, despite the

limitations of the present government, it is considered desirable and proper to continue to assist in the improvement of the efficiency of the civilian police force to counteract the small amount of communist-led terrorism and to make sure the police can confront and stop any larger effort, if it should start....

Without more information, it is hard to question Bell's criteria for "a reformed and civilian-controlled police force," or whether "communist-led terrorism" does not in fact connote an antigovernment movement enjoying widespread popular support. It is entirely possible that Bell was referring in his statement to Brazil — a country which, as we have seen, enjoys a substantial OPS contribution despite well-documented reports that political prisoners are regularly being tortured by the police. In justifying continued OPS aid to such regimes, Bell explained that "... the police are a strongly anti-communist force right now. For that reason it is a very important force to us." Obsessed by the cold war ideology shared by all US police agencies, it is no surprise that these men should consider a small amount of (allegedly) communist-led terrorism to be sufficient reason to subsidize the repressive apparatus of a totalitarian regime.

AID officials are fully aware that in many countries receiving OPS aid the police are regarded with suspicion and resentment by the native population because of a tradition of brutality and oppression. Since provocative police behavior frequently inspires antigovernment

campaigns, an important aspect of the Public Safety program are efforts to encourage "the development of responsible and humane police administration and judicial procedures." Students at the various OPS schools are advised to "stay out of politics" (i.e., to support whatever regime happens to be in power), and are trained in the techniques of "nonlethal crowd control" (i.e., the massive use of riot gases). The main objective of this approach, according to OPS Director Byron Engle, is to prevent situations in which "an oppressive police force drives a deep wedge between the people and their government." As a successful application of this philosophy, OPS cites the case of the Dominican Republic, where — after intensive training in the use of chemical agents — "police action against the communists was so effective that the insurgents did not even end up with the body of a dead comrade to drag through the city in false martyrdom."

"Public Safety" in Viet Nam

The Public Safety program in South Viet Nam is the largest and one of the oldest US police assistance programs — half of AID's Public Safety Advisers and more than half of OPS's annual budget are committed to Viet Nam operations. The Viet Nam program began in 1955, when Michigan State University received a contract from the International Cooperation Administration (AID's predecessor agency) to assemble a team of police experts to advise the government of Ngo Dinh Diem. Ultimately 33 advisers served in the Police Division of the now famous Michigan State University Group (MSUG); of this group, at least a few are known to

have been CIA agents. The police division supervised the reorganization of Viet Nam's decrepit police system, provided training in a variety of police skills, provided small arms and ammunition, and helped establish a modern records system for filing data on political suspects.

The MSUG effort was superseded in 1959 by a Public Safety Division (PSD) under direct US management. In keeping with President Kennedy's call for increased counterinsurgency initiatives, the program was vastly expanded in 1962. Beginning with a staff of six in 1959, the PSD mission in Viet Nam increased to 47 in 1963 and to 204 by mid-1968. Total support of the PSD program had reached \$95 417 000 by the end of fiscal year 1968, and has continued at the rate of about \$20 million a year (some of these funds are supplied by the Department of Defense rather than by AID). Reflecting the growing military orientation of the pacification program, on May 9, 1967, the Public Safety Division was incorporated in its entirety into Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support (CORDS), the pacification directorate of MACV (Military Assistance Command, Viet Nam).

From the very start of the Viet Nam conflict, the National Police (NP) of South Viet Nam has been regarded by our government as a paramilitary force with certain responsibilities related to the overall counterinsurgency effort. In the Foreword to a manual on **The Police and Resources Control in Counterinsurgency** (Saigon, 1964), Chief Frank E. Walton wrote that "the methods included in this text are emergency procedures not utilized

in a normal peace-time situation. They are stringent, **war-time** measures designed to assist in defeating the enemy...." In order to upgrade Vietnamese police capabilities to carry out its wartime responsibilities, PSD supervised the consolidation of all regional, provincial and specialized police agencies under the directorate of National Police in 1962; and subsequently prepared a "National Police Plan" for Viet Nam in 1964. Under the plan, the NP's personnel strength grew from 19 000 men in 1963 to 52 000 by the end of 1965, 70 000 in 1967, and 85 000 by the end of 1969. To keep pace with this rapid growth, the plan provided for a vast increase in US technical assistance, training, and commodity support. Public Safety Division aid and management has become so extensive, indeed, that the National Police might more properly be considered a US mercenary force than an indigenous institution.

The specific counterinsurgency functions performed by the police — resources control, identification, surveillance, and pacification — are spelled out in an OPS brochure on **The Role of the Public Safety in Support of the National Police of Viet Nam** (Washington, DC, 1969) and in AID's **Program and Project Data Presentations to the Congress for Fiscal Year 1971**.

Resources Control is defined by Public Safety Adviser E. H. Adkins, Jr., as "an effort to regulate the movement of selected resources, both human and material, in order to restrict the enemy's support or deprive him of it altogether...." In order to prevent the flow of sup-

plies and people to and from villages loyal to the National Liberation Front (NLF) 7700 members of the National Police currently man some 650 checkpoints at key locations on roadways and waterways, and operate mobile checkpoints on remote roads and trails. By 1968, more than 468 456 persons had been arrested in this program, of whom 28 000 were reported as "VC suspects." AID reported that "Resources control efforts in 1969 resulted in nearly 100 000 arrests including more than 10 000 known or suspected VC. Confiscations included 50 000 units of medicine/drugs and 6000 tons of contraband foodstuffs."

The **National Identity Registration Program** is described by OPS as "an integral part of the population and resources control program." Under a 1957 law, amended in 1967, every Vietnamese 15 years and older is required to register with the Saigon government and carry identification cards; anyone caught without the proper ID cards is considered a "VC suspect" and subject to imprisonment or worse. At the time of registration, a full set of fingerprints is obtained from each applicant, and information on his or her political beliefs is recorded. By 1971, 12 000 000 persons are to have been reached by this identification registration program. "Once completed," AID explains, "the identification system will provide for a national repository of fingerprints and photographs and biographical data. It will be one of the most complete national identification systems in the world and one of the most badly needed."

Surveillance of persons and organi-

zations suspected of harboring antigovernment sentiments is the responsibility of the NP's Special Police Branch (SP). The Special Branch is nothing more or less than Viet Nam's secret police; originally the Indochinese branch of the French Sûreté, the SP was known as the Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation during the Diem regime. According to the 1962 decree establishing the National Police, the SP was given the responsibilities of: "Gathering information on political activities," and "carrying out undercover operations throughout the country, searching for, investigating, keeping track of, and prosecuting elements engaged in subversive activities." OPS documents state that "SP agents penetrate subversive organizations" and "use intelligence collection, political data [and] dossiers compiled from census data [...] to separate the bad guys from the good." AID has nothing to say about the criteria used to separate the "bad guys" from the "good guys"; anyone familiar with the Vietnamese scene knows, however, that the SP's major responsibility is surveillance of noncommunist groups that could pose a political challenge to the regime in power. Thus D. Gareth Porter, writing in *The Nation*, notes that

... students, intellectuals, Buddhist monks and anyone who has been involved in political, social or educational activity, are the objects of special suspicion, and detailed dossiers are compiled for each individual from reports of plainclothesmen and informers who infiltrate every student, religious or social welfare group. Persons who advocate negotiations with the NLF are routinely picked

up by the Special Police and sentenced to stiff prison terms.

Pacification usually brings to mind "good-will" projects like school construction and free medical care; in Viet Nam, however, the paramount task of the US pacification effort is the identification and neutralization of the local NLF administrative apparatus — in Pentagon nomenclature the "Viet Cong Infrastructure" (VCI). The counter-infrastructure campaign was initiated by the CIA in July 1968 as the **Phung Hoang** program — better known in English as Operation Phoenix. This program, incorporated into the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support effort, is described by American officials as "a systematic effort at intelligence coordination and exploitation." In the intelligence phase, all allied intelligence services — including South Viet Nam's Special Branch and America's CIA and military intelligence organizations — are supposed to pool the data they have collected (or forcibly extracted) from informers and prisoners on the identity of NLF cadres. It is for this ultimate purpose that most of the other police functions described above — interdiction, identification, registration and surveillance — are carried on. In the **exploitation** phase of Phoenix, members of the paramilitary National Police Field Forces (NPF), sometimes assisted by the Army, make secret, small-scale raids into contested areas to seize or eliminate persons who have been identified by the intelligence services as "VCI agents." In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the head ofCORDS, ex-CIA agent William E. Colby stated that

in 1969 a total of 19 534 suspected VCI agents had been "neutralized" — of this number 6187 had been killed, 8515 arrested, and 4832 persuaded to join the Saigon side. Colby insisted that Phoenix did not constitute an "assassination" or "counterterror" operation.

In order to sustain these activities, the US provides the National Police with a steady flow of funds, supplies, technical assistance, and other resources. US counterpart funds have been used to finance construction of the NP's High Command School, interrogation facilities, firearms ranges, training schools, ammunition reloading plant, Marine Police bases, and the Central Saigon Police Garage. Expansion of South Viet Nam's 41 civilian prison centers (to accommodate more "suspected VC" captured in the Phoenix operation), is being supervised by OPS personnel. One begins to appreciate the breadth of this operation by reading AID's 1971 budget request — \$13 million is being sought to achieve the following "Project Targets" in the next 18 months:

... provision of commodity and advisory support for a police force of 108 000 men by the end of FY 1971; [...] assisting the National Identity Registration Program (NIRP) to register more than 12 000 000 persons 15 years of age and over by the end of 1971; continuing to provide basic and specialized training for approximately 40 000 police annually; providing technical assistance to the police detention system including planning and supervision for an additional 8000 inmates

during 1970 and helping to achieve a major increase in the number of police presently working (6000) at the village level.

This presentation, it must be remembered, only represents programs under AID authority; missing from this prospectus are NP activities financed by the CIA and the Defense Department. Military Assistance funds are used to finance the activities of the paramilitary National Police Field Forces, which, by January 1969, constituted a small army of 12 000 men organized into 75 companies (our expansion plans call for a total complement of 22 500 men and 108 companies by the end of this year). Because of the "military commonality" of their equipment, all commodities support to the NPFF is provided by the Pentagon. The extent of CIA contributions to the National Police is of course impossible to determine: it is known, however, that the CIA has been involved in modernizing Viet Nam's secret police files since 1955. One does not have to invoke the sinister image of the CIA, however, to establish beyond a doubt that the United States is intimately involved in every barbarous act committed by the South Vietnamese police on behalf of the Saigon government.

In studying the US Public Safety program abroad, one is sooner or later struck by the extent to which the goals, doctrines and practices of this program have been adopted by the authorities here as an answer to our own internal difficulties. Thus when Administrator Bell tells us that "public safety forces have done and can do much to prevent

conspiracy and the development of disruptive situations, and to insure an environment of law and order which supports the orderly social, economic, and political development of emerging nations," one can easily picture Ronald Reagan or Spiro Agnew speaking in the same terms of our own police apparatus. AID spokesmen have in fact made a determined effort to advise other government officials of the domestic application of techniques developed by OPS for use abroad. In September 1967, Public Safety Director Byron Engle told the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) that "In working with police in various countries [...] we have acquired a great deal of experience in dealing with violence ranging from demonstrations and riots to guerilla warfare." Much of this experience, he asserted, "may be helpful in the United States." Among the specific recommendations made by Engle for the control of urban disorders were: the massive use of chemical munitions, stringently enforced curfews, and the establishment of special tactical police units available on a 24-hour stand-by basis. Precisely the same recommendations were made to President Johnson by former Pentagon aide Cyrus Vance, and were later put into effect in Washington, DC, when rioting broke out following the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. And when, in the wake of this rioting, Congress passed the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, a principal feature of the Public Safety program — Federal assistance to local police forces — became an established mechanism for domestic law enforcement.

Brazil: The Last Days of a Dictator

Lino Luben Pérez

Brazil, a country known among other things for its flora and fauna, has, to its disgrace, recently become outstanding for a particular species; the Brazilian gorilla. This specimen, easily domesticated by Yankee interests, represents a higher stage of bestiality and travels in the latest model car, is weighted down in gold braid, flies jets, and directs the application of the electric rod or the *gau de arara*.

For several years, the gorillas have been in control of the destiny of Brazilians. Everything depends on their decisions: from the expectation of a trip by a Vice-President under threat of attack by the Brazilian Air Force, to the existence of a parliament or the continuation of a President. Among the gorillas there is no bloodshed. That is for the people, in savage repression or tortures which have become a Brazilian institution. The solutions among gorillas are always harmonious, procrastinations because of shifts in power, and the political possibilities of the civilians are dependent on leftovers from the military.

A typical example of such a mechanism is clearly explained in this article by Lino Luben Pérez, Prensa Latina correspondent, who recalls the days of the transfer of power from da Costa e Silva to Garrastazú Medici.

ON SUNDAY, August 30, 1969, Marshal Arthur da Costa e Silva's health was failing; he could take only liquids and his physical condition was such that doctors feared for his life. Prayers were even offered to prevent the development of new complications. The Marshal had had a cerebral thrombosis the day before.

In the morning, the former Minister of Justice in the former government of Marshal Humberto Castelo Branco, Carlos Madeiro da Silva, didn't feel like taking his usual outing on the beach at Leblon. Instead, he telephoned Laranjeiras Palace, government headquarters, where the dictator lay dying.

His request to see the President was energetically refused by General Jaime Portela, secretary of the National Security Council and chief of the Presidential Military Guard: "No, not now. Wait an hour."

However, Madeiro da Silva went

to Portela's home, wanting to talk to him about the so-called constitutional reform, known to only a few Brazilians. Madeiro was a member of the Jurists' Commission.

Portela arrived with Colonel Covas and immediately gave Madeiro the orders issued by the High Command of the Armed Forces: the drawing up of a new Institutional Act and a "proclamation" to the country which would justify the new decree, an original method of government used by the military.

"When do you want it, sir?"

"As soon as possible. I want it in time for a meeting I have with the three military ministers at 3 pm. I'll send a car over to pick it up."

"Very well, until later then."

Institutional Act No. 12 was ready before 11 a m and the proclamation was written shortly after, thanks to the experience of the author in





these matters.

On the same day, the former minister was strangely closemouthed during the conversation he normally held with journalist Helio Gasperi, a family friend who visited him frequently. Trying to get Madeiro to talk, Gasperi announced that later on in the afternoon he would be attending a meeting of notaries, taking with him his big black briefcase. The news was not a surprise to Madeiro, who even made fun of the meeting. Later Madeiro received more information from Colonel Lair, another colleague. Something unusual was going on.

During the early morning hours, the decision taken in the conferences held among the top-ranking military officers began to filter down to the three different military ministries. They were informed of the decision taken the night before: power would be handed over to the three ministers — a triumvirate would be formed.

Thus, within da Costa e Silva's government itself, a strictly unorthodox formula, in terms of institutionalism, was being created completely behind the President's back.

The chiefs of the four armies, the naval districts and the air zones took their time in coming forward. Other officers felt slighted, along with their inferiors in military rank. The rank and file soldier knew nothing of what was going on. Nor did the people.

A question was floating in the air in paramilitary circles: Will Vice-President Pedro Aleixo assume the presidency as would be logical in case da Costa e Silva died or was physically incapacitated? Or will the military once again violate the

Constitution?

Colonel Massa himself, a member of the military cabinet, was determined to prove "unity" within the armed forces and apparently failed to consult his crystal ball since he had hopes that the so-called constitutional succession would take place.

Colonel Massa, under the command of General Portela, received instructions to locate Aleixo in Brasilia and take him to Rio de Janeiro, where the three ministers (heads of the three branches of the armed forces) had to see him urgently. Some of Aleixo's followers then began to make an unusual display of their support.

Massa found the Vice-President in his apartment in Brasilia as he was saying goodbye to the former Minister of Labor, Colonel Jarbas Passarinho, who had come to pay a visit. Portela's agent would lunch later with Passarinho and remain poker-faced when he learned that Passarinho was giving special treatment to Aleixo, probably because of the Vice-President's possible forthcoming promotion.

A semieuphoric climate surrounded the deputies and friends of Aleixo, and even some ministers of the Supreme Federal Court, because no one thought of any course of action other than a legal constitutional presidential succession. Aleixo's telephones rang constantly.

At first, the Vice-President refused to go to the meeting, probably because he knew no good would come of it. He had already had his bitter experiences. "Very well," he said.

Traveling with the Vice-President in the same airplane were the ministers Tarso Dutras, Passarinho and Carlos Dimas, all called by General Portela to come to Rio. During the

entire day special airplanes of the Brazilian Air Force (FAB) picked up ministers in different cities for the same purpose.

That first day of September could well have been called the "day of the telephone." Never was Graham Bell's invention used more. The iron-clad press censorship resisted the onslaughts of the international news agencies, the foreign correspondents, reporters from radio, TV, newspapers and magazines, all wanting to know if da Costa e Silva had died or if he was being held prisoner by a group of colonels.

Meanwhile, Aleixo knew perfectly well that he would not be Brazil's 29th president (since the empire of Pedro II, 1840-89).

General Portela received the first "confidential medical bulletin" on the state of the dictator from Doctors Abrão Akerman, Paulo Niemeyer, Mário Pindo de Miranda and Helcio Simões Gomes. The doctors stated that the President had "suffered a circulatory crisis with neurological complications which require absolute rest."

The President was in a state of prostration. Only his doctors and nurses could enter his room.

It was Portela who informed da Costa e Silva of the decision to replace him that had been taken by the High Command of the Armed Forces, composed of the military ministers, the chief of staff of the armed forces and the chiefs of staff of the other three military branches. There is still speculation today as to what the semiparalyzed Marshal would have said if he had been able to speak.

The Military High Command was put in a position above the National Security Council, presided over by da Costa e Silva and composed of

the Vice-President, the ministers of state, including the extraordinary ministers, the chiefs of the civil and military cabinets, the chief of the National Information Service (Brazil's CIA), the general chief of staff of the armed forces and the chiefs of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Who Will Succeed the President?

In the Army Ministry, headed by General Aurelio Lira Tavares, were Admiral Augusto Haneman Rademaker, the Navy Minister; Marshal Marcio de Souza Melo, Air Force Minister; the chiefs of staff of the three armies and other important officials of lower rank.

A formal question interrupted the conclave: who should first read the documents and take the seat of honor? According to Institutional Act No. 1, the Army should take first place, the Navy second and the Air Force third and last place. However, Lira Tavares proposed that Admiral Rademaker chair the meeting because of his military seniority. And so it was. But who was to head the triumvirate?

At this stage of the discussion, the Institutional Acts came to the forefront. These Acts are signed by the chiefs of the three armies and therefore the military became maximum leaders in the midst of a *sui generis* institutional situation which was not foreseen by the Constitution.

In the first days of September, Pedro Aleixo was received by the chiefs of the three armies in the cabinet of Admiral Rademaker. There he was informed of what he already suspected: "The health of the President is critical. You are an energetic man who could reopen

Congress and promulgate a new Constitution... but conditions for this do not exist. We must safeguard national security... you were against Institutional Act No. 5...!"

For a moment Aleixo's thoughts went back to December 13, 1968, when da Costa e Silva informed him of the decision taken by the National Security Council to pass a decree closing down Congress and assuming full government powers. He also remembered how he asked da Costa e Silva not to take the step, to establish a state of siege if he wanted to, but to always respect the Constitution.

Aleixo also thought of how da Costa e Silva had mocked him when the President told him that his words had been taped and played back to all the military men present, who had listened impassively to Aleixo's heretical statements. And now the three ministers were reminding him that at one time he had told the President that he wanted to resign.

However, Aleixo reiterated his loyalty to da Costa e Silva, thanked the General for his eulogies and asked for an airplane to return to Brasilia. "The airplane is at your disposal," said Marcio de Souza Melo.

The Vice-President was taken to his daughter's home in Copacabana, in an official Navy car, accompanied by a Captain Frigate. Aleixo told the officer he wouldn't be long, that he was only waiting for a message from the Ministry of Aviation to go back to Brasilia.

His daughter was surprised when she learned that he was not going to leave the same day. A little later, a telephone call from General Ar-

naldo Jose Calderari, chief of the cabinet of Minister Lira Tavares, informed him that for unforeseen reasons he could not depart as planned.

Another telephone call from Calderari came asking him where he wanted to travel to and informed him that Lira Tavares was concerned about the Vice-President's "safety."

The Vice-President accepted the "apologies" and said he would take a commercial airplane and told the military man that unknown individuals had been interrogating the last few persons who had visited him.

In the Ministry of the Army, in a quick meeting, the Council of Ministers was informed of the decision taken by the military. The Council was also informed that Admiral Rademaker would preside over the triumvirate.

In Laranjeiras Palace technicians from the National Agency installed the apparatus needed to transmit a message on radio and TV, as asked for by General Portela.

They were going to read the inflammatory Institutional Act No. 12. Alberto Curi read out the text, the same speaker who had read out Institutional Act No. 5. Censorship was lifted in honor of the occasion.

Over the radio da Costa e Silva listened to the broadcast with an impassive face. After the reading, he closed his eyes.

Crisis and Kidnapping

On Thursday, September 4, in the afternoon, the triumvirate received news from the newspaper *O Globo* which perplexed them: minutes before, US Ambassador Charles Burke Eibrick had been kidnapped.

Immediately the country's repres-

sive forces, the US Embassy, the State Department mobilized themselves in search of a clue that would lead them to the diplomat or to his kidnapers. Usually the army chiefs control the big "maneuvers." The same method was used now and even extended to include the air chiefs.

The demands of the kidnapers — the publication of a communiqué over radio and television and in the newspapers and the freeing of 15 revolutionaries in return for Elbrick's life — irritated the military even more, some of whom, the most reactionary, refused to make the exchange and even said that if the American diplomat were killed they would kill the 15 prisoners. Somebody even said "*a culpa é toda dele*" ("its all his fault") for not having been armed.

On September 6, an announcer with a nervous and staccato voice read the revolutionaries' document. Censorship was temporarily suspended and the regime was given a period of 48 hours to make its decision. The document explained the reasons for the kidnapping, demanded the freeing of the 15 revolutionaries and terminated: "Now it's an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Thus, the first demand of the National Liberation Action (ALN) and the October 8 Revolutionary Movement (MR-8) was fulfilled. The second demand would also be met to the very letter. Foreign Relations Minister Magalhães Pinto himself announced over radio and TV on the fifth that the regime would cede. Nevertheless, the repressive forces took full advantage of the fact that they had the political prisoners in their possession. There were blows, abuses, threats of death. The prison-

ers were taken to the airport of Galeão in Rio, under heavy custody, escorted by war tanks.

The 15 prisoners denounced to the world the tortures, the abuses and humiliations that they suffered in jail and in the military prisons of the regime.

Meanwhile in Brasilia, after his haphazard journey, the Vice-President did not dare to open his mouth. Recently he had announced his interest in creating a political party, not of course to oppose the regime but to combat subversion.

But in Laranjeiras Palace there was unusual movement. There were few people: General Portela, Colonel Lair and other officers. Colonel Milton Vale of the Security Service gave machine guns to all his subordinates and to the sentries who were secretly placed in the gardens of Guinle Park. The chief of the Military Guard received specific orders from the head of the Military Cabinet: open fire against any strange thing.

To top it all, it was the eve of September 7 and at midnight Independence Week would begin, which "the people and the dictatorship celebrate in different ways," as was said in the manifesto written by the kidnapers of the US Ambassador.

At that hour, the officer-students of the Chiefs of Staff School of the Army requested the presence of their chief, General Paula Couto, to inform them of the crisis that was developing. The top brass of the school arrived heavily armed because they thought that an insurrection was taking place. But no, they only wanted to know what was happening and, if possible, to give their support, although this was not nec-

essary.

On the 10th, for the first time, the President was visited by the triumvirate. Rademaker himself said: "I can tell you, Mr. President, that the ship is sailing well." Lira Tavares and Marcio de Souza said similar things. The visit did not last for more than ten minutes and photographers were waiting outside to take pictures of the visitors.

The medical bulletin of the day said that da Costa e Silva "spent a peaceful week-end" in spite of the fact that he was still semiparalytic and unable to speak as a result of his thrombosis of August 29. In Laranjeiras Palace different sectors of military opinion began to stir, but the triumvirate made known implicitly that it was stalling for time.

With the first week of September gone, the tensions of the government crisis were still latent, and the health of the dictator precarious. Doctor François l'Hermitte was brought over from France to attend to the patient. He arrived on the afternoon of Saturday the 13th and stayed in the Copacabana Palace. There he met, some say it was by chance, with General Sizenio Sarmiento, Chief of the First Army. L'Hermitte consulted with the medical team that was attending the Marshal on Sunday and on the same day they issued a bulletin saying that there were "some signs of improvement," although the President's right side remained paralyzed and he was still unable to speak. On the 15th the French specialist left the country.

The Press in Those Days

Only the journalists accredited in Laranjeiras had access to the infor-

mation given by the Press Secretariat, through the Security Service of course, which was the agency entrusted with issuing "official bulletins."

News was sometimes distributed to journalists who had full confidence of the Government and to those closest to the presidential press corps, who also picked up what they could overhear in the corridors and halls. Two of them were Alberto Homsi of *O Globo*, the "Dean" of the press corps in the Palace, and Carlos Chagas, who published some stories in *O Estado de São Paulo* and *Correio do Povo*.

In spite of the confidence in which Homsi and Chagas were held and their "taking turns" between the two, the Security Service ordered an investigation of the journalistic credentials of the reporters because, it was explained, of "national security." It was in the crystal corridors of the Palace where the "purge" took place, waged by the only two political parties in the country, the officialist National Renewal Alliance (ARENA) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MBD), created by the regime itself as an opposition party. As a result, a commission from the Department of Justice visited the Palace to see about the so-called constitutional reform. The return to politics or "democracy" was going full speed ahead.

But one of the "concerns" of the commission was the high tax it had to pay, while other officials paid less. This news received no authorization for publication. The same thing happened with the news about da Costa e Silva's health.

Once Again the Problem of Succession

On a certain day in 1966, in the

airport of Guararapes, in Recife, the capital of the State of Pernambuco, the President's airplane was almost set afire by the explosion of a bomb placed in the airport. An admiral and a press adviser were killed and others were wounded. Da Costa e Silva was unharmed.

Shortly before December 13, 1968, in the airport of Santos Dumont in Rio de Janeiro, another airplane bearing da Costa e Silva descended suddenly because of a mechanical failure, according to official reports. The pilots quickly jumped out and so did da Costa e Silva, despite the bravery attributed to him at that time.

Such incidents soon led to a kind of "seminar on procedures to be taken should da Costa e Silva disappear." The episode serves to prove the existence, well before the government crisis, of the struggle for power and the need to search for a man who wouldn't be as negatively viewed as François Duvalier or Alfredo Stroessner, prehistoric dictators of Haiti and Paraguay respectively, but who would be able to lead a dictatorial representative democracy, the political formula of the US Government for its valuable South American satellite.

It is difficult to say who, among the military, sided with whom in the problem of solving the crisis. Some agreed, others changed their minds, switched positions and tactics, but with no less interest in "climbing" the power ladder. Each one harbored infinite ambitions and multiple and well-defined objectives for getting rid of da Costa e Silva in the name of the "Constitution."

The Groups Identify Themselves

Among the more or less defined groups in the midst of the goings

and comings, and the business of searching for a common denominator, the most important was the "Castelistas," followers of the extinct Marshal Humberto Castelo Branco, principal actor of the military coup that ousted the government of João Goulart on March 31, 1964. In this group were the brothers and generals Orlando and Ernesto Geisel, the first, Army Minister; and the second, president of the hybrid enterprise Petrobras.

The influence of the Army, first weapon of the country, which has 167 000 of the approximately 195 000 men in the armed forces, began to play a prime role in relation to the Navy and the Air Force, although finally a rather just distribution of posts and functions put an apparent end to the crisis which threatened to break the situation of "peace on earth and glory in heaven."

The "Alfonsistas" are partisans of Division General Alfonso Albuquerque Lima, former Minister of Interior Development in the cabinet of the sick 66-year-old Marshal and the only three-star candidate without a troop command. Actually he holds a bureaucratic job in the Army. He is attributed with having some influence, especially among the young officers, who by extension had the support of several important generals, admirals and brigadiers. His political beliefs have been classified as a type of reformism and nationalism in the economic field, but nothing else. From the beginning, he was in favor of the "temporary mandate" and attempted to put someone in charge of the presidency until 1971, date on which da Costa e Silva would have given way to a successor by the decision of the

majority of his peers. Finally, he had no other choice or hope than to let time go by and try his luck once again on August 22, 1974, when the present chief of state, General Emilio Garrastazú Medici, ends his presidential term. Only then will Albuquerque Lima return; naturally, thanks to the military.

The long list of candidates also included General Antônio Carlos Muricy, chief of general staff of the Army. His political beliefs are undefined, but he was a partisan of the common formula together with the Army Minister Lira Tavares, whose candidacy lost a hope that it never had. Also on the list was General Sizenô Sarmento, chief of the First Army, who was a member of the "cabinet of Albuquerque Lima" as Army Minister, together with Brigadier Faria Lima, "appointed Vice-President," but who was replaced because of his sudden death by Admiral Melo Batista.

The pompous cabinet was composed equally of relevant figures in the narrow and isolated circle of military and civilian governors. Carlos Lacerda was the Planning Minister; Doctor Lins, the Minister of Justice; General Rodrigo Octavio Jordão Ramos, Transport Minister; Doctor Lira Tavares, Treasury Minister; Colonel Boaventura Cavalcanti, Minister of Interior Development; and there was even a Press Secretary who would replace the journalist Carlos Chagas.

And as the height of exasperation, it also listed people such as the present Transport Minister, Mário Andreazza, and Colonel Jarbas Gonçalves Passarinho, -former Labor Minister and present Education Minister. Andreazza was repeatedly ac-

cused of administrative corruption and Gonçalves continued the anti-labor policy of freezing salaries, directed at eliminating even the traditional demands of the workers, whose trade unions are now militarily intervened.

The die was cast and the "secret pact" was made. The principal ministries were distributed among the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, in keeping with the old adage "I'll scratch your back and you scratch mine."

On September 29, the high command met again to decide on the last details of the succession mechanism and to install the new President, Garrastazú Medici, chief of the powerful Third Army, with headquarters in Porto Alegre, capital of the State of Rio Grande do Sul; military attaché in Washington in 1967 and chief of the National Information Service under da Costa e Silva at the end of the same year. No one could be better qualified for the office.

But there was another thorny problem to solve: Brazil was the first country in the world which had five presidents all at once: the triumvirate, da Costa e Silva, who was still in office, and "Milito." The still-alive da Costa e Silva could already be disregarded; there was even talk of offering him a monthly pension even though his government mandate ended on March 15, 1971.

The crisis among the four-star generals once again showed the stubborn traditional politicians of Brazil that they were only pawns at the side of the king and queen. This was admitted in Porto Alegre by Senator Daniel Krieger, former president of ARENA who, asked by a journalist about the "presidential succession," simply answered: "It's

the military who will decide."

A new medical bulletin announced on September 27 that "The President of the Republic showed signs of improvement this week."

Nevertheless, perhaps because of their skill in repression, or because they lacked the ability of political maneuvering, the regime continued to "purge" government officials, deputies, senators, journalists and even priests. In this sense, new cassações, the suspension of political rights for ten years, and removals from elective posts were announced on September 30.

Meanwhile, Yolanda Barbosa da Costa e Silva, accused of engaging in jewel contraband, held on as the "First Lady of the Republic," and without altering her ambitions, went to the triumvirate on at least two occasions to intercede in behalf of her semiparalyzed husband. The First Lady was not satisfied with a salary of three million new cruzeiros per month as president of the Brazilian Aid League.

In the middle of October, Garrastazú Medici visited da Costa e Silva, who was by now aware of his demotion. Their conversation touched upon everything, from justifications of the present situation to memories of the 1964 military coup, when Garrastazú Medici, then head of the Agulhas Negras Military Academy, put himself under the orders of General da Costa e Silva. Now, "Milito" and da Costa e Silva were reminiscing about the "anti-Jango movement" (João Goulart).

That same day in the evening, the new President employed the demagoguery characteristic of his military predecessors and spoke to the nation through the National Agency, the radio and TV, media which were under such censorship that the

people had no alternative but to listen.

Nevertheless, the high command of the armed forces still had one little detail to take care of: the juridic legalization of their appointment. For this, they would have to reopen the Federal Congress, which had been closed by da Costa e Silva on December 13, 1968.

And they did so. On almost the same day and month it had been closed on the pretext that it had refused to authorize a military court to judge the opposition deputy Marcio Moreira Alves, the High Command of the Armed Forces gathered together the little that was left of Congress so that it could approve the appointment of Garrastazú Medici, who took office on October 31.

In practice, there was nothing lacking to put into motion the technocratic-military machine. On September 18, the repressive National Security Law was already reformed on the basis of the recent Institutional Act No. 14, which legalized the death sentence with the aim of applying it to Brazilian revolutionaries.

Between 1964 and 1969 alone, approximately 200 deputies were removed from office and the majority of legislative assemblies in states and cities were closed down. Institutional Act No. 7 annulled the elections of 1963, although a new decree to give the two only legal political parties a representative character allowed for the extension of the period for the inscription of the parties and the date of their conventions.

A Constitution drawn up by Azeiteiro also appeared and became the Magna Charta of the repression.

Torture then became a weapon of the Government.

Another bloody event kept the military regime from publicizing "the liquidation of the revolutionary movement." With the government crisis apparently under control, on November 4 the revolutionary leader Carlos Marighella was shot down and killed in São Paulo in an ambush set for him by the police agent Sergio Paranhos Fleury.

One hundred and thirteen days after da Costa e Silva had his cerebral thrombosis, the inevitable happened: the President died on December 17 at 3:40 p.m. local time, according to the certificate issued by Doctor Helcio Simões Gomes, the Marshal's private physician.

Only persons in the regime began to parade before the coffin, exposed in the Laranjeiras Palace with military honors. The body was taken to the São João Batista Cemetery, in the midst of a display of troops that rendered him homage. Air Force planes flew over the funeral cortege, which was estimated at 3000 persons. Brazil has more than 90 million inhabitants. He was buried in the same isolation in which he had lived, without the popular support he never had but always desired.

Months later, the Brazilian priest Francisco Lage Pessoa, exiled in Mexico for several years, stated in declarations to the newspaper *Excelsior* that both Castelo Branco and da Costa e Silva had been assassinated.

"The airplane accident which cost Castelo Branco his life was not really an accident. The cerebral thromboses attacks that da Costa e Silva had and which were officially

the cause of his death, were only a disguise for the assassination," affirmed the priest.

The penetrating look of the priest was barely attenuated by the sun glasses that he was wearing. His expression was unflinching when he was asked who was responsible for the assassination.

"It's an organization based on the three armed forces, whose members are united in secret. This group is the heart of Brazil's military caste. This secret organization has been in power since 1964."

Garrastazú Medici is a puppet of the secret military organization, one of the many that Brazil has had since 1964. Da Costa e Silva's death took place mysteriously: his family could not see him. They were forbidden to leave their homes and to make statements to the press.

Later Pessoa told of the tortures he had borne:

I didn't suffer as much as the political prisoners now, because the torture methods have been perfected and the dictatorship's brutality is more evident now.

You don't have any idea of the magnitude of the frustration of the Catholic priests, not only in Brazil but in all Latin America. This movement is larger and more profound than is generally thought.

Brazil will be the funeral of capitalism.... The world needs many Viet Nams.... Imagine Brazil being invaded by the US Marines....

Such a large country would be the tomb of any invaders, if we consider the experience of the Indochinese peninsula, where the Vietnamese have politically and militarily defeated the United States.

Burundi and Rwanda: The Same Imperialist Strategy

Nadine Nyangoma

Lost on the map of Africa, Burundi and Rwanda are classic examples of the underdeveloped world. Both nations together total scarcely 5 700 000 inhabitants and occupy an area of 54 172 km². To their little-known geography is, of course, added their little-known history: in the Western world very few can add anything to their state of economic appendage to Belgium.

The people who live in this part of the world nevertheless have a history worth knowing and, given their location bordering countries as highly coveted by the imperialists as the Congo and Tanganyika, they are called upon to play an important role in the future of the African continent.

The purpose of the present article by Nadine Nyangoma is to present for other peoples of the world an understanding of the political reality of these two small nations.

A young writer and journalist born in Belgium, Nadine Nyangoma is the widow of Gervais Nyangoma, progressive politician of Burundi, who was executed in his country on October 28, 1965 (when he was 28 years old) on the occasion of the bloody coup that brought the militarists to power.

BURUNDI and Rwanda, situated at the halfway road between the Cape and Cairo, form two of the smallest territories of Africa. Together, however, they have 7 000 000 inhabitants. Both are populated by the same people who speak the same language and have the same culture. Up until about 1956, the history of these two countries was relatively similar: Rwanda like Burundi had a feudal class composed of Tutsis, and a peasant class, more or less serfs, composed essentially of Hutus. (We have already explained before the ethnic origins of these two classes and how feudal relations between them were established.¹)

The separate existence of the two kingdoms of Burundi and Rwanda is explicable solely by the fact that two different dynasties organized their own separate power. The two similar feudal entities thus created were to be confirmed and even strengthened later by the German and the Belgian trusteeships which utilized them for their "indirect administration" and actually extended them to the isolated regions where they would not have been able to implant themselves.

Burundi and Rwanda have con-

tinued to be essentially agricultural. There has been almost no industrialization. Belgian capitalism took advantage of their high population density to draw from them the work force for its Congolese colony. Burundi served as a commercial center, sometimes as a strategic coordination point during the period of Congolese independence.² In fact, it was from there that the troops left to support Mobutu in his maneuvers against Lumumba, and it is from there that the "terrible" Katangese were dispatched to Yemen.

The actual difference between Burundi and Rwanda dates from recent times and is above all the result of foreign intervention. Both Burundi and Rwanda are agricultural territories with a dispersed population. In Rwanda there are no real cities in the true sense of the word. The most that exists is an old residential center converted into a capital, and some centers of trade and exchange. In Burundi, the situation is very similar, except that the country has a small port city on Lake Tanganyika.

The rapid demographic growth

¹ See *Partisans*, number 31, July-September 1966.

² J. P. Lash, *Dag Hammarskjöld, Ein Leben für den Frieden*, 1962, pp. 7-12.

represents a burden for the countryside that will not be compensated either by the exodus to the city nor the temporary or definite exodus to the Congo or Uganda. This burden on the countryside and the development of communications and other concurrent factors have given the Hutu peasant a particular dynamism. Of special importance among these factors is the formation, in the countryside itself, of a rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie. This rural petite bourgeoisie, represented by the small merchant and to a certain extent by the adviser, constitutes the fragile tie between the economy of subsistence and the economy of the market. The Hutu rural petit bourgeois sees his social aspirations and the development of his skills blocked by the feudal Tutsis, who segregate him socially and racially. There also exists a poor peasantry subjected to these feudal lords, which naturally hopes to eliminate them. The rural petite bourgeoisie will therefore become the spokesman for the peasants' antifeudal aspirations, serving as the vanguard of the antifeudal revolution. Around 1955, the tension between the Hutu peasantry and the Tutsi feudalists increased in Burundi as well as in Rwanda, where it was to culminate in the antifeudal revolution of 1959.

The Antifeudal Revolution in Rwanda

The political doctrine of those who opposed feudalism was confused enough as far as the new regime that took power. This doctrine will be represented by two parties: APROSOMA³ and PARMEHUTU.⁴ The former will emphasize all the economic problems and appears to have been the first to have committed itself to the revolution. The second will support it principally on

the ethnic existence of the oppressed class, through the instigation of the Christian syndicates. It will be much more reformist and will be revolutionary only when the revolution will already have begun; it is moreover an opportunistic party. Nevertheless in 1959, the difference between the two parties is minimal, each one has very moderate goals. In any case, because of the confusion there might have been concerning the political doctrine of both, before their official founding, the manifesto of the Bahutus of March 24, 1957, clearly marks the limits that this antifeudal revolution was going to have and up to what point it would be beneficial, especially for the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie.

In particular, the manifesto proclaimed "the end of corvée," "the legal acknowledgment of individual property in the western sense of the word," "the promotion of the Bahutus to public offices (chiefs, subchiefs, judges)," as well as their eligibility for these functions.⁵ It also proclaimed the right of the Hutus to receive the same education as the Tutsis.

On the other hand, it begged the administration to resolve the problem and to do so with justice.

What did this Hutu petite bourgeoisie really want? It contented itself in practice with transforming the Hutu peasantry subjected to feudalism into small peasant owners, giving them the ownership of the land which they occupied due to their feudalized position or redistributing some feudal lands that the

³ Association for the Social Promotion of the Mass.

⁴ Party of the Bahutus Emancipation Movement.

⁵ *Rwanda Politique*, CRISP, pp. 25-56.

peasants had already begun to occupy. Moreover, it freed the peasantry from the injustices, cruelties and arbitrary actions of the feudal landlord living in the countryside. In other words, the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie made for the peasantry all the reforms that it could make within the economy of subsistence, but without giving the peasantry the right to break out of this infernal circle of the economy of subsistence.

Thus the small excess product that the peasantry will try to exchange will oblige him, just as before, to depend on a whole circuit of intermediaries who in most cases are nothing more than speculators. At the most what will be done will be to develop "cooperatives" which already existed under trusteeship and which are nothing like socialist cooperatives since they do nothing but smooth over certain superficial and all too evident injustices, substituting for them a better organized robbery.

The Federation of Christian Trade Unions (CSC)

We easily see to what extent such reforms leave all the profitable part of the market economy advantageously in the hands of private enterprises without ever opposing the structure of international capitalism. The most enlightened representatives of Western capitalism and in particular the CSC will consequently not fail to be aware of all the advantage available to it in such a situation. This trade union was ideally situated so as not to overestimate the revolutionary character of the movement that would culminate in 1959, and above all to prevent it from going too far. In fact, since the epoch of the German trusteeship the Catholic church has

been rooted in both Rwanda and Burundi. It has utilized the cultural background of the country to impose its religion, up to the point of making it into the national religion, thanks to its alliance with feudalism.

The church, along with its army of missionaries, installed an entire network of missions in the countryside. It encountered a monotheistic religion: Imamite, with an oral tradition from Genesis. This religion easily lent itself to an assimilation with Christianity, and the church took advantage of this to interpret the term "imam" to mean Christian gods, thereby permitting itself to redefine it. On the other hand, the European church rapidly realized the great popularity of a negro cleric, of a church of local color, and its usefulness in case a change of heart should lead to the expulsion of some nationality.

The church had always been the perfect ally of feudalism: the high priests were Tutsis; the European clergy openly glorified the superiority of the feudal class and the Tutsi race. The day when Hutu peasant discontent threatened to compromise the future of the church to the extent that its destiny was joined to that of the feudalists, the Christian trade union hoped to hide its former compromises with feudalism. What the Christian trade union was trying to save was not feudalism but what used to be the capitalist regime.

Up until then capitalism considered feudalism its best instrument of domination. The Christian trade union, therefore, had to force itself to convince the capitalists not to use the feudalists any more, but to look for some other social section or which to rely. The limited protest of the rural petite bourgeoisie, which never evidenced any anticapitalism, made the Christian trade union

understand quickly that what this petite bourgeoisie really wanted was, in its turn, to be the instrument of Western domination, its local bureaucracy. The fact that many members of the people's parties were Christian trade unionists facilitated this understanding on the part of the trade union. Living in symbiosis with them made it easy, through aid of every kind, to place in power its most trusted members such as Kayibanda, present President of the Republic of Rwanda and leader of PARMEHUTU.

Nevertheless, since not all the Belgians in Rwanda were prepared to make a radical change so rapidly, the Christian trade union spent the whole time going and coming between the Belgian capitalists and the Hutu petite bourgeoisie, dedicating all its efforts to convincing the former that they had to hasten to tear down alliances so that the Hutu leaders were not left behind by the people's forces, and begging the latter to conserve their forces as best they could now that victory was about to arrive. With these multiple maneuvers of conciliation, the Christian syndicate is, among the people's forces, the representative of capital that seeks to limit the losses these people's forces could cause capitalism.

As always has been the case for all movements of the *Rerum Novarum*, the Christian trade union entered into action at the same time that the most oppressed social class was preparing to radically alter society. The Christian trade union wins over the movement, pretends to adopt its demands in order to deform them more successfully or remove their revolutionary content. We saw a similar maneuver in the Congo when the Christian trade union was the first to openly proclaim independence,⁶ permitting it

self to give this word the meaning that would be most reassuring to capitalism. Thus, instead of clashing head on with the people's forces and affirming its position, the Christian trade union, like a clever opportunist, joins these forces in order to brake the movement from within its own ranks. And what makes it all the easier is that it is operating at a moment when the notion of revolution has in the people's minds a vague and confused significance, uniquely negative in that it means only "a great change" without revealing anything about the nature of this change.

The revolutionary aspect that the Christian trade union adopts permits it to live with the authentic revolutionary forces in formation, to sabotage this formation, and especially the directors of these forces that give evidence of an ability to become revolutionary leaders, and consequently harmful to capitalism. They are also able to denounce them to the capitalists, thus accelerating their "liquidation." In this way, within the bosom of the Hutu movement, the Christian trade union prevented the work of all those who tried to show that in maintaining feudalism, capitalism was doing nothing more than exercising a form of control over the masses and that, consequently, the true enemy is this capitalism. The advantage of this strategy for capitalism is that the Hutu movement in Rwanda attacked only feudalism, the agent of capitalism, and not capitalism itself. For capitalism to escape unhurt from the revolution it, therefore, need only change its tactics, abandon its former agent, feudalism, and

⁶ Other parties had already proclaimed it from underground.

accept the new candidate: the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie. It appears that the Belgian capitalists acted in this fashion, with genuine efforts, so that this feudalism represented by UNAR⁷ began to be infiltrated by a capitalism that competed with it. Only a truly revolutionary party with theoreticians of international political culture could have foreseen the conservative role that this rural petite bourgeoisie was going to play, and carried the battle forward, in the entire territory under trusteeship, so that the political leadership of the revolution would belong to the masses and not to this petite bourgeoisie.

Another element acted in favor of this petite bourgeoisie: the limited ethnic-social feeling of the PARMEHUTU, which the Christian trade union tried to redirect as much as possible toward an ethnic sentiment and even a pure and simple racism. While APROSOMA had placed the emphasis particularly on the economic factor, PARMEHUTU limited itself to defending the cause of the Hutus, an ethnic group and at the same time the oppressed class. This ethnic-social restriction permits the view that problems are resolved the moment the society is in the hands of the Hutus, thus easily masking the social differences that can be created between the Hutu petite bourgeoisie, as it converts itself into capitalism's bureaucracy, and the peasant Hutu who will then be exploited by this petite bourgeoisie.

The antifeudal revolution thus will allow the rural petite bourgeoisie to cross the line between the people's forces and capital.

The Events of 1959

Around November 1959, in various

regions of Rwanda, certain Hutu peasants threw some feudalists off their lands, burned their houses and resolutely fought against the trusteeship authorities' efforts to reinstall them; but the authorities did not insist and preferred to abandon the rural nobility rather than worsen the situation.

In order to prevent the social tension from taking a revolutionary turn, the administration had tried to convince the *mwami* (king) to pacify the Hutu peasants with some superficial reform, trying, by means of these minor concessions, to save the basic content of the feudal structure. The trusteeship authority succeeded in imposing certain reforms between 1954 and 1959. But as independence neared, the most reactionary feudal elements regrouped around the *mwami* organized an extreme rightist party, the UNAR, in August 1959, and tried to annul the concessions made to the Hutus. This new boldness on the part of UNAR appears to begin with a stimulus provided by a potential rival of Belgium which the UNAR will always be content to describe evasively as the United Nations.

In reply to the first peasant rebellions, the UNAR sent punitive expeditions throughout the country assassinating even Hutu leaders who had maintained a fundamentally reformist and moderate attitude up until that time. The UNAR, in its blind feudal reaction, overestimated the revolutionary nature of these Hutu leaders who, instead of taking the leadership of the movement and giving it a more organized and revolutionary character, were content to multiply the calls directed to the administration requesting its intervention against the UNAR.

After having tried in vain to con-

vince the feudalists to moderate their actions at least in appearance, having been violently attacked by the UNAR, and fearing the encroachment of the people's forces, the administration decided to "dump" the feudalists and quickly place in power the most moderate elements of the Hutu parties in order "to limit the damage." The typical representative of these moderate elements is surely G. Kayibanda, who because of the events of November 1959, had placed himself under the protection of Belgian troops, which certainly did not transform him into any great guerrilla.

Working with great speed, the administration insured the essential: before independence, it installed a provisional government which cooperated with it and continued representing it in fact after independence. On the other hand, since the most advanced elements of the movement had proclaimed the liquidation of feudalism "throughout the entire territory of Rwanda-Burundi," and in Burundi the tension between the peasants and the feudalists had reached such an explosive point that the peasant rebellions had succeeded in taking the North of Burundi, the administration decided to divide the territory into two independent countries: the Republic of Rwanda, governed by the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie which had become the local administration for Belgian capitalism; and the Kingdom of Burundi, maintaining the feudal apparatus intact. Both territories achieved independence in July of 1962.

Present-Day Rwanda

Rwanda, situated exactly in the middle of Africa, has no access to the sea and is choked off, surrounded as it is by various countries

which are for the most part bastions of US imperialism, such as Burundi and the Congo. Within the narrow limits of its national territory, it has no way of escaping any kind of imperialist pressure. It thus depends totally on foreign capitalism and its wishes.

From the international point of view, it is always aligned with openly reactionary positions, thus seeming to be less progressive than its feudal neighbor, which has been allowed (with the permission of the United States) to vote in favor of the admission of China to the United Nations.

From the internal point of view, Rwanda is more advanced than Burundi, which still has not had its antifeudal revolution, but on the contrary, has converted the youngest members of the Tutsi nobility into a military oligarchy, sometimes disguised behind a civil facade by the participation of a few functionaries or ministers.

The Question of the *inyenzi*⁸

The moderate and tearful attitude of the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie in power in Rwanda is also explicable by the terror that Rwanda feels when faced with the idea of returning to feudalism. This terror is exacerbated because the regime in power has been obliged to reincorporate numerous intermediary groups belonging to feudal troops that joined the antifeudal cause at the final hour, and because the regime has in the countryside Tutsi peasant elements that the former regime had favored and was utilizing to control the poor peasants who are more or less serfs. Their late conversion made the new re-

⁸ Cockroach: nickname given the Rwandan counterrevolutionaries.

gime suspect the peasantry, viewing them as clandestine members of the UNAR, and many of them indeed were. The feudal return appeared even more real in the eyes of the peasants because the UNAR leaders united outside the country and organized the Tutsi refugees with an eye to an armed return to the country and the reinstallation of a feudal apparatus either under a monarchy or a republic. Among these leaders were the feudalists well known among the Rwanda peasantry for their cruelty and active participation in the massacres of Hutus in November 1959. For this reason the UNAR inspired only fear and hatred among the peasants. It actually achieved nothing beyond a negative and paralyzing effect, since a systematic propaganda organized by the missions, the Christians trade unions and the moderate Hutus tried to make all those who offered any criticisms of the regime — including the Hutus who blamed the regime for its lack of firmness in relation to foreign capital and its lack of solidarity with the Hutu peasants of Burundi — appear as collaborators of the feudalists.

The peasants' hatred for the UNAR is evidenced in the violent form in which the Hutu peasants reacted to the frontier incursions of the UNAR in 1964. When the Unarists arrived — and given the lack of sufficient government forces, whose reinforcements arrived after the action — the peasants defended themselves. After the feudalist retreat, the peasants, irritated by the attack and the losses they had just suffered, went into the nearby hills to look for everyone they suspected of collaboration with the UNAR and killed them.

This summary justice inevitably

provoked abuses and useless cruelties, but it illustrates, on the one hand, the extreme mobilization of the peasantry and, on the other hand, the total absence of a revolutionary party capable of organizing the mobilization and replacing its anarchistic character.

As far as the true significance of these incursions is concerned, we are too accustomed to Mobutu's literature to believe in the explanations of the UNAR which try to pass off these feudal razzias⁹ as guerrilla warfare and these internal complications as popular support.

The action of the UNAR can better be recorded within the framework of international capitalism and its internal contradictions. In effect, the intensive work that the CIA has carried out within the UNAR over the past several years, and possibly since its foundation, makes us believe that it serves as a means of pressure on the part of US imperialism against Belgian neocolonialism, which still has strong roots in Rwanda, where we find affiliates of the Société Générale, for example. This is not the case in Burundi, where the Belgian companies belong rather to financial groups such as Empain and Lambert, the latter known for its ability to live on good terms with the US financial world.

Present-Day Burundi

In the colonial epoch, Burundi, along with the Congo and Rwanda, was the extension of Belgian national capitalism which installed its own Belgian bureaucracy there. In Burundi and Rwanda, the Belgian administration used the Tutsi feudalists, in a Belgian technique, as

⁹ UNAR, up until the present, has undertaken to carry out assassinations, burnings and robberies by night, immediately seizing the spoils.

the repressive apparatus to contain the masses. This scarcely advanced form of capitalism unfolds toward a stage of greater concentration which is international capitalism, whose most aggressive representative is the United States, here allied with certain Belgian financial groups which have been incorporated into it. We saw that when the old feudal society was already in agony and the people's consciousness was increasing, capitalism was obliged, in order to maintain itself, to remodel its tactics of repression.

The antifeudal victory in Rwanda awakened the Burundi peasantry, which impatiently awaited the liquidation of its own feudalists and, unhappily, saw how its first efforts were neatly paralyzed by the trusteeship administration which divided the territory into two countries. Burundi differs from Rwanda in that it has a small port city: Bujumbura. One part of the rural exodus of course went to Bujumbura rather than to the Congo, but this usually achieved nothing more than a growth of the ranks of the "lumpen-proletariat." Bujumbura is above all a commercial center. Its industries are for the most part artisan. Moreover there is no true proletariat. There is an embryonic working class which is for the most part dispersed among different activities and which we can divide generally into two categories: on the one hand a working aristocracy of Tutsi origin, with some qualifications and a relative stability, joined in a trade union: the Federation of Workers of Burundi, or FTB, led by feudal Tutsis,¹⁰ and for this reason complete followers of feudalism and, today, of its militarist arm.

The second category of workers is composed of an unstable, semi-

proletariat work force of rural origin, in search of part-time work in the city which leaves its family behind to do the agricultural work in the countryside. This work force seldom joins a trade union and when it does so it is the Christian trade union, as a reaction against the feudalist and frequently racist attitude of the FTB. This causes it to join a trade union as a peasant and not as a member of the proletariat. After the military coup of October 1965, the Christian trade unionists (Hutus) were jailed and some executed. Only the sell-out FTB of the UPRONA¹¹ party and the state was left and later became the UTB (Union of Workers of Burundi), the only trade union of the only party.

If it is true that this semiproletariat did not cause a development of consciousness in the city, on the other hand, it introduced a factor of dynamism and politicalization in the countryside, a very positive thing in the case of a people's guerrilla war. While in Rwanda the factor of politicalization was essentially the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie, here we also see an embryonic social sector strongly integrated with the peasantry and with an objective anticapitalist potential that the rural Hutu petite bourgeoisie lacks.

Today in Burundi, capitalism uses a bureaucratic social sector being developed within the feudal class, and the UPRONA, the JR¹² and the UNEBA¹³, are its expression. This social sector, technically more qualified than its feudal predecessors and moreover frustrated

¹⁰ President A. Ntagara.

¹¹ Unity for National Progress.

¹² Rwagasore Youth.

¹³ National Union of Burundi Students, in fact in the hands of Tutsi students.

by not being able to use its qualifications due to the presence of Belgian technicians, is a useful instrument for international capitalism to change from the old Belgian neocolonialism, its former ally whom it has now left behind.

Unable to contain by itself all the hungry peoples of the world, the United States integrated Europe into its worldwide strategy in order to decentralize the work. Seen in this perspective, the Belgians, always deeply involved in Central Africa, performed a work of applied gendarmerie.

At the moment when capitalism saw itself menaced by a constantly more aware peasantry and one preparing to rebel, the CIA, in October 1965, entered into action, with its technical assistance on the side of Belgian capitalism; of the old feudalism and the bureaucratic militarism that developed from it, and unleashed against the people's forces an action of preventive repression supposedly to protect the endangered monarchy, killing hundreds of Hutu leaders and thousands of peasants rebelling against the provocative attitude of the feudalists and militarists.

With the peasantry smashed, international capitalism sets in motion the process of revamping its repressive apparatus, militarizing feudalism in two stages: first deposing the king to enthrone his son in order to finally install in power the military apparatus that had organized the massacre. Thus it succeeded in forming a military republic directed by the most reactionary feudal elements.

The fact that a few corrupt or terrorized Hutus are named ministers in order to deceive the peasantry does not in any way change

this fundamental fact. It was equally careful to remove Colonel Verwayen from the leadership of the army for having been a bit too much in view during the repression of October 1965, and thus give Burundi a more national aspect.

This repressive apparatus, imperialism's preferred form of operation, has all the advantage of making the presence of capitalism at once invisible and omnipresent, of making it more deeply rooted in the country and at the same time allowing certain charlatans in power to compensate for their reactionary activities with a democratic jargon full of flowery statements and dramatic scenes worthy of the theater.

There is no doubt that neither Burundi nor Rwanda are on stage today, as is the Congo or any other African country where capitalist competition sometimes allows some information to filter through. On the contrary, here the blackout is complete.

It is evident that world capitalism cannot tolerate any country making a revolution that can serve as a focal point for neighboring countries or encourage the fight against imperialism. This single fact is enough to justify preventive repression on capitalism's part.

Moreover, Burundi has the sad privilege of being able to act as a strategic central coordination point for blotting out any attempt at liberation in Africa. The improvement of the base and airport of Bujumbura will transform it into tomorrow's fortified strategic point, from which it will be possible to make rapid antiguerrilla interventions. The first foreigners implicated in this strategy are clearly the Congolese people. Whatever liberation attempt they make is directly menaced by the existence of a repressive base outside their bound-

daries. With this perspective, international capitalism demands that its security in Burundi be total. For this reason the country is regularly subjected to a total political clean-out.

For greater efficiency, Burundi, the Congo and Rwanda signed a military pact in 1966 for mutual aid in the repression of any "rebellion" and for exchange of "rebels."

Since the fascist military coup of 1966, Burundi has lived under a terroristic and arbitrary regime even more cruel than the feudal regime that preceded it. To prevent popular discontent from finding developed spokesmen, the regime takes care to punish severely any contact with the masses.

The Hutus (90% of the population) live persecuted by a Tutsi military caste. No Hutu with the slightest development, even post-primary, who lives in Bujumbura, where it is possible for him to acquire some knowledge of politics, has the right to leave the city without authorization. If he is seen in the rural area, he is automatically denounced, sent to the police and interrogated about his political activity. It is very possible that he will not be released. Any Tutsi active in the Rwagasore Youth — fascist youth in the service of the regime as a parallel police — has the right to arrest anyone he pleases. These agents of the regime enter private houses and listen to conversations without the people having the right to throw them out. In public places they act in the same way in order to overhear conversations.

Since 1965, arbitrary detentions have not stopped sowing terror in the countryside and have filled the provincial prisons.

On the other hand, a subtle policy is applied toward the Hutu elite. In fact, to prevent them from

organizing an opposition abroad and to draw back all the Hutu intellectuals that finish their studies outside the country, they have given a false impression of calm, allowing these intellectuals to occupy certain posts where, on the other hand, they can do nothing. The Hutus, pacified by this apparent four-year calm, have returned to the country. At the end of mid-September 1969, a wave of arrests strikes them, irrespective of the position they occupy.

Ministers and functionaries suffer the unfortunate luck of the iniquitous Burundi prisons. The arrests are clearly made clandestinely, as they were in 1965, and preferably at night. Everyone who denounces an arrest he has witnessed is given the same treatment.

The international importance of the operation is vouched for by the intervention of Congolese paratroopers to maintain order. These are designed to guarantee the protection of the military personalities of the regime. One can thus measure the effectiveness of the friendship between Mobutu and Micombero, the seriousness of the military pact which merits only a few lines in the press.

The position in this affair of the President of Rwanda, Kayibanda, is very delicate. In fact it is worthwhile noting that Rwanda made an antifeudal revolution against the Tutsi oligarchy and it is consequently delicate, if not politically dangerous, for her to openly play a policy of collaboration with Burundi. Rwanda cannot run the risk of sending a Hutu army to Burundi, which might be taken as a bad move and reach the point of creating a mutiny. And since Rwanda does many favors for

Belgium, not much is demanded of her. Even discontent at the diplomatic level is tolerated. Nevertheless this does not mean that the Hutus persecuted in Burundi will find security if they flee to Rwanda. Let us not forget that one condition of the military pact is concerned with the return of rebels, and that this can be done with much more discretion.

Beryllium

Officially Burundi represents nothing in the economic field and is not a strategic point. Coffee is its basic export product. Nevertheless Burundi, and in part Rwanda, participate in 6% of the world production of beryllium. On the other hand, discrete prospecting will have noted the discovery of zones rich in beryllium and easily mined, thus placing Burundi among the most important producers of the world.

Beryllium is a mineral of many uses, and therefore will never lose its importance. It is particularly significant that it is included among the important elements of the United States' strategic reserves.

This assures Burundi a very tragic political future.

Conclusion:

Revolutionary Perspectives

The situation of Burundi and Rwanda shows how a revolution cannot be victorious if it does not liquidate all the social sectors that are objectively the allies of international capitalism, whatever their grade of concentration may be. While just one of these sectors exists, the permanent risk will continue of opposition to the first popular gains, of the aggravation of economic underdevelopment and

above all of an advantageous period for capitalism to consolidate its positions in detriment to the people. Rwanda's precarious economic situation indicates the no-exit passageway in which the regime that has not attacked the capitalist economic system winds up.

In order to attack correctly and consistently the international capitalism to which they have been submitted, Burundi-Rwanda must overcome the narrow limits of their national territory. A revolutionary movement that wishes to be effective must, as a minimum, unite the population of Burundi and Rwanda, although this seems to us to be insufficient. In fact, Burundi, the Congo and Rwanda constitute one sole economic and political zone for certain large capitalist dynasties.

Burundi and Rwanda serve as the strategic base for the West and their political life is therefore intimately tied to that of the Congo. The bloody repression of October 1965 and that which is about to take place today demonstrate that imperialism will not allow these countries any popular progress. The organization of a military agreement for repressive reasons proves that no people's power will achieve peace while any form of imperialism exists in the Congo. And the revolutionary forces will quickly understand the need for paralyzing the imperialist forces in Burundi and Rwanda.

Faced with the coordination of imperialist forces, the revolutionary forces will necessarily be forced to respond with the coordination of theirs in this zone of Central Africa so coveted by imperialism.

Burundi and Rwanda, undoubtedly more than any other African country, will owe their salvation to the spirit of continentalization of the revolution.

Social-Democracy and Imperialism

Gunnar Persson

In 1917, in his "Thesis of April," Lenin proposed the adoption of the name Communist Party for the Bolsheviks of the Russian Social-Democratic Party. The reasons for his decision have remained from that date to the present. Narrow nationalism, compromises with the bourgeoisie, terror in the face of the real seizure of power by the proletariat have made European social-democracy a loyal instrument of its national bourgeoisies and of North American imperialism.

The faint-hearted practices of socialism that the social-democrats have carried out in their respective countries have served, ultimately, to bolster the bourgeoisie itself, to sustain Yankee imperialism internationally, and postpone forever the real liberation of the Third World by alienating the proletariat from its true destiny.

Swedish author Gunnar Persson, detailed analyst of these questions, discusses this devious road for us in a careful essay written exclusively for our publication.

THE PERIOD after 1945 is not actually the decisive one with respect to relations between social-democracy and counterrevolution, but the process best characterized by revisionism and reformism in the workers' movement reaches its logical culmination after 1945.

The acceptance of imperialism (colonialism) comes about gradually but always as a reflection of the well-known adaptation to "real-

ities." This adaptation to existing power relations in capitalist societies — whose reformist potential could be used more and more by social-democracy — was manifested for the first time in a reformist national policy. The relationship between national reformism — practically counterrevolutionary in some cases — and the attacks against an anti-imperialist and anticolonialist

policy appear constantly. In the German Social-Democratic Party (GSDP), which before the First World War was outstanding in its theoretical and organizational aspects, this relationship is personified in Gustav Nosske, who at the beginning of the century fulfilled an important function by contributing to weakening the traditional anticolonialist policy of the GSDP.¹ When, on August 4, 1914, the parliamentary group of the GSDP voted for the war concessions, German social-democracy took part in an imperialist war. The truce was the next step in the process of integration of the GSDP. When the First World War ended in 1918, Gustav Nosske declared himself in favor of a German empire and maybe even for its expansion. Social-democracy could later agree with the other parties on the question of the German empire continuing to be German under the command of NF. On the national level it was chiefly Nosske in the social-democratic government who, with the aid of reactionary officials of the free corps, smashed the November revolution in Germany with a conscious white terror.²

The step to class collaboration with the counterrevolution is not a big one, and the degeneration of the GSDP was the degeneration of the Second International.

But for a party like the Swedish, which was not mixed up in the First World War, the definitive moment came very soon although circumstances allowed a period of several years. Confronted with the Finnish civil war at the end of 1918, the Swedish working class spontaneously took the side of the reds, while for all practical purposes the majority of the social-democratic ministers in the coalition government

supported the whites. Erik Palmstierna, Minister of the Navy, member of the Social-Democratic Party and later Minister of Foreign Relations in what was properly the first social-democratic government, wrote in his diary at the time the government faced the demands of the whites:

The Commission held a new prolonged session. Nothing can be sent from the crown's resources. For us it is impossible to take part because the development of the situation has followed clear lines of class struggle. With the executive committee of the party, the workers and the small farmers on one side and, on the other, the forces of order — which in spite of everything count on our sympathy — led by the Swedish ruling class. [. . .] Herman Lindqvist, who presided over the session, got as red as a rooster when I presented a proposal of aid in arms to the whites: "How can you think of killing Finnish workers?" he exclaimed. Br³ [Hjalmar Branting, author's note], for his part, emphatically maintains that if he has to decide between the workers' movement and democracy he must choose the latter. He clearly proclaims this to the executive committee of his party. Branting wants to send arms. He maintains that "the red wave will splash on us and, if possible, it must be headed off in Finland." [My emphasis.]

The pressure of the Swedish working class reduced the government's possibilities for maneuvering. The aid they gave to the whites was given without the knowledge of public opinion. Among other things, the fact that arms were transported to the whites with the escort of the Swedish Navy.

The behavior of social-democracy before and after the First World

War, which was repeated in the false "nonintervention policy" that led to the downfall of the Spanish Republic, demonstrates that, in the presence of a revolutionary situation, social-democracy opts for the bourgeois approach and the counter-revolution. This is perhaps the most important historic experience for an understanding of social-democracy's actions in the period of North American imperialism after 1945.

Social-Democracy at

the End of the Second World War

The social-democratic parties came out of the Second World War with different experiences. The GSDP had been destroyed by the regime that it itself had contributed to raising to power.⁵ Some, like the Norwegian DNA, had been exiled; others, like the Swedish SPA and the British Labour Party, had participated in coalition governments.

The Danish party had continued its parliamentary life under Nazi sovereignty and the French SFIO party had dissolved from within. A French delegate declared in May 1946, at the Congress of the social-democratic parties in Clacton, England:

At the time of the armistice, French socialism collapsed. The majority voted for Pétain⁶ and left Parliament and Comrades in isolation. At our first postwar congress, 82 deputies were excluded, which included men with long socialist records, whose only crime consisted in voting for Pétain. We are very short of men today but we think this purge was necessary, though many were our personal friends.

The major portion of the social-democratic parties had one thing in common: they were incapable of understanding theoretically the significance of the situation into which they had fallen after the Second World War, as a massive North

American offensive in economic, ideological and political sectors.

The situation presented to the parties of Western Europe was, in many aspects, analogous:

a) In the majority of countries, the communists had, on occasion, advanced their positions at the expense of social-democracy; this happened in France, Belgium and Norway. The prestige of the Soviet Union was greater than ever due to its importance in the anti-fascist struggle, which also contributed to giving a major importance to the national communist parties.

b) After years of great sacrifices — the crisis of the thirties and the world war — the hopes of the working class were great. The struggle against Nazism had signified the radicalization of the working class.

c) Immediately after the war, the majority of the countries encountered enormous economic difficulties, especially with respect to the balance of payments, placing clear limits on the traditional reformist policy of social-democracy which demanded, for its success, favorable opportunities or at least an absence of serious economic interference.

Conventional social-democratic policy toward the communists was to fight them. After the war, social-democracy did not have the force to do so on the continent and even less, logically, in the regions that had been liberated from Nazi occupation by the Red Army. In Belgium, Finland and France, the social-democrats had to resign themselves to ruling with the communists; in Italy they proclaimed a front of action with the Communist Party of Italy; in Norway, serious discussions took place con-

cerning collaboration between the Norwegian Communist Party and the Norwegian Social-Democratic Party; and in Eastern Europe, close collaboration between the social-democratic and the communist parties was begun, leading to the incorporation of the social-democrats into the communist parties.

In a completely different manner from the social-democrats, many of whose parties had compromised themselves seriously before and after the war, the communists appeared as the bearers of the new social order which was going to replace the capitalist system, which in such a short time had caused two world wars. Social-democracy faced an increasingly radical opinion with certain rhetorical statements, but at the same time the social-democrats feared that the communists would be successful, now that the latter were threatening to break with their support of the former in the working class. The discussions that took place in the first social-democratic conferences reflect this fear. When, in the Congress of Antwerp at the end of 1947, Lelio Basso expressed the point of view of the Italian Socialist Party by saying that the natural allies of the social-democrats are the communists, he met with violent resistance and indignation from the social-democrats of the extreme left such as Labour's Harold Laski. It was not until 1947 — when the communists had to leave the government in France and Italy because of pressure from the United States — that social-democracy understood that it had an ally in the trade union movement and the North American state against a common enemy. During a visit to Washington, the French socialist leader Léon Blum declared: "Numerous North Amer-

ican diplomats with whom I talked are certain that socialism can become the major bulwark against communism in Europe."²

German social-democracy put its hands to the work with great determination but without obtaining immediately the respect it sought from the occupying power: "From the spring of 1946 social-democracy was, for the western occupying powers and for the leaders of the new parties, something like an anticommunist infantry in the political struggle, which fought loyally and valiantly but achieved no political recognition for itself."³

Social-democracy's need for an alliance against the communists was naturally stronger on the European continent with strong communist parties and weak social-democratic parties, and it increased when the communists left the government. While they remained in power, they could be considered hostages for peace in work, but outside the government they could use all their political leverage.

Nevertheless it was the very dilemma of reformism that caused social-democracy in Western Europe to fall definitively into the hands of the United States. Strikes caused by promises that were not kept, the postwar economic chaos, difficulties in payments, etc., were not conditions suitable for a reformist policy. In this situation the United States was the guarantor of reformism with its war loans, Marshall Plan and everything that the North American offensive consolidated in all fields. The motive shared by all the social-democratic parties of Western Europe with the exception of the Italian was expressed by Labour in a memorandum to the conference that organized the parties under the Marshall Plan in 1948: "Europe cannot restore her war-damaged economic system by democratic means

without further substantial aid from America."⁹

The North American Offensive and Social-Democracy

The economic system that the United States intended to restore was not just any economic system but an international capitalist system.

The speech made by Marshall on June 5, 1947, laying out the general lines for a great economic aid program, was formulated in general terms and a neutral form, but per force, the most notable politicians must have understood how previous North American loans had been utilized to favor specifically North American interests. One need not be endowed with special analytic talent since pure common sense established the parallel between the Truman Doctrine, proclaimed a few months earlier, and Marshall's speech. Some social-democrats naturally voiced these unorthodox thoughts. G.D.H. Cole, the British historian, comments on previous dollar loans to England as follows:

But how high the price was most people are only now beginning to understand [this was published in April 1947]. The very existence of the loan has enabled the Americans to impose on us obligations which we should otherwise have been forced to reject, because they would have been altogether beyond our immediate power.... Rejection of the loan, had it been possible, would have forced us at once to restrict our military and imperial commitments and to come to terms with the Soviet Union.¹⁰

And the unstable voice of British Labour's left *New Statesman* points out in an article shortly before General Marshall made his famous speech — which nevertheless deceived the publication — the follow-

ing:

Mr. Marshall therefore intends to continue and extend the Truman counteroffensive against communism. There are already reports that the State Department considers — in the interest of "stable conditions" in Indonesia¹¹ — that Holland (not Indonesia) might be a suitable recipient for a dollar loan; the needs of Britain, France and Italy for financial assistance from abroad are being actively canvassed in Washington; and everything points to the assumption by Mr. Marshall of command in an American campaign to build up on the widest possible basis, a bloc of states half vassals, half allies pledged to resist communism and to support the American conception of Big Business democracy.¹²

Formally, the Marshall Plan was also directed to the Soviet Union but the integration of Europe based on classic liberalism dictated by the Marshall Plan was naturally unacceptable to a socialist country. In reality, the antisocialist finality of the Marshall Plan was well understood at the time. Harry Truman, President of the United States, writes in his memoirs apropos of the presentation of the Marshall Plan: "Marshall and I were in perfect agreement. It was my feeling that, beyond economic considerations, the idea of cooperation would stimulate new hope and confidence among the nations of Europe and thus provide a realistic argument against communist's counsel of despair."¹³

But those who flaunted power in the United States expressed themselves more openly all the time. When the Marshall Plan was concretized into the European Recovery Program (ERP), it became a part of the cold war coalition.¹⁴

According to the white book of the United States Secretary of State, the ERP must resolve the economic chaos by: "The increase of population and the decrease of resources available and above all the current dislocation of economic life caused by organized political unrest, particularly by militant communist minorities." (My emphasis.)

Thus was specified the exterior and interior enemy of the United States, of social-democracy, of peace, of work and of capital.

The Marshall Plan was enthusiastically welcomed by the governments of Western Europe, the majority of which in that period were social-democratic or were supported by social-democratic elements. The fact that the ERP would consolidate the economic system which, according to its program, was its enemy appears to have less importance than the work of some years of reform within the framework of the capitalist system. Moreover, North American aid permitted the social-democrats of England, France and Holland to follow an imperialist policy and to give the North American economy the necessary stimulus. Consequently, it cannot be said that the social-democratic political leaders had been tricked into accepting the Marshall Plan. This also holds for the GSDP:

The Party did not even make a critical evaluation of the Marshall Plan, although it was ever more evident that the power of the North American occupation "was based in the old forces" and the key responsibility for economic decisions was in the hands of the representatives of von Schumacher, of the heretical **Restkapitalismus** [residual capitalism] and that North American aid would consequently result in the

strengthening of German capital and its politics as well.¹⁴

The Scandinavian governments said they would accept only the economic part of the Marshall Plan. But it is not possible to separate the economic consequences of the plan from the political ones. The plan implied not only a freezing of economic-political alternatives with which social-democracy was experimenting in its programs (this freezing coincided with the bourgeois attacks on the radicalism of post-war social-democracy) but also a detailed adjustment of certain economic activities, especially with respect to trade. In the organization created to administer Marshall Aid — Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) — discussions were introduced at the end of 1948, on US initiative, that were transformed into a commercial war against the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China. The deliberations were immediately transferred to a more limited group, the CG-COCOM, which made up lists of products and articles that the countries of Western Europe were not permitted to export to the socialist states.¹⁶ Dag Hammarskjöld participated for Sweden in the decisive negotiations.¹⁷ Parallel to the economic-military coalition and the isolation of the Soviet Union, the United States State Department, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) tried to create points of support within the European workers' movement, especially in countries with a strong communist movement. When the right wing of the Italian Socialist Party left the Party in protest against the action front it had formed with the Italian Communist Party, it founded a reformist and anticommunist party. The AFL provided the economic guarantee.¹⁸

In the split of the General Federation of Workers (CGT) of France,

in 1947, Jay Lovestone of the AFL and David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union played important roles. Later it would be seen how both served as links between the CIA and the trade union movement of the United States.¹⁹ Thomas W. Braden, who had formed part of the leadership of the CIA, says, according to *The New York Times*:

When Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown had no more money, Mr. Braden says, they came to the CIA with analogous projects they had in perspective for Italy and other Western European countries. The first subsidies were paid at the end of the forties by the information agencies, says Mr. Braden, and he personally made some of these payments when he joined the CIA in 1950.²⁰

Braden also revealed that certain French and Italian social-democratic trade unions received from the CIA approximately \$2 000 000 a year. The interests of the State Department coincided with those of the anti-communist trade union leaders in the United States. As in many other cases involving this type of investment in the European workers' movement, investments were repeated in the years of the fifties with one of the Finnish trade union movements. For the divisionist groups of social-democracy, North American support was a condition for their anticommunist struggle.

As a result of the North American efforts to win over the European workers' movement, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) was created in 1949. There again, Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown played a central role, persuading the European social-democratic trade unions to abandon the World Federation of Trade Unions. The FFI (ICFTU) devoted itself chiefly to anticommunist prop-

aganda and the education of members of procapitalist trade unions. After it was learned, in 1967, that the FFI received CIA support, it was no longer useful in achieving its original objectives, and consequently the AFL-CIO abandoned this organization,²¹ whose economic situation is now difficult.

Thus, as the Marshall Plan cannot be considered separately from the Truman Doctrine, the formation of the Atlantic Pact in 1949 was the logical evolution of the Marshall Plan. The social-democratic political leaders became members of NATO without evidencing the slightest disgust, and played an important role in the formation of this organization. Among the principals were Ernest Bevin and Henri Spaak, British and Belgian Foreign Relations ministers.²²

Bevin's role was judged by his co-partner Denis Healey, as follows:

It was Ernest Bevin who, with foresight and patience started the closer collaboration of the European countries. He laid the basis for this collaboration through the Treaty of Dunkirk and Brussels Pact. It was he who, in 1948, took steps towards merging Western European union into the larger Atlantic community.²³

Nevertheless, NATO adherence did not occur totally without resistance on the part of the broader segments of party membership.

The form in which Norway first decided to join is instructive not only because of the authoritarian manner in which the party leadership acted, but also for the form in which anticommunist propaganda was used to achieve this objective. The decision was taken in the ordinary assembly of the party in 1949, but the majority of the delegates present were unaware that this

affair was going to be discussed since it did not even appear on the order of the day circulated according to the statutes. The congress had been preceded by certain negotiations among the Scandinavian governments to discuss a defensive Nordic alliance, negotiations which failed thanks to the resistance with which the Norwegian Foreign Minister opposed them. The party leadership put into play all its prestige to determine the adherence of Norway to a Western military alliance, even using blackmail to achieve its ends. For example, to justify the joining, it spread false rumors concerning an alleged Russian attack on the north of Norway.

Said congress is also characteristic in other ways of the manner in which two different themes were mixed. Outside the Atlantic Pact, they discussed the struggle against communists within the national framework, and this on the eve of parliamentary elections.²¹

Support for Marshall aid, the OEEC, the economic struggle against the socialist states and finally NATO always came accompanied by purges in the member parties of COMISCO²² that hadn't learned to recite from memory the anticommunist lesson. First it was the turn of the parties of Eastern Europe and then came the Italian party for its collaboration with the Italian Communist Party.²³ Within the social-democratic parties there occurred a process of rightist madness.

Compared, however, with the discussion of the Second International during the period between the two wars, those of COMISCO were on a notoriously low level. The only thing that can be said is that they served as a barometer to measure the intensity of the anticommunist crusade. North American historio-

graphy and idiom were accepted without reservations.

It is true that, by attempting to exploit Greek difficulties to the advantage of its policy in the Balkans, the Cominform is largely responsible for the present state of affairs in Greece [sections of the resolution of the Bearn conference of May 14-16, 1950].

The anxiety created by Cominform policies constitutes the greatest single danger to world peace. The security of the non-communist world is also endangered by the existence of fifth columns which are entirely subjugated to the Cominform [sections of the resolution "Socialism and Peace" of the Copenhagen conference of June 1-3, 1950].

The Kremlin seeks to expand this empire until it covers the whole surface of the world. [...] At the present moment the danger of a new world stems almost entirely from the policy of the Soviet Union. [...] Stalinist agents are trying to wreck the workers' standard of living all over the world for the chosen weapons of communist expansion are fear, hunger, and despair. [...] Marshall aid and the Point Four Program are practical socialism on an international scale [sections of Morgan Phillips' speech on "Socialism and Peace" at the Copenhagen conference. Phillips was president of COMISCO and Secretary of Labour].

Cooperation in all economic questions with the US is a condition today for achieving better living standards. Politically, we must also work with the US in order to build an international society. [...] The socialists must oppose the idea of a neutral Europe. Indeed, this means the first step in surrendering to totalitarianism. [...] The communist peace prop-

aganda is an effort to weaken the democracies [from the speech by Finn Moe, DNA, at the Denmark conference].

In this spirit COMISCO and the International formed from COMISCO in 1951 continued during all the years of the fifties and up to the beginning of the sixties. The SI abstained with special care from every revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle — except in its government position when social-democracy played the role of oppressor.

Social-Democracy and Counterrevolution

In almost all the international conflicts that have shaken the capitalist world since the war, social-democracy has always adopted the line of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. To give some examples, it is worth citing the case of Labour and the Greek civil war, Labour and Rhodesia, Labour and the liberation movement of Malaya, the Partij van of Arbeid in Indonesia, the SFIO and Viet Nam and finally the attitude of the Belgian social-democrats toward the Congo.

British Labour governed during the Second World War along with the Conservatives and it was Churchill, the Prime Minister, who gave character to its policy. The coalition helped create confidence in the bourgeois state and in the functioning of the imperialist economy. Above all it contributed to clarifying to what point the limits of a reformist policy extended in a capitalist society. Ralph Miliband writes in his study on Labour:

Most of the major figures of the postwar Labour Government (Aneurin Bevan was the only important exception) held high office in the Churchill coalition. For five years they were deeply immersed in the business of gov-

ernment, and they acquired in those years an even more "responsible" view of affairs than they had in opposition. And they also forged in those years close and personal links with Conservative colleagues, with high civil servants and high-ranking officers, collaboration with whom was also much more conducive to caution than to radicalism.²⁷

The efforts of Labour were concentrated on modernizing the capitalist economy which in many aspects was practically in ruins, in making it more competent. Harold Wilson, Minister of Trade in that period, in April 1949 outlines the problems in Parliament, addressing himself to a Conservative deputy in the following terms:

Private enterprise has produced on a vastly greater scale under this socialist government than it ever did when we had a Tory government. Of course the production and export achievement of 1948 and 1949 are tribute to private enterprise....

Sir William Darling: It is the view of the Rt. Hon. gentleman that the more socialism there is in this country, the more successful private enterprise will be?

Wilson: On the limited experience of the last few years that is certainly so.²⁸

With respect to Labour's foreign policy in the government which succeeded the coalition in 1945, it can be said that it responded to the confidence that the upper classes placed in it. Ernest Bevin continued Churchill's cold war and identified himself to such an extent with England's traditional foreign policy that Anthony Eden, ex-Minister of Foreign Relations (and later Prime Minister during the attack on Suez in 1956) wrote in his memoirs:

Though my handling of some events would have been different from his [that is to say, Bevin] I was in agreement with the aims of his foreign policy and with most of what he did, and we met quite frequently. He would invite me to his room in the House of Commons where we discussed events informally.

Bevin was not an exceptional case and he had the total confidence of the government.²⁹ Eden's observations are not very original, all the initiated critics shared them. From within the ranks of Labour the complacency with the imperial policy of the conservatives was criticized. After listing the errors of the government, Rita Hinden comments:

Worse than all this, in the opinion of their friends [that is to say, the government] is perhaps not having broken clearly with the past. Nothing could be more dismaying than the budget speech of the Colonial Secretary of several weeks ago. In effect, George Hall has as much as eulogized his predecessor and informed the Chamber which of the plans on which he had worked were prepared by the previous government.³⁰

The continuity of the imperialist and counterrevolutionary policy of Great Britain is not surprising if one considers that the conditions of foreign policy were the same in England as in the rest of Europe, under a Conservative regime and under another social-democracy — that is to say, a public bourgeois power and a capitalist economy in its imperialist phase. Neither the state nor imperialism is shattered by rhetoric and social-democratic reformism, independently of the "humanism" and "international sol-

idity" which form a part of them.

Greece:

The Unfinished Revolution

When Greece was occupied by Nazi Germany during the Second World War, the ELAS was created, a resistance movement rooted in the masses which was the fighting arm of the EAM. The Nazi occupation, among other things, was supported by the military and police forces that had been created under the military dictatorship that preceded it.

The dictator John Metaxas, whom King George II placed in power, died before the German invasion, but the monarchical administration collaborated with the Germans. Consequently, the resistance struggle, more than a struggle against the Germans, became a struggle against the ruling class in Greece. At the beginning ELAS obtained the support of the Allies, which ended in 1943 when they began to support a dissident group without any military importance.

Churchill's policy was to insure western influence in Greece, blocking by every measure the Greek left concentrated in EAM and which, moreover, had an effective military organization.³¹ His long-range strategy was to support the old ruling class and reinstall the monarchy which the people repudiated in general. This policy was made known when the English began to discharge and jail republican officers of the exiled Greek army that had fought in the Middle East on the Allied side. After ending the German occupation in 1944, the English coalition government sent a military force to reinforce the demands of the ruling class. At the same time the ELAS forces were being disarmed, the security forces that Metaxas had created, and which served as a fifth column

during the German occupation, continued functioning by the express order of the English.³² The English promised to reorganize the police and remove the collaborationists, but the only ones dismissed were the EAM partisans.³³ The EAM demand that all collaborators be punished was not satisfied. On the contrary, the hunting party against the leftists was intensified. While leftists were jailed in concentration camps or fled to the mountains, Bevin continued working with the policy that Churchill had mapped out for Greece. The governments named by the English fell one after the other; all of them had in common being pro-British and anti-communist. Against the will of all the organized groups — apart from the reactionary monarchists — elections were held in the spring of 1946 following Bevin's express urging. Since there were no guarantees that the elections would be carried out in a correct form, they were boycotted by all the parties except those of the right. White terror harvested its victims: from the end of 1944, when the struggle between the right and the left intensified, to the elections of March 1946, 85 000 persons were arrested. Aided by election frauds, the monarchists and the right naturally won the elections and felt strong enough to take the ultimate step in Greek reconstruction: reinstate the monarchy. The counterrevolutionary situation that the Labour government contributed to accentuating placed Great Britain in such severe economic difficulties that she could not face them. Before the growing popular uprising against the Greek sovereigns and their English allies, the Attlee government called on the Truman Administration to complete the "aid" to Greece. This is the reason for the so-called Truman Doctrine, ac-

ording to which the United States assumes the role of world policeman — that is, the right to intervene in the internal affairs of other states to protect them against "subjection by armed minorities of foreign pressure"; in other words: what for Truman and North American imperialism is a revolutionary situation.

Thus the motivation for the policy of United States intervention following the Second World War (that is, the Truman Doctrine) was nothing more than the rationalization for a policy that began under a conservative-social-democratic coalition, that continued under a social-democratic government and which developed to its logical conclusions — that is, the smashing of the Greek left by a North American government. The circle had been closed.

The Labour Government in Malaya

The smashing of the Greek revolution was not an isolated event. Scarcely had they turned over the principal responsibility for the Greek counterrevolution to the United States, than the Labour government intensified the struggle against the patriots in Malaya. The causes were, in many aspects, identical to those in the history of the Greek civil war.

During the Second World War, the English could not hold Malaya, which was occupied by Japanese troops. Under the direction of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) a resistance movement was organized, the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA), which at the end of the war had gained much strength. In virtue of its prestige and its military strength, the MPAJA could take control of cities and towns when the Japanese ca-

pitulated in August of 1945. For reasons we cannot go into here, the Communist Party of Malaya did not take advantage of the opportune occasion to proclaim the independence of Malaya. While the party waited, the English began to disembark troops to try to take power again. The relationship of forces changed and a great part of the MPAJA was disarmed. At the same time, the English tried to ally themselves with the traditional rulers.

The left had to withdraw in all fields. In 1948 the CPM decided to begin anew the armed struggle for Malaya's independence. The liberation front that was created, Malayan People's Anti-British Army (MPABA)³⁴ received its cadres from the defunct MPAJA and had broad popular support in a number of organizations. During the last two years of the Labour government, 1950-52, the war against the Malayan patriots was a field of experimentation for the imperialist specialization, **counterinsurgency war** — that is, the struggle against the liberation movements. The principal tactic of the English was to isolate the guerrilla from the population by the forced transfer of people. A fourth or a fifth of the Chinese population, approximately 2 000 000 people, was moved. In the North American version of this strategy, as demonstrated in Viet Nam, the locations to which the population is moved are called strategic villages. The English euphemism was **new villages**.

Although the English strategy weakened the guerrilla, the Labour government did not succeed in ending the war, nor leaving the responsibility for its final solution to the United States. The war was inherited by the Conservative government that succeeded the Labour

government. But no one succeeded in smashing the guerrillas.

Labourism: A Test

New methods for imperialist control³⁵ were introduced in the British empire with the formal independence that India and Pakistan obtained in 1948. At the same time changes in position were taking place in these countries in favor of North American imperialism which had the strength that English capitalism lacked. But the principal "decolonization" took place with the Conservative governments that followed during the fifties up to 1964, when the new Labour government directed by Harold Wilson entered.

In many aspects there were parallels between the critical situation in which this government found itself and what the first postwar Labour government tried to resolve. The solutions were mainly the same: economic aid from the United States which, however, did not have the same reformist air that it had between 1945 and 1950. Now it had to be combined with a reactionary policy of stabilization that affected the English working class. The effects of the policy that was initiated during the first Labour government have been highly successful: despite a strong opposition from the left sector of the party, the government supports the North American war against Viet Nam and at the same time seeks to satisfy the military demands of the English capitalist class. After a trip to the United States at the end of 1965, Harold Wilson declared before Parliament that there existed

... complete agreement in Washington with the British Government's decision to continue to maintain a worldwide defense role, particularly to fulfill those commitments which, for reasons of history, geography, Common-

wealth association and the like, we and virtually we alone are best fitted to undertake.³⁶

The illegal Unilateral Declaration of Independence by Rhodesia on November 11, 1965, once more placed Labour still further along the road of reactionary policy. Harold Wilson, who had not vacillated in increasing military pressure against the nationalists in Yemen and Aden, declared that it was inadmissible to use violence against the white minority of Rhodesia. After a year of rhetorical manipulations, Wilson negotiated with Ian Smith, Prime Minister of Rhodesia. Wilson's offer does not envision a black majority in the 20th century. The proposition is a withdrawal of the previous Conservative government's Constitution, which projected majority rule at the end of the seventies. Ian Smith is prepared to accept the total sellout of the rights of the Africans, but is stopped by the resistance of the most obstinate racists in Rhodesia. The next step will be sanctions against Rhodesia which, beforehand, must be considered ineffective.³⁷

France in Viet Nam and Algeria³⁸

The resistance movement against the Japanese occupation of Indochina, under the direction of the Communist Party, proclaimed the Republic of Viet Nam on September 2, 1945, in a situation in which the former French administration was completely on the side lines. The French coalition government, with the French Communist Party and the SFIO among others, disembarked French troops in South Viet Nam a few days after the founding of the Republic. The spark for the efforts to reconquer Indochina, far from being the French bourgeoisie, was the social-democratic Minister of Foreign Relations Marius Moutet. The model had

evident neocolonialist characteristics: the French tried to give an appearance of legitimacy, allying themselves with the Saigon bourgeoisie (the design is recognizable in North American strategy). The result was a division between North and South. In the spring of 1946, however, an agreement was reached according to which the French must recognize in principle the independence of Viet Nam, while the reunification of Viet Nam was deferred. But the arrangement and the negotiations that followed in June of 1946 were sabotaged by colonial interests and by the social-democratic Minister of Foreign Relations. The French proclaimed a Republic with headquarters in Saigon. For greater security they themselves named the President. Despite the fact that Ho Chi Minh was prepared to make other tactical withdrawals, the French sharpened the conflict. Léon Blum, in his capacity as social-democratic Prime Minister, named General Leclerc as commander-in-chief in Indochina. Then began the struggle that the Vietnamese are carrying on for their liberty.

As with so many other social-democratic governments, the French Government lacked the necessary strength to maintain, militarily, its position in the imperialist struggle. In the face of the victories of the Vietnamese patriots, the resistance in France against the war increased to such an extent that a segment of the most refined bourgeoisie also asked whether there wasn't another solution to preserve France's influence. But social-democracy accepted a solution based on negotiations only when the circumstances forced it to do so.

But of course it was not a social-democratic government that had to negotiate but rather a bourgeois

government under the leadership of Pierre Mendès-France, who was more representative of modern capitalism and the necessity for neocolonialist solutions. Nevertheless, social-democracy soon had the opportunity to show how little it had learned and understood about the nature of the colonial revolution.

During the Algerian struggle for liberation, the party tried to give the impression that it was fighting on two fronts: on the one hand against the French extremists in Algeria and on the other hand against the FLN. But Manuel Bridier writes: "In practice, naturally, fighting on two fronts meant all-out war against the FLN and de facto collaboration with the European ultras."²⁰

The policy was the same as during the Viet Nam war: refusal to negotiate until the resistance struggle reached such strength that the social-democrats could no longer control the situation. It was a section of the French bourgeoisie which, under the leadership of General de Gaulle, began negotiations with the FLN and effected the transformation of the French empire from colonialism to neocolonialism.

Social-Democracy and Neocolonialism

The armed counterrevolution is the ultimate defensive limit of imperialism. The bourgeoisie and social-democracy use and have used much more subtle methods for achieving, consolidating or maintaining the hegemony of imperialism. These methods are presently defined as being neocolonialist and include everything: diplomatic blackmail, aid to underdeveloped countries, military aid, ideological penetration, economic sanctions,

threats of violence, etc.

The mechanisms of neocolonial control, which give evidence of being based on violence itself as an extreme solution, have two advantages from the point of view of the ruling class:

a) They reduce the costs of maintaining the control of the empire without diminishing the profits of the Western capitalists.

b) The control of the empire is less evident and for this reason escapes the criticism to which colonialism was subjected by the liberals and social-democrats.

All the Western governments that have had to accept decolonization since the war have concentrated on finding politicians "conscious of their responsibility" in the Third World — that is to say, those who can serve to support neocolonialism. In general such sectors are created in the imperialist process but if there is no natural road to power, the social-democratic, liberal or conservative governments of the West have not hesitated to create this road by military means if necessary.

This policy is based on the aggression against a socialist evolution of economic and political causes which concretely affects imperialism through a reduction in the area of capitalism's actions.

At times, social-democracy has shown that it has a broader practical and political range, when traditional colonialism fails and it is conscious of this. The magazine of the Belgian social-democratic party, *Socialisme*, writes: "One cannot avoid the impression that Belgian colonial circles are the prisoners of outmoded ideas which, far from safeguarding future Belgian interests in the Congo, threaten to hasten their loss."²¹

The neocolonialist intent cannot be more clearly expressed: it is a

question of satisfying certain necessities in order to safeguard the principal influence. Social-democracy and the French Colonial Minister Marius Moutet describe the problem in the following way: "Either we satisfy the legitimate aspirations of these people or we shall see them move away from us."⁴¹

To lose influence is considered a threat and a defeat and the creation of such a situation must be prevented. The argument along these lines appears when French social-democracy debates the Algerian question in the 1956 congress. The Minister of Work, Albert Gazier, speaks of the implications the Algerian struggle for liberation has for French policy in Tunisia and Morocco: "What would be the good of all the efforts made by Christian Pineau and Savary to establish enduring cooperation with Tunisia and Morocco if in the end, these countries were to be submerged by a wave which breaks over Algeria but subsequently reaches the neighboring countries."⁴²

Christian Pineau himself, before the 1955 elections that gave social-democracy including Pineau government positions, resulting in the imperialist attack on the United Arab Republic in 1956, writes: "If the present policy is continued for another year, if a new reactionary majority is produced by the coming elections, within six years we will have lost the French union."⁴³

These declarations demonstrate the end of a process of integration in which social-democracy has given birth to all the complexities that the possible remains of a non-bourgeois and compromised social ideology can cause. Social-democracy guarantees that; it defends the interests of the bourgeoisie — the most current euphemism for bureaucracy is the **economic life** — better than the bourgeoisie itself.

And it is not without reason because in the bourgeois sector the ideological delay of liberalism can undoubtedly block the possibilities of state monopoly capitalism.

Rhetoric and Politics

The relationship of social-democracy to the colonial revolution and the most symbolic decolonization follows the model that the bureaucracy has laid out in the developed capitalist states. This is also true with relation to the problems of underdevelopment. In its practical policy the social-democratic governments have introduced aid programs into underdeveloped countries whose formation subscribes to the anticommunism that characterizes Truman's Point Four Program.⁴⁴ Economic and anticommunist considerations coincide in an important motive for aiding the underdeveloped countries. The Norwegian social-democrat Finn Moe has described the problem in a form that emphasizes how well social-democracy has adopted the position of capitalism.

... I believe that aid for the economic development of underdeveloped countries is desirable for purely economic reasons, the idea is the following: where will European production find its markets in the long run? What are the profound reasons for the economic difficulties of all of Western Europe? Have we not lost our markets as well as our suppliers, especially where raw materials are concerned? We have lost Eastern Europe, we have lost China, we have lost many markets and suppliers in Asia. I do not see much possibility for an extension of the North American market for European exportation and, in the long run, is it not

really a prudent policy to contribute to the economic development of other countries, to create other markets? From a coldly economic point of view, I believe that it is a lucrative investment.⁴⁵

Finn Moe's copartisan, Carl Henry, clarified the political motives:

The most positive is perhaps to try to aid with men . . . with men who have the attitude of being disposed to make sacrifices to go to the Orient and other underdeveloped countries, to enter into contact with those who hold power there and clarify for them what Western democracy holds of humanism, to face the leaders of those countries with the necessity for awakening the people to struggle against the political evolution of national uprising that leads the underdeveloped countries toward an ideology that we do not want and that, with the experience we have, we know has satisfied no people anywhere. We must not give only money. We must give a social system.⁴⁶

In its analysis of underdevelopment, social-democracy repeats all the prejudices of bourgeois ideology. The great problems of the underdeveloped countries, it is said, are overpopulation and lack of capital. The remedies are obvious: contraceptive pills and private capital investments.

For this, the social-democratic governments (as for example the Danes and the Swedes) have created a system of guarantees for private investments in order to compensate the capitalists if they are expropriated. In the international level, social-democratic aims have been realized through the organs of the UN controlled by the United States, for example the IBRD (Internation-

al Bank for Reconstruction and Development), and its partner, International Finance Corporation, whose task is to fight against "collectivist economic systems."⁴⁷

Social-democracy's compromised practice has been covered with a cloud of rhetoric. But the rhetoric too, in organizations such as the Socialist International, has had to adapt itself to the fact that, since the war, there has been no conflict in which a social-democratic party has not been committed to the side of the oppressors. You remember the Partij van of Arbeid during "the police actions" against the Indonesian patriots, the Labourites in Malaya, Rhodesia, Aden; the SFIO toward Viet Nam and Algeria; Spaak's party during the so called Congo crisis; and Mollet and Spaak during the attack on Suez in 1956. In the present war in Viet Nam, the GSDP as well as Labour have evidenced their support of North American intervention.

In the Congress of 1956, the Socialist International tried to mend its bad reputation with Third World opinion by inviting a group of Africans as observers.⁴⁸

This public relations offensive had little success because the Labour delegates prevented the African observers from speaking because they feared they would criticize Labour policy in Rhodesia. An important Austrian social-democrat growled at the Africans because they didn't support parliamentary democracy and Willy Brandt repeated a popular theme: the Socialist International must devote itself to the problems of NATO.

The social-democratic left, which was hibernating, which had left the parties, or which joined the leaders during the worst years of reaction in the fifties, began to question the activity of the Socialist International at the beginning of the sixties.

In 1962 Gunnar Myrdal writes in *Tiden*, theoretical organ of the SAP:

In the course of the Socialist International where we participate positively, persons as compromised as Mollet and Spaak play an important role from the social-democratic point of view and especially in colonial affairs. Since, outside of the Western European parties, the organization encompasses only fictitious parties for the most part, in no way representative of Eastern Europe nor of the underdeveloped countries, it has been easy to make the organization another instrument for NATO propaganda.⁴⁹

One of the most important Swedish partisans of the Socialist International, Kaj Björk, cannot deny that Gunnar Myrdal has made a correct description of the circumstances, but he replies: "Since we have not been anticolonial standard-bearers, perhaps we are not really justified in considering Mollet and Spaak eternally condemned because they have been a little more conservative than ourselves on colonial questions."⁵⁰

The Viet Nam war has created a different international situation and an anti-imperialist opinion within its own camp which along with it meant that social-democracy had to readjust its rhetoric and, to a certain extent, its policy. In the face of the apparently radical offensive that characterizes Swedish social-democracy above all, it is important to give it a proper perspective.

No social-democratic party of Western Europe, including the Swedish party, has demanded that the United States withdraw its troops unconditionally from Viet Nam. On the contrary, various parties maintain that the United States must fight in Viet Nam. No social-democratic party, in its analysis of the Viet Nam war, has understood

the war as a part of an imperialist process. The social-democratic parties which question the United States war in Viet Nam in various ways, do so from a humanist point of view and not from a political and scientific point of view.

The relationship with the United States is considered separate from the criticism of the war in Viet Nam. The crisis of the monetary system created by the permanent deficit in the North American balance of payments — caused by the war in Viet Nam and other costs of the imperialist apparatus of control — gives way to negotiations in Stockholm among the most important capitalist states, in the spring of 1968. When the stability of the capitalist system was menaced by the symptoms of crisis in the world economy that the war in Viet Nam had caused, social-democracy in Sweden and other countries did not hesitate to help the United States in every way possible in order to recuperate the equilibrium that would allow them to continue the war in Viet Nam.

Despite this, the war in Viet Nam has not altered the confidence that the social-democrats in general have placed in the United States. Thus it is possible that social-democracy may attempt to revive the idea that it represents the third road, between socialism and capitalism, an idea which was popular in the epoch immediately after the war.

Along these general lines, social-democracy has tried to popularize itself in the Third World. But we know that the third solution has brought an economic system in which a reformist strategy produces nothing more than bumps on the surface. To use the words of Lenin, it is **social imperialism**, socialism in word and imperialism in deed.

- ¹ Hans Christoph Schröder, *Sozialismus und Imperialismus (Socialism and Imperialism)*, Köln, 1966, p. 183 and ff.
- ² Wolfgang Abendroth, *Aufstieg und Krise der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie (Crisis and Fall of German Social-Democracy)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1964, p. 55. Arthur Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Weimarer Republik (History of the Weimar Republic)*, Frankfurt am Main, 1961, pp. 50-71.
- ³ Branting was the central figure of Swedish social-democracy from the beginning of the century until his death in the mid-twenties. He also played an important role in international social-democracy.
- ⁴ Erik Palmstierna, *Orostid (Stormy Times)*, part two, pp. 127, 130-131.
- ⁵ The leadership of the trade union and of the party at national and local levels opposed a general strike proposed for the 30th of January, 1933, when Hitler was named Chancellor of State. The GSDP held to the democratic rules of play until it was too late. In March of 1933, the social-democratic parliamentary group voted in favor of the laws of government power. And even as late as

May 17, with various social-democratic deputies and trade unionists already in jail, the parliamentarian group of the GSDP voted in favor of the declaration of the Nazi regime on foreign policy, announced by Hermann Goering. Theo Pirker, *Die SDP nach Hitler (The GSDP After Hitler)*, 1965, p. 25 and ff.

- ⁶ Pétain was the Fifth Columnist of France.
- ⁷ Jean Davidson, *Correspondant à Washington (Washington Correspondent)*, Paris, 1954, cited by Claude Julien, *L'empire américain (The American Empire)*, 1968, p. 340.
- ⁸ Theo Pirker, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ⁹ The Norwegian delegate to the Antwerp conference in 1947, Hakon Lie, stressed that Norway was having a dollar crisis and that if it did not accept the Marshall Plan, it would be necessary to lower the standard of living of the population and slow down the rhythm of reconstruction work.
- ¹⁰ *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 33, p. 230.
- ¹¹ The reference is to the "police actions" that the coalition government of Holland initiated against the Indonesian nationalists.
- ¹² *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 33, p. 305.

- 13 Harry Truman, *Years of Trial and Hope*, vol. 2, p. 119.
- 14 **Harriman Committee Report on Foreign Aid.**
- 15 Theo Pirker, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- 16 Gunnar Adler-Karlsson, *Western Economic Warfare 1947-67: A Case Study in Foreign Economic Policy*, Uppsala, 1968.
- 17 Dag Hammarskjöld is finally and above all a good exponent of a good product of Swedish export: a supposedly neutral international functionary.
- 18 *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 33, p. 41.
- 19 George Morris, *CIA and American Labor*, New York, 1967.
- 20 Cited by Claude Julien, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-340.
- 21 The North American trade union movement, always so ready to please the State Department, has its own organizations for political-trade union penetration into the underdeveloped countries. For example, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which receives support from the State Department and North American capitalists. AIFLD collaborated closely with ORIT, which is the regional organization of the FFI for Latin America.
- 22 Harry Truman, *op. cit.*, p. 257 and ff.
- 23 *Socialist International Information*, vol. 1, no. 51-52.
- 24 Johanne Amlid, *Ut av Kurs (Off Course)*, Bergen, 1966.
- 25 In 1947 the regularly-held international social-democratic conferences constituted themselves into a Committee of International Socialist Conferences, COMISCO.
- 26 A Swedish delegate who frequently appears in these conferences, Kaj Björk, plays a minor role in the debate except in the exclusion of the PSI.
- 27 Ralph Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour*, 1961, Merlin Press, 1964, p. 275. See also Attlee's memoirs, *As It Happened*, 1954, pp. 139-140.
- 28 Cited by Paul Foot, *The Politics of Harold Wilson*, 1968, pp. 63-64.
- 29 "If you have a good dog, don't bark yourself" is a good proverb and in Mr. Bevin I have an exceptionally good dog," Attlee says in his memoirs, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
- 30 *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 32, p. 148.
- 31 Stephen Nousseas, *The Death of Democracy*, 1967, p. 73 and ff.
- 32 *The New Statesman and Nation*, vol. 29, pp. 103-104.
- 33 Sir Charles Wickham went to reorganize the police. He was an officer in the western forces that intervened against the nascent Soviet Union after the First World War.
- 34 MPABA changed its name to Malayan Races Liberation Army in 1949.
- 35 See subtitle "Social-Democracy and Neo-colonialism."
- 36 Paul Foot, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
- 37 See Paul Foot, *op. cit.*, for a detailed account of the negotiations.
- 38 Manuel Bridier, "Colonial Revolution and the French Left," *International Socialist Journal*, vol. 5, no. 26-27.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. 283.
- 40 No. 17, September 1956 (translated from French to English).
- 41 **COMISCO Information Service**, vol. '1, no. 24 (translated to English).
- 42 **Socialist International Information**, vol. VI, p. 538 (translated to English).
- 43 M. Bridier, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
- 44 Point Four laid out the general political lines for North American aid.
- 45 *Stortingsmelding*, no. 63, 1952. Cited by Alldén, Berntson, Persson, *U-hjelp og Imperialisme (Imperialism and Aid to the Underdeveloped Countries)*, Oslo, 1968, p. 19. For documentation on Swedish social-democracy, see Berntson, Persson, *U-hjelp och Imperialism (Imperialism and Aid to the Underdeveloped Countries)*, Stockholm, 1968, 1969.
- 46 *Stortingsmelding*, no. 63, 1952, cited by Alldén, Berntson, Persson, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
- 47 **IBRD: The World Bank Group in the Americas**, Washington, 1963, p. 79. See Harry Magdoff, *The Political Economy of Imperialism*, for a report on the manipulations of the IBRD and the IMF in the underdeveloped nations.
- 48 See the article by B. Kennerstrom in *Zenit*.
- 49 *Tiden*, no. 1, 1962.
- 50 *Tiden*, no. 4, 1962.



notes for
history

Lenin and the Colonial Peoples

Ho Chi Minh

"LENIN is dead!" This news struck the people like a bolt from the blue. It spread to every corner of the fertile plains of Africa and the green rice fields of Asia. It is true that the black or yellow people do not yet know clearly who Lenin is or where Russia is. The imperialist colonialists have deliberately kept them in ignorance, since ignorance is one of the chief mainstays of their regime. But all of them, from the deltas of Viet Nam to the forests of Dahomey, have passed the word along that, in a far corner of the earth, there exists a people who have succeeded in overthrowing their exploiters, who are now directing their own affairs without any need for masters or governors-general. They have also heard that that country is Russia, that there are courageous people there, and that the most courageous of them all is Lenin. And this has been enough to gain for this people and their leader, the sympathy and admiration of all colored peoples.

But this was not all. They also learned that that great leader, after having liberated his own people, wanted to liberate other peoples too. He called upon the white people to help the yellow and black peoples to free themselves from the *roumis*¹ yoke, from all foreign aggressors, governors, residents, etc. And to reach that goal he mapped out a definite program.

At first they did not believe that anywhere on earth could there exist such a man and such a program. But later they heard, although vaguely, of the Communist Party, of the organization called the Communist International, which is fighting for the exploited peoples, for all the exploited peoples including themselves; and that it was Lenin who was the leader of that organization.

And this alone was enough to make these peoples — who are grateful and of good will although almost without culture — demonstrate the greatest respect for Lenin and consider him as their leader. Lenin is dead. What are we to do? Where will we find

¹ Arab word originally referring to the Roman conquerors of North Africa and later to all foreign invaders. (Ed. note)

another who, with as much courage and generosity as he, will dedicate all his time and energies to our liberation? This is what the oppressed colonial peoples are asking themselves with great anguish.

As for us, we are deeply moved by this irretrievable loss and share with our Soviet brothers and sisters the common mourning of all the peoples. But we believe that the Communist International and all its branches, which includes branches in colonial countries, will succeed in implementing the lessons and teaching the leader has left behind for us. To do what he advised us, is that not the best way to show our love for him?

In his lifetime he was our father, teacher, comrade and adviser. Today he is the bright star showing us the way to the socialist revolution.

Eternal Lenin will live forever in our work.

Pravda

January 27, 1924

REPORT ON THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTIONS AT THE FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS

COMRADES,

I only wish to put forward some suggestions about Comrade Manuilky's criticisms of our policy on the colonial question. But before entering upon the matter, it is desirable to give some statistics in order to help us see its importance more clearly.

	Mother Countries		Colonies	
	Area (sq. km.)	Population	Area (sq. km.)	Population
Great Britain	241 839	45 500 000	36 263 000	405 383 000
France	536 000	39 000 000	11 900 000	76 924 000
United States	9 420 000	100 000 000	1 850 000	12 000 000
Spain	504 500	20 700 000	371 600	853 000
Italy	286 600	38 500 000	1 460 000	1 623 000
Japan	418 000	57 070 000	288 000	21 249 000
Belgium	29 500	7 642 000	2 400 000	8 500 000
Portugal	92 000	5 545 000	2 062 000	8 738 000
Holland	32 500	6 700 000	2 046 000	48 030 000

Therefore, nine countries with a population of 320 657 000 and an area of 11 470 000 km² are exploiting colonies with a population of 560 193 000 and covering an area of 55 637 000 km². The whole area of the colonies is five times greater than that of the mother countries, and the whole population of the mother countries amounts to less than three fifths of that of the colonies.

These figures are still more striking if the biggest imperialist countries are taken separately. The British colonies taken as a whole are eight and a half times more populous and about 232 times bigger than Great Britain. France occupies an area 19 times bigger than her own. The population of the French colonies exceeds that of France by 16 600 000.

Thus it is not an exaggeration to say that so long as the French and British communist parties have not brought out a really active policy with regard to the colonies, have not come into contact with the colonial peoples, their program as a whole is and will be ineffective because it runs counter to Leninism. I will explain myself more clearly. In his speech on Lenin and the national question, Comrade Stalin said that the reformists and leaders of the Second International dared not treat equally the people of the white race and those of color. Lenin rejected this inequality and broke down the obstacle separating the civilized slaves of imperialism from the uncivilized slave peoples.

According to Lenin, the victory of the revolution in Western Europe is closely tied to the national liberation and anti-imperialist movement in the colonies and enslaved countries. According to Lenin, the national question is part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Later, Comrade Stalin spoke of the viewpoint which held that the European proletarians can achieve success without a direct alliance with the liberation movement in the colonies. And he considered this a counterrevolutionary viewpoint. But if we judge from practice in making our theoretical examination, we are entitled to say that our big parties, excepting the Soviet Communist Party, still hold the above-mentioned viewpoint because they are inactive in this matter. What has the bourgeoisie of the colonialist countries done to keep the great mass of the colonized peoples under its oppression? It has done everything. Using the means given it by the state administrative machine, it has carried out an intense propaganda. It has crammed the heads of the people of the mother countries with speeches, films, newspapers, exhibitions and every other means, so that they have a colonialist outlook; it displayed before their eyes pictures of the easy, honorable and rich life which seems to await them in the colonies. As for our communist parties in Great Britain, Holland, Belgium and other countries — what have they done to cope with the colonial invasions perpetrated by the bourgeois class of their countries? What have they done from the day they accepted Lenin's political program to educate the working class of their countries in the spirit of true proletarian internationalism and close contact with the working masses in the colonies? What our parties have

done in this domain is almost worthless. As for me, I was born in a French colony, and I am a member of the French Communist Party, and I am very sorry to say that our Communist Party has done scarcely anything for the colonies.

It is the task of our communist press to introduce the colonial question to our militants, to awaken the working masses in the colonies, win them over to the cause of communism. But what have we done? Nothing at all.

If we compare the number of columns devoted to the colonial question in the bourgeois newspapers such as *Le Figaro*, *L'Oeuvre*, or in those of different opinions such as *Le Populaire* or *La Liberté*, with those devoted to the same question in *L'Humanité*, the central organ of our Party, we are bound to say that this comparison will not be favorable to us.

When the Ministry of Colonies worked out a plan for transforming many African regions into large private plantations, and turning the people of these regions into veritable slaves attached to the new employers' land, our press still remained silent. In the French West African colonies, unprecedented measures for forcible conscription were carried out, and yet our press did not react. The colonial authorities in Indochina turned themselves into slave traders of a new kind and sold the inhabitants of Tonkin to the concessioners of the Pacific islands; they lengthened military service from two to four years; they conceded the greater part of the colonial land to capitalist financial sharks; they increased taxes by a further 30% in spite of the people's inability to pay the old ones. And all this was done while the indigenous people were being driven to bankruptcy and were dying of hunger because of flood. However, our press still maintained silence. Thus, it is no wonder that the indigenous peoples are inclined to side with liberal democratic organizations such as the Society for the Rights of Man and the Citizen, together with other similar organizations which take care of them or pretend to take care of them.

If we go even further, we shall see incredible things which make people think our Party systematically disregards all that concerns the colonies. For instance: *L'Humanité* did not publish the International Peasants' Appeal¹ to the people of the colonies issued by the Communist International.

Prior to the Lyons Congress,² the items listed for debate covered

¹ International Peasant Council, set up in 1923 by the delegates of the revolutionary peasant organizations in many countries.

² The Third Congress of the French Communist Party was held at Lyons in January 1924. The main problem debated at the Congress was the question of ideological struggle in the Party, its strengthening and the elimination of alien elements. (Ed. note)

all political programs except that on the colonial question. *L'Humanité* carried many articles on the Senegal boxer Siki's success, but did not raise its voice when the dockers at Dakar, Siki's brothers, were arrested in the middle of their work, thrown into lorries and taken to jail. Later they were sent to the garrisons, where they were forced to put on the uniform and, in spite of their own desires, become "defenders of civilization." The central organ of our Party daily informed our readers of the feats of the pilot Oisy, who made the first France to Indochina flight. But when the colonial Indochinese administration pillages the people of Dai Nôm,⁴ robs them of their lands to give them to the French profiteers, and amuses itself by showering bombs on the poor, and plunders indigenous people, the organ of our Party does not find it necessary to do so.

Comrades, the bourgeois press has realized that the national question cannot be separated from the colonial question. In my opinion, our Party has not thoroughly understood this. The lessons of the Ruhr, when the native troops who were sent out "to comfort" the starving German workers and encircled the suspected French regiments; the example of the Eastern troops in which the native forces were given machine guns to mobilize the spirit⁵ of the French troops worn out by the hard and protracted war; the events which occurred in 1917 at places where Russian troops were stationed in France⁶; the lesson of the strike of agricultural workers in the Pyrenees, where native troops were forced to play the shameful part of saboteurs; and finally the presence of 207 000 colonial troops in France itself — all these have failed to make our Party reflect or find it necessary to lay down a clear and firm policy on colonial questions. The Party has missed many good opportunities for propaganda. The new leading organs of the Party have acknowledged the passivity of the Party on this question. This is a good sign because once the leaders of the Party have realized and recognized this weak point in the Party's policy, there is hope that the Party will do its utmost

³ Name used for Viet Nam under feudal rule. (Ed. note)

⁴ During World War I, the Czarist government sent an expeditionary corps to France. In 1919, its soldiers protested against the war for the defense of the interests of the bourgeoisie. They set up Soviets and demanded their repatriation. Fearing that the Russian soldiers' revolutionary ideas might spread to the French army, the Russian High Command moved the Russian corps out of their positions and sent them to Lacourtine concentration camp, where they were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Senegalese and Touareg units. This led to the disarming of the Russian corps. (Ed. note)

to rectify its errors. I firmly believe that this Congress will be the turning point and will urge the Party to correct its past shortcomings. Although Comrade Manuilsky is quite right in his remarks on the elections in Algeria, to be objective I must say that it is true that our Party has committed errors here but it has corrected them by nominating colonial representatives as candidates in the elections for the Seine Department. Though this is still too little, it is fairly satisfactory as a beginning. I am very happy to see that at present our Party is again filled with the best intentions and enthusiasm, and that it needs only to be strengthened by practical deeds to be brought to a correct policy on the colonial question.

What are these practical deeds? It is not enough to work out long political programs and pass high-sounding resolutions which, after the Congress, are sent to the archives, as has always been done in the past. We must adopt concrete measures. I propose the following points:

- 1) To publish in *L'Humanité* a new feature of at least two columns weekly devoted to regular coverage of colonial questions.
- 2) To increase propaganda and recruit new Party members from the colonial countries in which there are already branches of the Communist International.
- 3) To send comrades from the colonial countries to study at the University of the East in Moscow.
- 4) To come to an agreement with the United General Confederation of Labor⁵ on the organization of working people from colonial countries working in France.
- 5) To set Party members the task of paying more attention to colonial questions.

In my opinion, these proposals are logical and if the Communist International and our Communist Party approve them, during the next World Congress our delegation will be able to say that the united front of the masses of the French people with the

⁵ The United General Confederation of Labour existed from 1922 to 1936. In 1921 the reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour openly expelled a number of revolutionary trade unions embracing nearly 60% of the members of the General Confederation of Labour. These revolutionary trade unions set up the United General Confederation of Labour and ceaselessly struggled for the restoration of the trade unions for the defense of the vital interests of the proletariat and, together with the French Communist Party, took part in the struggle against fascism and war. The development of the movement for the unity of the working class compelled the reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour to accept the proposal for unification of the United General Confederation of Labour and it was put into effect at the Toulouse Congress in 1963. (Ed. note)

colonial peoples has become a reality.

Comrades, as Lenin's disciples, we must concentrate all our forces and energies on colonial questions as on all other questions in order to implement Lenin's teachings.

The French colonies occupy an area of 10 241 510 km² with 55 517 000 inhabitants scattered over all four continents. In spite of the differences in races, climates, customs, traditions and economic and social development, there are two common points that can bring about unity in the common struggle.

- 1) In all the French colonies, industry and commerce are little developed and the majority of the population is engaged in agriculture. Ninety-five percent of the population is peasant.
- 2) In all the colonies, the indigenous peoples are unremittingly exploited by French imperialists.

I have not enough time to make a thorough analysis of the situation of the peasants in each colony. Therefore I shall take only a few typical examples to give a general idea of the peasants' life in the colonies.

I shall begin with my country, Indochina, which naturally I know better than the other colonies.

During the conquest, military operations drove the peasants away from their villages. Later, on their return, they found their rice fields occupied by the colonists who had followed in the wake of the army of occupation. They had not hesitated to divide among themselves the lands the peasants had cultivated for generations. In consequence, our peasants were turned into serfs and forced to cultivate their own rice fields for foreign masters. Numerous unfortunates who could not suffer the extremely hard conditions imposed by the occupiers left their lands and wandered about the country. They were treated as pirates by the French, who sought every means of persecuting them.

This expropriation was carried out for the benefit of the occupiers, who had only to say the word in order to receive tracts of land sometimes covering more than 20 000 or 25 000 hectares.

These planters not only occupied lands without any payment but also obtained free of charge all that was necessary to exploit those lands, including labor. The administration allowed them to make use of a number of prisoners without any payment, or ordered the communes to supply them with manpower.

Besides these wolves and the administration, the role played by the Catholic Church is to be mentioned. The Catholic Mission alone occupies one quarter of the areas under cultivation in Cochin China. It uses very simple methods to secure all these lands: corruption, blackmail and coercion. Here are some enlightening examples. It takes advantage of crop failures to make loans

to the peasants with their fields as mortgage. The interest rates being too high, the peasants are unable to pay the debt and the mortgaged fields pass on to the Mission. Using all kinds of underhand methods, the Mission does its utmost to get secret information compromising the authorities. This is how it forces the authorities to comply with its desires. Together with the big capitalists, the Mission exploits the lands received without payment and the rice fields stolen from the peasants. The henchmen of the Mission hold high positions in the colonial government. In its exploitation of believers, the Mission has nothing of cruelty to learn from the planters. Another of its tricks is to get together poor people and force them to reclaim waste land with promises that once the land is cultivated, it will be divided among the peasants. But once the crops are about to be harvested, the Mission declares its ownership of the land and drives out those who had toiled to make it produce. Robbed by their "protectors" (religious or lay) the peasants are not even left in peace to work on their remaining tiny plots of land. But that's not all. The land registry service fraudulently increases the land area to make the peasants pay more taxes. The administration increases taxes year after year. Recently, after occupying thousands of hectares of land belonging to the Annamese highlanders to give them to the profiteers, the authorities sent airplanes there to keep the victims from rebelling.

The pillaged peasants, ruined and driven away, again found ways and means to reclaim virgin land. But once under cultivation, the lands are seized by the administration which obliges the peasants to buy them at prices fixed by the administration. Those unable to pay are pitilessly driven out.

Last year, the country was devastated by floods; however, taxes on rice fields increased 30%.

In addition to the iniquitous taxes that ruin them, the peasants still have to go on corvee, pay poll tax, salt tax, buy government bonds, subscribe to various funds and many other things and sign unequal contracts.

French capitalists have carried out the same policy of robbery and exploitation in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, where they have taken over the most fertile irrigated lands. The natives were driven away to areas at the foot of the mountains or to arid spots. The financial companies, profiteers and high functionaries divided the land in the colonies among themselves.

Through direct and indirect operations, the banks in Algeria and Tunisia in 1914 made 12 258 000 francs profit from a capital of 25 million francs.

The Bank of Morocco, with a capital of 15 400 000 francs, made 1 753 000 francs profit in 1921.

The French-Algerian Company has occupied 324 000 hectares of the best land.

The Algerian Company has occupied 100 000 hectares.

A private company has occupied 50 000 hectares of forest without any payment, while the Capzer phosphate and railway company has occupied 50 000 hectares of land rich in ores, and in addition has secured priority rights over 20 000 hectares of land in its neighborhood.

A former French deputy has occupied a plantation rich in mines covering 1125 hectares of land valued at 10 million francs, producing a yearly income of four million francs. The indigenous population, the real owners of these mines, receives annually only one franc per hectare.

French colonial policy has abolished the right of collective ownership and replaced it by private ownership. It has also abolished small private ownership to the advantage of big ownership of the plantations. This policy has incurred for the native population the loss of more than five million hectares of their best land.

In 15 years, the peasants in Kabylia were robbed of 192 090 hectares.

From 1913, each year the Moroccan peasants were robbed of 12 500 hectares of land under cultivation. Since France was victorious in the war "for justice," that figure has risen to 145 400 hectares.

At present in Morocco only 1070 French people own 500 000 hectares of land.

Like their Anamese peasant brothers and sisters, the peasants in Africa lead an unbearably hard life, subjected to multiple corvees and crushed by heavy taxes. Their misery is indescribable. Due to the shortage of food they have to eat wild vegetables and grasses or diseased rice, and consequently are infected with typhus and tuberculosis. Even in good harvest years, peasants are seen turning up rubbish heaps and fighting wild dogs for food scraps. In lean years the corpses fill the streets and fields.

The peasants' life in West Africa and French Equatorial Africa is still more frightful. These colonies are in the hands of about 40 companies. They occupy everything: lands, natural resources and even the natives' lives; the latter lack even the right to work for themselves.

They are compelled to work for the companies, always and only for the companies. To force them to work for nothing, incredible means of coercion are used by the companies. Lands are confiscated and given over in small plots only to those who agree to their working conditions. Due to malnutrition, these new-type

slaves are affected by all kinds of diseases and the death rate, especially among children, is very high.

Another method is to make old people, women and children work as servants. They are lodged in small huts, ill-treated, beaten, ill-fed and sometimes murdered. In some localities the number of permanent servants is kept about equal to the number of workers in order to discourage the latter from running away. In cultivating and harvest seasons, the native population is forbidden to work on its own land before providing the work due the company. Therefore, famine and epidemics occur frequently, wreaking havoc in the colonies.

The few tribes who have fled to the forests and succeeded in escaping the planters' exploitation live like animals, on roots and leaves, and die from malaria, which ravages them in these unwholesome climates. Meanwhile, the white masters are devastating their fields and villages. The following is an excerpt from an officer's diary reporting briefly but clearly the repression against the black people in the colonies:

Raid on Kolowan village.

Raid on the Fan tribe at high Cuno. Village burned down and plantations destroyed.

Raid on the Bekamis. Their village burned down; 3000 banana trees, their only food reserve, destroyed.

Raid on Kua village. Village burned down and plantations razed.

Raid on Alacun. Village bombarded, then destroyed along with its plantations.

Raid on Esamphami village. Village destroyed. The county of Bome ravaged by fire and blood.

The same system of pillage, extermination and destruction prevails in the African regions under Italian, Spanish, British or Portuguese rule.

In the Belgian Congo, the population in 1891 was 25 million, but it had fallen to eight and a half million by 1911. The Hereros and Cannard tribes in the former German colonies in Africa were completely exterminated. Eight thousand were killed under German rule and 15 000 were killed during the "pacification" period in 1914. The population of the French Congo was 20 000 in 1894. It was only 9700 in 1911. In one province there were 10 000 inhabitants in 1910. Eight years later there remained only 1080. In another province with 40 000 black inhabitants, in only two years 20 000 people were killed, and in the following six months 6000 more were killed or disabled. The densely populated regions bordering the rivers were turned into deserts within a matter of 15 years. The bones of the native population whitened the oases

and ravaged villages.

The life of the survivors is atrocious in the extreme. The peasants are robbed of the tiny plots of land bought with their savings, the artisans lose their jobs, and the breeders their cattle. The Matabeles were cattle breeders; before the arrival of the British they had 200 000 heads of cattle. After two years only 40 900 were left. The Hereros had 90 000 cattle. Within 12 years the German colonists had robbed them of half. Similar cases are numerous in all the black countries which came into contact with the whites' civilization.

In conclusion, I quote the African writer René Maran, author of *Batonala*, who said:

Equatorial Africa was a densely populated area, rich in rubber. There were all kinds of gardens and farms with plenty of poultry and goats. After only seven years everything was destroyed. Villages were in ruins, gardens and farms laid waste, poultry and goats disappeared. The inhabitants, exhausted by extenuating and unpaid work, had no strength, no time to work the land. Diseases broke out, famine ravaged, the death rate increased. We should know that they are the descendants of strong and healthy tribes imbued with an enduring and tempered fighting spirit. Here, there is nothing left that can be called civilization.

To complete this already tragic picture, I want to add one point. French capitalism has not hesitated in throwing whole regions into misery and famine if this is to its advantage. In many colonial countries, e.g., the Reunion island, Algeria, Madagascar, etc., the tendency is to substitute cereals for crops more useful for French industry and more profitable to the colonists. And this has caused the cost of living in the colonies to rise sharply and often causes famine. In all the French colonies, discontent is growing hand in hand with misery and famine. The colonial peoples are ripe for insurrection. They have already risen in several colonies but their uprisings have all been drowned in blood. If at present the peasants still seem resigned, it is only because they still lack organization and leaders. The Communist International must help them organize, provide them with cadres for their leadership and guide them along the path of revolution and liberation.

The Fifth World Congress of the
Communist International,

June 17-July 8, 1924

Shorthand transcript,

Part I, State Publishing House,
Moscow, 1925, pp. 653-657.



man and
his word

Cambodia and People's Struggle

Sarin Chhak



If there is any one place where North American policy has been placed in total judgment, that place is named Cambodia. Only a glance at the political-military situation is needed to prove this assertion. When, on April 30, 1970, North American troops invaded the small kingdom of the convulsed Indochina peninsula, it was one of the adventures of the Nixon Administration marked in advance for failure.

Prince Sihanouk, who received the news as he was boarding the plane that would take him from Moscow to Peking, responded with a call for a general uprising, a call for insurrection, refusal to recognize the puppets who, manipulated from the North American Embassy (on June 11, 1969, the United States had reestablished diplomatic relations) caused the cunning coup of March 18, 1970. Lon Nol took the reins of power with the blessing of the White House.

Sarin Chhak, Minister of Foreign Relations of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, offers us a panoramic vision with knowing judgment and an enviable synthesis in this work we publish. The political-military situation, the contradictions in the ranks of the regime of "the mayor of Phnom Penh" and also attitudes toward the international aid they receive, are the main themes touched on in this recent interview by a reporter from **Tricontinental**.

With more than 3 000 000 inhabitants already living in the liberated zones — on the map the United National Front of Kampuchea distributed, the zones, which occupy more than half the territory, are shown in pink — and the actions of the patriots taking place a few miles from the capital, to speak of the liberation struggle in Cambodia means to advance the concepts of a victory already foreseen.

What is Cambodia's present political situation?

Cambodia's present political situation is excellent for the struggle. As you well know, in the liberated zones we now have with us a population of more than 3 000 000 inhabitants, and in the still nonliberated zone there are many who support the cause of the National United Front.

In the liberated zone we put into practice the program of the Front — that is to say, we practice democracy. The administration is elected at various levels: the village, the commune, the district and the province. Economically, we try to improve the people's food supplies and we are developing our social structure including, for example, education.

What position does the Cambodian population take with respect to the Royal Government of National Union?

Our struggle is based entirely on the people. If we are now winning victories, it is because all the people participate in the fight. As you see, we can attack the enemy posts near the capital, and without the participation of the people, the attacks could not be carried out. In sum, the struggle of the Front is that of the people themselves.

Is there any special task in the organization of the population against the imperialist enemy?

We have a task to carry out in confronting the imperialist enemy: it is to educate the population and coordinate the work of education and organization. Without organization our struggle cannot progress, and if it has advanced greatly it is because the organizational work itself is now quite advanced. We have the cadres for this task, especially those in the teaching corps and the army — that is to say, among the officers who left Lon Nol's troops to join the Front.

Can you explain specifically for us the type of organization this implies, or at least give us an overall general idea?

For example, on the military plane we have constituted forces of the regular army and the army of liberation. We also have formations of guerrillas and militia.

What is the difference between the guerrillas and the militia?

The guerrillas are organized patriots who are not part of the regular army, while the militia is made up of the population, in the villages, to defend the interests of local groups.

What are the recent military victories in Cambodia against the imperialist troops?

As you know, more than two months ago, the puppet regime

of Phnom Penh sought to launch a huge offensive against our forces 80 km north of Phnom Penh. This offensive failed, as was revealed by the western press. In two months, the men of Phnom Penh, 20 battalions, could not advance more than 25 km, and now they are forced to stay in the same place since they can neither advance nor retreat. Moreover, as it was possible to follow in the cables of the western press agencies, we attacked the enemy forces' positions over a radius of 15 to 20 km on the outskirts of Phnom Penh. Recently we attacked an enemy river convoy which we seriously damaged.

How is the Lon Nol government's internal situation?

The Lon Nol regime runs into more difficulties every day; there are many contradictions in its policy. These grow out of the difficulty caused by supplies and by price increases. The people understand perfectly that the Phnom Penh regime, which calls itself neutral, is actually a loyal tool of North American imperialism. The patriotic forces that are now under the control of the Phnom Penh regime have their eyes open and are aware that this regime has cheated them. And life in Phnom Penh becomes harder all the time because now we control the countryside and the capital's supplies become more difficult and costly. The price of products increases and, in the face of this situation, the Lon Nol government has had to resort to the importation of essential products.

Are there contradictions within Lon Nol's army?

There are contradictions in the army because there is discontent with the introduction of foreign troops into Cambodia — that is, with the presence of troops from Saigon in Cambodian territory. It is divided into factions that support Lon Nol and Sirik Matak or the other clan, Son Ngoc Thank, and these factions are rivals. We have spoken about the political and the military levels; are there also important successes in the diplomatic field?

We have made progress in the diplomatic area in six months. The Royal Government of National Union has the recognition of 22 countries and from all parts of the world we are receiving support from friendly governments. In order to develop our diplomatic activity we have already opened 10 embassies in friendly countries.

What is the work of the Royal Government of National Union in the international field?

At various conferences, our friends have spoken out denouncing the North American aggression against the Cambodian people.

Thus, in Dar es Salaam, in Lusaka, and in the United Nations our friends have denounced the aggressions of the United States troops and their lackeys against Cambodia. On various occasions anywhere where we are not represented, our friends speak for us and defend us!

What type of aid do you presently consider most valuable to the Cambodian people?

Like all people engaged in struggle, the Cambodian people need all kinds of aid. That is why we appreciate any kind of aid that comes from any friendly country. We appreciate material, moral, political and diplomatic aid.

Would you like to say something about the growing military intervention of the United States in Indochina?

With the invasion of Cambodia by North American troops the United States has achieved the general extension of the war through all of Indochina. Parallel to this invasion of Cambodia, the United States accentuated its acts of aggression against Laos, which it bombed and continues to bomb massively, just as it continues its intensive daily bombing of Cambodian territory.

Despite this North American decision to generalize the war, the Indochinese peoples are more than ever determined to fight to oppose this North American aggression in order to safeguard their national independence and their liberty. Thus the three peoples have achieved their solidarity, concretized in the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples.

In the face of a common enemy who uses powerful measures, it is necessary for the three peoples who fight for the same objective and against the same enemy, to unite their forces; this union is effected in coordinated action. Each people has the duty to defend its national territory, but aside from this task, which is the responsibility of every people, there is another, which is to coordinate their activities in order to make the struggle more effective.

Can OSPAAAL do something more to help the Cambodian people?

We are very grateful to the tricontinental organization which, since the coup d'etat of March 18, 1970, has raised its voice to denounce the aggression of North American imperialism and has disseminated information about our cause so that it would be well understood by all. We count on the tricontinental organization to continue this task, which is useful to us and which we very much appreciate, and we are very grateful for this active and effective participation in our struggle.



**Tricontinental
on the march**

For a Peace With Liberty

Huynh Van Ba

Huynh Van Ba, delegate of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, responds to a questionnaire prepared by **Tricontinental** magazine and examines the real objectives of President Nixon's so-called "peace proposal," referring to the present state of the war in Southeast Asia.

Could you outline the position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with respect to the so-called "peace proposal" formulated by the North American President, Richard M. Nixon?

After facing North American and world public opinion which demands his response to the eight points presented on September 17, 1970, by the Foreign Relations Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, Nguyen Thi Binh, and, at the same time, deceiving the North American people in preparing the conditions for the Congressional elections of the month of November, Nixon hastened to present the five-point so-called "new initiative for peace," which has nothing new in it.

For many days, the Yankee imperialist propaganda machine and President Nixon himself have been publicly lauding these five points, categorizing them as the most complete declaration, the most logical proposal for dealing with the great problems touching on the war in Viet Nam, "the maximum US effort toward negotiations," etc.

At first glance, there is no lack of such terms as: "peace," "cease-fire," "withdrawal of troops," "convening of an international conference," "search for a political settlement," "release of all prisoners," etc. which sound very much like "peace" and "good will."

But Nixon's words have to be examined minutely in order to see what they really mean; this is the only way to reveal the recalcitrant and traitorous nature of the colonialists and aggressors, and to understand that there is nothing "new" or "great" as President Nixon announced.

First of all, we invite you to listen to those in the governmental apparatus of the United States. Ex-US Secretary of Defense Clifford declared on October 8 in Washington that Nixon's proposals contain nothing new. Senator Morse observed that if you strip

them of the camouflage of pretty words, in reality the US President demands the surrender of the North and of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam (according to UPI, October 9).

Let us see what Nixon said about the question of Viet Nam and Indochina, in particular the fundamental questions leading to an end to the war of aggression and finding a just political solution to the South Vietnamese problem, and how Nixon's position differs from that of the Vietnamese people.

Both the 10-Point Global Solution and the clarifying provisions offered by Minister Nguyen Thi Binh on September 17, 1970, reiterate as a question of principle that the United States, which is the aggressor in South Viet Nam, must end its war of aggression, unconditionally withdraw all the North American troops and those of its South Viet Nam puppets, and cease its support of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem puppets.

In the eight points made on September 17, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh adds:

If the US Government puts an end to its war of aggression [...] and declares it will withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops and those of other foreign countries in the US camp [...] the People's Liberation Armed Forces will refrain from attacking the withdrawing troops... and the parties will engage at once in discussions on: the question of ensuring safety for the total withdrawal from South Viet Nam of US troops and those of the other foreign countries in the US camp; the question of releasing captured military men.

This position precisely answers the necessities and the legitimate aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, of the North American people and of the other peoples of the world, that the North American Government must put an end to its war of aggression against South Viet Nam and withdraw all the North American troops to its own country, thus taking into account the preoccupation of the North American peoples for the welfare of their sons who have been sent by their Government to South Viet Nam as cannon fodder.

For his part, in his five points, President Nixon did not touch even remotely on the question of the total and unconditional withdrawal of North American troops from South Viet Nam. On the contrary, Nixon confined himself to proclaiming the limited withdrawal of troops. He did not establish a timetable for the withdrawal of all North American troops but instead demanded that the matter be negotiated on the basis of the principles that he himself had previously put forth — that is to say, with conditions. This argument actually consists in a reiteration of the proposal of demanding "a bilateral withdrawal" of troops, placing on the same plane the Yankee aggressors and the Vietnamese people they have aggressed against, and imposing conditions for the withdrawal of North American troops and the cessation of the war.

Concerning the fulfillment of the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh pointed out in her declaration of September 17 that to achieve true peace in South Viet Nam an administration **without Thieu-Ky-Khiem** must be formed in Saigon and must declare itself for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. Since Thieu-Ky-Khiem are the instrument of Yankee imperialist aggression which, over so

many years, has spread endless sorrow and grief for the people of South Viet Nam and of the United States, consequently, in order to reestablish true peace in South Viet Nam, the North American Government must abandon these puppets.

However, in his so-called "peace initiative" made on October 7, 1970, Nixon labels the proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam "absurd" and "unacceptable," and insists on maintaining Thieu-Ky-Khiem as an instrument in the realization of the plan to "Vietnamize the war" and neocolonialize South Viet Nam. On the other hand, in order to deceive public opinion, Nixon hypocritically repeats that the United States is determined to defend the right of the South Vietnamese people to freely determine the type of government they want. But, in reality, it is fully evident that the United States has resorted and is resorting to force to oblige the South Vietnamese population to accept the sell-out reactionaries and warmongers whose overthrow has been demanded for a long time.

Moreover, President Nixon presents many other questions with the objective of disorienting public opinion, creating illusions in certain sectors of the population of the United States and of the world. Nixon proposes an "on the spot cease-fire" while the Vietnamese people and the other peoples of the world demand a halt to the United States aggression, and the total, rapid and unconditional withdrawal of North American troops from South Viet Nam. A cease-fire such as the United States calls when it is not prepared to end the war of aggression but rather continues maintaining in South Viet Nam some 400 000 North American soldiers and tens of thousands of mercenaries from its satellite countries, would mean for the South Vietnamese people, the acceptance of the military occupation of their homeland by the North American expeditionary army and the armies of the US satellite nations, and the relinquishing of their sacred right of self-defense against aggression.

Nixon's proposal, in addition to being absurd and incapable of deceiving anyone, reveals the stubborn decision of the United States to maintain its military occupation and brutal domination in South Viet Nam.

Nixon also proposes to call an international conference on peace in Indochina and says: "The United States never seeks to extend the war. What we seek to do is extend the peace." What irony! Nixon has escalated the war in Viet Nam and Laos, has organized the coup d'etat in Cambodia and launched his aggression against this country, extending the war to all of Indochina, and now he talks about how the United States seeks to extend the peace.

Here the problem consists in whether the United States wants to end the war of aggression and withdraw the North American expeditionary troops from South Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and not in the form of a conference. All the peoples of the world can see that wherever there is the hand of the Yankee imperialists, there war and death occur, and peace and happiness only return when the Yankee imperialists leave.

As for the problem of the prisoners, Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, in her declaration of September 17, 1970, was very clear in explaining that, should the North American Government declare the total withdrawal of its troops from South Viet Nam before June

30, 1971, the respective parties would proceed immediately to discuss the liberation of war prisoners. Nixon avoids this constructive proposal and, in his turn, puts forth a phony argument of "peace" and "humanity" aimed at tricking public opinion, hiding the crimes of extreme savagery perpetrated by the Yankee imperialists in South Viet Nam, who send and continue sending young North Americans to die there.

In a word, Mr. Nixon's so-called bottle of peace wine contains only explosives, toxic chemicals and the bellicose cries of Goebbels. Nobody is fooled by this.

The Vietnamese people resolutely denounce the evil colonialist plans and the perfidious maneuvers that Nixon uses to prolong the war. The war that our people are waging is just. The position of our nation is correct. We love peace, but it must be a genuine peace, a peace with independence and liberty. We will never accept a peace of the North American type or the Nixon mold. As long as the United States wages aggression against our country, we will continue the struggle.

How does the PRG of the RSV view the present situation and what strategy is it proposing to develop?

In the face of the imminent defeat of the United States in the war of aggression against Viet Nam, President Johnson had to abandon his political career. Nixon ascended to power on the false slogan of "bringing peace," but in reality he has spoken of peace only to hide his policy of aggression. Since then he has carried out the so-called Vietnamization of the war, a plan that encompasses the reinforcement of the South-Vietnamese puppet army, the intensification of "pacification" using extremely barbarous methods of slaughter for the purpose of achieving the frenetic aspirations of the Yankee imperialists to occupy South Viet Nam permanently, converting it into their neocolony and military base, and maintaining for all time the division of Viet Nam.

The plan of "Vietnamization of the war" was drawn up from the nonsalvageable position of defeat for Yankee imperialism, dating from the beginning of 1968. The years 1969 and 1970 have been years of continuous and serious defeats for the United States on the battlefield of South Viet Nam. With the intensification and extension of the war to Laos and Cambodia, the Yankee imperialists hope to be able to rescue themselves from their precarious situation in Viet Nam. But their military adventure in Cambodia resulted in a serious defeat, and their special war in Laos is receiving mortal blows from the Laotian people, plunging the United States still deeper into its difficult economic and political situation at home and isolating it more every day from the world.

The long and arduous patriotic war of the Vietnamese people is developing within very favorable conditions while the enemy finds himself faced with more severe and insurmountable difficulties each day. We, the 31 000 000 Vietnamese, raise our fighting will higher than ever, determined to persist and intensify the anti-Yankee struggle for national salvation until total victory is achieved, and at the same time reinforcing the militant solidarity with the neighboring peoples of Laos and Cambodia in order to completely defeat the Yankee imperialist aggressors and their lackeys in Indochina.

**OSPAAAL in the
Council
of AAPSO**

COMRADES of the Presidency,
Comrade Delegates:

On behalf of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, and in our own name, we wish to express to the people, the

Council of the Revolution, presided over by Colonel Kadhafi, and they have accorded us and at the same time to express also our support and solidarity with the just struggle they are carrying out as they embark on the road of liberation of their motherland, the economic construction of the country and the frontal battle against all forms of old colonialism and the neocolonialist manifestations of the imperialists.

Permit us also to express our deepest condolence for the death of President Gamal Abdel Nasser, extraordinary leader of the people of the United Arab Republic, who made great contributions to the

solidarity among our peoples and whose life was dedicated to the struggle for the liberation and the welfare of his people and of all the Arab peoples.

We extend greetings to all delegations present, and express our sincere desire to see the work of this meeting crowned with success.

We live in an epoch in which the revolutionary movement has achieved extraordinary successes. The old aspirations of the peoples to attain their liberty and national independence have today become a reality and the final denouement of this centuries-old controversy between exploiters and exploited — which had its first people's victory in the October Revolution — is already evident. Nevertheless, regardless of these victories obtained by the revolutionary forces, the forces of reaction: imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, headed by Yankee imperialism, desperately resist accepting the inevitable course of history and are committing the most horrible crimes known to humanity.

In Asia, in Indochina, the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have, for many years, maintained a bloody struggle against Yankee imperialism, its 500 000 invading soldiers and its puppet troops. The sending of hundreds of thousands of US soldiers to South Viet Nam, the criminal bombings against the territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the repression and crimes against the South Vietnamese population, the special war and the bombings against the liberated zones of Laos, the coup d'état against the neutralist government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the subsequent invasion of that country by US, Saigonese and Thai troops, have brought Yankee imperialism to the most desperate situation it has ever confronted in this criminal aggression. The final results of this war are inevitable: the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia will win. But Yankee imperialism refuses to accept its defeat and the Nixon Administration continues preparing new plans of aggression against these peoples. Our permanent duty, each and every day, is to support this heroic struggle, offer it our unrestricted solidarity and support. Everything we may be able to do for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia is little compared to the extraordinary sacrifices they are making in their struggle to attain their liberation and defeat imperialist aggression, because at present each people who struggle for their liberation contribute to the struggle of all other people; it is one more war being waged to weaken the forces of imperialism and reaction. Therefore, the victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are also our own victories, and their struggle, their heroic sacrifices, should also be ours.

We wish to express our support for the just struggle of the people of South Korea to expel the aggressor army of the Yankee imperialists from their country; for the people of Japan, who indefatigably fight against the resurgence of militarism and imperialism in their homeland; for the peoples of Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines, whose struggle grows daily. We also support the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just

struggle against the aggressions of Yankee imperialism and the puppet regime in the southern part of Korea and for the independent reunification of the country, as well as the struggle of the Chinese people for the reincorporation of the island of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the territory of the People's Republic of China.

We take advantage of this opportunity to reaffirm our total support for the position of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam expressed in the ten-point global proposal and in the Eight Points proposed by Comrade Thi Binh in the Paris talks; for the position expressed in the Four Points of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; for the Five-Point Proposal made last March 6 by the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and for the proposal issued on March 23, 1970, by the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the only and genuine representative of these people. We condemn the Nixon plan of Vietnamization of the war, which is merely a continuation of the war of aggression against Viet Nam, while he extends the war against Laos and Cambodia and continues the massacre of these three countries on the peninsula of Indochina.

We condemn Nixon's five points, dated October 7, whose aim is to deceive public opinion in the United States as a propaganda device for this month's Congressional electoral campaign. This maneuver of Nixon's is also aimed at deceiving the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to continue, under a legal mantle, the criminal war against the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

In the Middle East, the Palestinian people, evicted from their lands more than 20 years ago, are now facing an unequal battle against the forces of Zionism and imperialism, fighting heroically for the liberation of their homeland and for the inalienable rights of their people. We support their heroic struggle and the heroic struggle of all Arab peoples against Israel, pawn of Yankee imperialism in this region of the world. We support the United Arab Republic, Syria and the people of Jordan, victims of the Israeli-imperialist aggression of June 1967, parts of whose territories are unjustifiably occupied by the aggressor. The march of the Arab peoples along the road of revolution can no longer be contained. The Libyan people's revolutionary experience, one of the most recent, constitutes perhaps the best example, together with those offered by the peoples of Algeria, Syria, the UAR, South Yemen, Sudan and Irak.

The heroic struggle carried out by the peoples of Guinea (B), Angola and Mozambique in Africa offers another dramatic testimony of the criminal methods used by the colonialists and racists in the repression of the peoples, and at the same time is a testimony to the heroic resistance of the peoples when they struggle for a just cause. The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and the Liberation Front of Mozambique merit our full support, as do the revolutionary organizations which in South Africa, Zimbabwe,

Namibia, Congo-Kinshasa (ANC, ZAPU, SWAPU, and CNL respectively) are fighting bravely. Yankee imperialism gives all kinds of support to the Portuguese colonialists as well as to the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury in order to prevent the liberation of the Portuguese colonies, Zimbabwe and Namibia, thereby unmasking itself from day to day before the peoples of Africa and of the world. The struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia against the white racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury must have all our support and solidarity.

In Latin America we are witnessing events of singular importance: the victories of the Cuban Revolution; the revolutionary armed struggle carried out by the peoples of Uruguay, Bolivia, Argentina, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, Brazil and Venezuela; the fight for independence of the brave people of Puerto Rico, are now extending to sectors outside the most oppressed masses — peasants and workers — to include intellectuals, large sections of the petite bourgeoisie, as well as religious and military groups. The popular triumph in the last elections held in Chile, with the designation of the candidate of the people's forces, Salvador Allende, as President of the Republic, is another blow to imperialism on this continent, along with the antioligarchic and anti-imperialist process being carried out in Peru. We wish to stress our support of the struggle of the Latin-American peoples and warn the peoples of Africa and Asia to remain alert to the attempts of Yankee imperialism to block the popular triumph in Chile. We likewise call the attention of the peoples of Africa and Asia to the repression unleashed against the Tupamaros and other revolutionary sectors in Uruguay, where the revolutionary movement has attained extraordinary successes — as well as in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, Puerto Rico and other Latin-American countries.

Within the United States proper, the development reached by the revolutionary forces during the past years threatens to shake the structures of imperialist domination.

The movement of youth against the Viet Nam war; the struggle of the Afro-American people against racial discrimination and the exploitation to which they are subjected, and for better living conditions; the struggle of the students; of the Indian and Chicano minorities and the Puerto Rican immigrants, are shaping up to a force whose magnitude is incalculable. The repression against the leaders of the black movement and the murder of students — as occurred at Kent University — are expressions of the brutality of which Yankee imperialism is capable, not only towards other peoples, but even against its own people as well.

Faced with these criminal acts, and with the imperialist aggressions against the peoples, our duty is to foster a greater cohesion among the revolutionary ranks, to make our own struggle — the solidarity among our peoples — more effective in its unity against the common enemy of all the peoples: Yankee imperialism.

Long live the solidarity among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!

Tripoli, November 10, 1970

Letter from the Red Army

September 18, 1970, Tokyo

To the editor

Tricontinental magazine

Dear Comrade:

I have just received **Tricontinental** No. 18, in which you printed an article, "Red Army," which I dictated

last year in Havana. We appreciate your just decision to have included our statement in the issue. However, I must confess my great regret that there was a seriously misleading and erroneous paragraph in the article, which appeared on page 125 in the last two paragraphs. The magazine prints sentences reading as follows:

So we want the return of Okinawa to Japan and Japanese control of its bases — even though we know that the Japanese military will continue aggressive policies and will, in fact, be tied to and controlled by US military forces. But the basic question is whether the island belongs to the US or to Japan.

In the process of conducting our struggle to regain control of Okinawa, it will become clear to the people that the Japanese army is not independently strong, or independently well pre-

pared, that it cannot really do anything without the aid and backing of the US. Before World War II, the Japanese army was very strong and prestigious but both its strength and its prestige were destroyed after the war, and today the army lacks the support of the people.

We do not mind why this occurred or who is responsible for this, but we strongly and sincerely ask you to publish, in the next issue, an article of correction for the sake of better understanding of our comrades all over the world. If possible, we want the above indicated paragraphs to be replaced by the following and that the new paragraph will be published as correction.

The new paragraphs should read:

We do not want a mere territorial reversion of Okinawa to Japan, if it is to become the beginning of another oppressive military control of the island by the Japanese imperialists, this time, for their counterrevolutionary control, economic and military, over whole Asia. We know that the Japanese military will continue its aggressive policies and will, in fact, be tied to and controlled by US military forces. We denounce any imperialist control, Japan or America, of Okinawa, as we denounce any imperialist control of any part of the world. Our ultimate objective is the liberation of Okinawa, which could be realized only when the people of Okinawa and the "mainland" Japan are united for a revolutionary communist cause and fight with all the revolutionary peoples of the world against imperialism. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie of Japan, whose imperialist military forces are suffering from the opposition of the people, lost the strength and prestige it used to have in the pre-World War II days. To restore its prestige and support of the people, as well as to increase its independence as military force able to invade into Asia, the ruling class of Japan is now promoting chauvinism and feeling of prestige among the Japanese people.

We are looking forward to your understanding of our concern and to your kindness to publish it as correction. We should like to enclose at the same time, the latest issues of our organ **Red Note** in which we report our attitude toward Okinawa and the US-Japan Security Treaty. Please read them and see what we want to mean. If you find them worth printing, please use them for your article. We appreciate it very much.

Hasta la victoria siempre!

Terumasa Hatano
Red Army, Japan

Puerto Rico: Crisis and Independence

Carlos Padilla

An interview with Comrade Carlos Padilla, delegate of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI) to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, in which he refers to the present state of the struggle against US colonial domination.

Would you explain the present status of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement?

The Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement, which arose as our people's patriotic vanguard in the struggle for its independence, has

gone through a stage of development which expresses the actual situation and the necessity for our national liberation struggle. Our movement arose in 1959 out of a need to restructure the independence struggle, which had suffered serious blows during the repression unleashed by North American imperialism against the patriotic struggle led then by Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos, inspiration for the campaign of national liberation of the people of Puerto Rico over the last 40 years.

Our movement's development has been based on the political, economic and social realities of our country. Thus a patriotic vanguard gradually transforms itself into a revolutionary vanguard; and it is not that the Pro-Independence Movement has discarded the patriotic road in its development into a revolutionary vanguard, but rather that we understand the difference between the one and the other to depend on the level and degree of our country's struggle. That means the Pro-Independence Movement understands that in Puerto Rico the struggle against North American imperialist domination will have to develop, as in the past, through a series of confrontations with the oppressor forces, such repressive North American organizations as the armed forces, the Central Intelligence Agency, the domestic police with US chiefs, and the whole oppressive colonial structure that the United States has built up in Puerto Rico over more than 70 years of colonial domination; and these confrontations with North American imperialism will have to keep on occurring as a logical necessity of

the struggle we are heading. It is here that we wish to establish clearly the difference between a patriotic vanguard and a revolutionary vanguard, since we entered into the political struggle as an organization that sought to awaken the consciousness of Puerto Ricans, and organize them to carry out the struggle against imperialism and for independence. But to the degree that the MPI was developing, to the degree that its actions were more seriously affecting the bases of North American imperialist domination in our country, it was becoming radicalized, aware that — although it was not our movement's position — the struggle for liberation would take place not only through political struggles and mass movements which the MPI, as a political organization, directs, but also and very especially by means of the development of armed struggle.

The MPI does not pretend to monopolize the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico, for it understands that independence will be the result of a joint, simultaneous action on the part of diverse patriotic, revolutionary and anti-imperialist organizations. Moreover, we have lauded and supported over and over again the actions against North American imperialism's economic and military establishments in our country, by the Liberation Armed Commandos (CAL), an organization developing the fight on the level of armed struggle, while the Pro-Independence Movement is an organization that directs the political fight and does not try to direct anything other than this fight. We know that out of this coincidence between the MPI and the other organizations of political and revolutionary struggle, North American colonialism's defeat in our country will occur.

That is why we have insisted on and put into practice a policy of unity with the other organizations that struggle loyally for the independence and liberation of Puerto Rico.

This is the case with the Puerto Rican Independence Party, which is an organization that believes in achieving independence by electoral means — that is to say, through an election. It is another example of the fact that the MPI is absolutely certain of the need to develop this type of united work it is carrying out with the Puerto Rican Independence Party and other groups that are faithful and loyal combatants for independence and against imperialist domination.

Padilla, what are the tactical steps the MPI is developing at this point for independence and against imperialist domination?

In our political thesis — that is to say, in what constitutes the analysis, focus and program of the Pro-Independence Movement — our tactical objective in the fight for independence has been clearly established; we realize that to achieve this goal it is necessary and essential to create a truly chaotic colonial situation in our country. With the result that our struggle is oriented toward producing this crisis in Puerto Rico. This effort develops at distinct levels: through political work with the dispossessed working masses and with the marginal and poor communities of the most important cities, and also through the struggle that the students of Puerto Rico — university as well as secondary students — are developing. We

understand the need to undermine the bases of imperialism's support in order to create auspicious conditions for transformation, for a real change in the situation in which our country struggles under the imperialist domination of the United States.

A crisis in the colonial system has to be created to produce the change from the colonialism that we have suffered for more than 70 years to independence, even though it be formal independence; and we say very clearly that nothing less than a crisis will bring Puerto Rico independence. With this clear comprehension we develop our campaigns and mould our watchword to reality, we join with the people and organize the struggle against the monopolies that despoil our country, confronting them when they try to take over certain spheres of our economic resources and general activities not yet under their domination, as are Kennecott and American Metal Climax, two of the principal North American metallurgical monopolies that manage to control the rich deposits of copper found in the central mountain zone of our country. At the same time we develop the people's consciousness, especially that of our youth, so they refuse to serve as cannon fodder for North American imperialism in its aggressions directed at the people who struggle against its domination — as is the case with the peoples of Indochina, victims of North American imperialist aggression.

Thus, following our orientation, our slogan, thousands of young Puerto Ricans have refused up to now to enter the Armed Forces of the United States. Due to the strength this campaign has achieved, the North American courts in our country have found it impossible to send these young men to dungeons and prisons. That is to say, not a single Puerto Rican youth out of the many who have expressed before the courts and military authorities their determination not to serve in the US Armed Forces has been sent to prison, because of the strength and the magnitude of the movement developed by MPI in its tactical proposal to create a crisis of the colonial system in our country and eliminate the bases of North American imperialism's support.

Simultaneously we mobilized the students to struggle in defense of our cultural patrimony and confront the maneuvers of imperialism to annihilate Puerto Rican culture, strip it of its value and establish a colonial vision of Puerto Rico's national existence. This struggle is evident in a very advanced form in the universities of the country and especially at the University of Puerto Rico, whose center is in Rio Piedras, and in other important cities of the country. At the secondary level also, this struggle to preserve our cultural treasure is very successfully being waged, despite repression by the colonial school authorities, who — as is to be expected — expel the students who go into the streets or rise up in the classroom to denounce North American imperialism's plans for our culture.

They are trying to reduce our history to the last 72 years — that is to say, the period of Yankee imperialist domination. They try to ignore the development of the struggle for independence and throw dirt on the memory of the men who led this struggle for more than a hundred years. Imperialism, nevertheless, has been

unable to keep from our youth and our people the figures of Ramón Emeterio Betances, who directed and organized the revolutionary uprising of September 23, 1868, and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico in the epoch of Spanish domination; nor has it been able to maintain in obscurity the figure of Don Pedro Albizu Campos, who from 1930 to his death in 1965 directed the struggle against North American imperialism with absolute dedication, and whose example and teachings are undoubtedly the finest legacy, the inestimable treasure of the generations who today fight to maintain on high the flag that he raised in our country in the face of the North American oppressors. And this is true of all the personalities, organizations, intellectuals that have contributed to forging the strong cement on which Puerto Rican nationalism is based: and the youth are more and more interested and devoted to the ideals and example of these extraordinary men who, in the most difficult of circumstances, faced the oppressors, the exploiters. They faced the North American imperialists to tell them that the will of our country is one and that this will is to become a free, independent and sovereign nation.

For this reason we believe it is indispensable to undercut and undermine the political, economic, and repressive fundamentals of North American imperialism in Puerto Rico in order to achieve our independence, but at the same time we think that if this independence — whose profundity will be in direct relation to the intensity of the struggle that our political and revolutionary effort achieves — if this formal independence is delayed further and further as North American imperialism is attempting, then it will be more radical, an independence that will be not merely formal but effective, and we will begin from that moment the road toward the reconquest of what North American imperialism has robbed from us in so many years of domination. That is to say, we will take the road of national liberation.

With respect to the development of this struggle, what relations does MPI have with Puerto Rican groups in the United States?

The Pro-Independence Movement has its own organization in the United States — that is to say, we have a central mission there which in its turn has various patriotic missions. The central mission directs the work of the cells, which we call patriotic missions, in distinct Puerto Rican communities in the United States: New York, New Jersey, Chicago and other cities. In New York, the Bronx is a borough in which more than 800 000 Puerto Ricans live. But aside from our own organization which develops its intensive work with our emigrant comrades in the United States, MPI carries out a broad policy of stimulus, collaboration and solidarity with various groups and organizations of Puerto Ricans that exist in the United States to fight against the oppression of which they are victims. Thus we have excellent relations with the Young Lords, we support them in their activities and they support ours; we develop activities together that have had magnificent and appreciable results in the sharpening struggle the Puerto Ricans are experiencing at this time in the United States. Not only do we have relations with Puerto Rican groups, but also very close relations with North American radicals, with various movements of workers as well as

students and mass organizations in that country. Our relations with the black movement in the United States have been very close over the past years. We have interchanged delegations, made contacts, held conversations and, beyond that, signed agreements of mutual support in the struggle against North American imperialism.

Thus the breadth that the Puerto Rican struggle has achieved today within the United States itself is not surprising, and as a result of the impetus this independence struggle has shown in Puerto Rico, it is producing in the United States a growing level of consciousness on the part of the most radical elements in that country. We believe that solidarity and mutual support between the Pro-Independence Movement and radical groups, as well as with Afro-American organizations in the United States, constitutes an essential factor in the success of our independence struggle.

We maintain the necessity for developing increasing and close relations with the workers' movement of the United States and, with this in mind, we have exchanged delegations with US proletarian groups. They have visited our country, where they have seen the conditions in which our workers live exploited by the North American monopolies, and they have listened to these reports, they have become aware of the fact that the Puerto Rican working class is actually exploited with as great or greater cruelty than the North American working class, since the Puerto Rican worker has a salary which is only a third of that the North American worker receives, while the cost of living in Puerto Rico is at least 25% higher than in the United States. Such data clearly show the superexploitation of the Puerto Rican worker by the North American monopolies that rule Puerto Rico at their own discretion.

So we have taken very seriously the importance of our relations with the growing antifascist movement, the tremendous discontent of the working class and of North American youth, and we know that to a great extent, the takeoff and final success of our independence struggle depends on the support that we find in these important sectors.

A final question: How does the movement you represent view the present level of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America and Puerto Rico's position within its context?

Latin America — that is to say, the countries that are a part of it — have been very especially the backyard for North American imperialism in the last decades of this century. There the monopolies have had abundant raw material which they have carried off at ridiculous prices while, on the other hand, they have raised the price of the industrial products imported from the United States by Latin-American countries.

But this condition of being US imperialism's backyard, secure base of operation for monopoly and militarism, is now indubitably damaged; that imperial dominion that the North Americans exercised in Latin America has been shattered and it is progressively losing its power in Latin America as dramatized very clearly in the struggle developed by the movements, parties and revolutionary personalities that have contributed with their positions to shaking the imperial power of the United States in Latin Amer-

ica. The revolutionary struggle is developing in Latin America, most particularly since the Cuban people crowned with victory their struggle against the tyranny and domination of the United States in 1959. Since then the struggle against imperialism has been evolving and growing constantly despite the very hard blows the revolutionary movements on our continent have received, as for example, the assassination of Che in Bolivia and of other outstanding leaders throughout Latin America. This situation is going to reach a point which the Latin-American revolutionaries will mark with their struggle, in which the eclipse of the North American imperialists in Latin America will be determined. This eclipse of the power of the United States will not be the result, we maintain, of the action of bureaucrats, of leaders who do not wish to dirty their hands; it will not be the result of compromises, but will come about as the product of the open struggle we are developing with intransigence in the face of North American imperialism.

Of this we have not the slightest doubt, since the very example of the struggle we are undertaking in our country has convinced us of this.

The North American imperialists do not understand the power the people themselves are developing. They do not understand the respect the peoples of Latin America merit. They constantly and in a thousand ways violate the sovereignty of our people. They hurl their troops against them, as in the ominous military intervention they carried out in the Dominican Republic. They prepare adventures such as Playa Girón in Cuba, where the CIA and Yankee imperialism were defeated by the Cuban people. And thus imperialism continues to fall into a cul-de-sac from which it has no out; because to the degree that it evidences greater clumsiness in its understanding of the Latin-American reality, imperialism has to become more isolated, weaker all the time, because simultaneously alongside it, the will and the decision of the Latin-American people are becoming greater and stronger. And we want it clearly understood that when we speak of Latin America we are speaking of the great homeland, we are speaking of peoples and nations that not only have a common past, but more importantly, have common enemies and a common destiny in the struggle against imperialist oppression and the oligarchic classes that have maintained themselves in power precisely with the support of North American imperialists and all the imperialists that have dominated Latin America.

If we speak of Latin America we do so because we have the profound conviction that these peoples have sufficient vitality, they have sufficient comprehension and consciousness to confront this enemy which they must defeat: North American imperialism. Puerto Rico is a part of these Latin-American peoples despite the fact that Yankee imperialism has tried to close us off, isolate us from the family of peoples to which we belong. But the Puerto Rican nation is and will be an inseparable part of the great family of Latin-American peoples, and the struggle against imperialism will indubitably end with a victory, with a triumph of these peoples, and with the overthrow of imperialism.

Marighella: Creative Life and Action

Joaquim Camara Ferreira



Just as the rural guerrilla front was about to be opened — second stage of the strategy planned — the vigorous Brazilian fighter Carlos Marighella, initiator of armed struggle in the city and head of National Liberation Action, was shot down on a street in São Paulo (November 4, 1969). But the time that has passed since his assassination has not been one of rejoicing for the military group that ordered his execution. The Subversive Commando, as his persecutors were given to call it, was not eliminated with his death. He had forewarned in a proclamation, "the Subversive Commando is the people's discontent" and this is not eliminated by tortures nor by the physical death of the revolutionaries.

The spies of the political police (DOPS) and their CIA assistants pressured too fervently to rub his name off the list as **public enemy number 1**; Preto's musket did not remain silent but became more warlike and subversive. The relay took his place and new combatants arose to continue and extend the struggle. Expropriations of banks and foreign properties, occupation of radio transmitters, seizure of arms, kidnapping of representatives of exploiting governments, actions in the Ribeira valley where Lamarca and the group in training broke through an encirclement of 20 000 men, artillery and planes. . . the people's rejection of the electoral farce called by Garrastazú Medici.

The enumeration of certain facts assembled in the declaration signed by the ALN, VPR, MR-8 and MR-Tiradentes, calling for the annulment of the vote, reaffirms the justice of Marighella's thesis singling out armed struggle as the only method of confronting the military regime. Salaries today are 35% less than in 1964, taxes are exorbitant, imperialism each year takes a billion dollars out of Brazil by its exploitation. The number of national industries in bankruptcy absorbed by the North American monopolies is growing all the time. It is estimated that there are some 12 000 political prisoners, most of them subjected to tortures and held without charge — some of them assassinated. A recent law of General Garrastazú Medici establishes "prior censorship" for literary and scientific books.

This is the picture of the present situation in Brazil. The revolutionary vanguard is dedicating its efforts to changing it. Marighella's example is the banner of the struggle. His intransigence, tenacity, his lucid vision of the road to be followed, his action carried out to its ultimate consequences, his faith in final victory, are the ingredients that raise

hopes and inspire his people to organize and fight fiercely.

Not for nothing did the tyranny organize the net — on the eve of the first anniversary of the crime — throwing into prison more than 4300 citizens as a "preventive measure" against actions planned in commemoration of the date.

At the end of October a new assassination increased the regime's debt to the Brazilian people, this time in the person of Joaquim Camara Ferreira, who succeeded Marighella as commander of the ALN and was his ideological comrade, in work, in politics, in jail, in the underground and in armed action, for more than 40 years. In 1970, Camara Ferreira wrote the introduction to the book on Marighella published by Tricontinental Publishers, which we reproduce here. The final words of this text, applicable today to him, are worth repeating: "His example will continue to light the liberation struggle of all Brazilians who know how to avenge him through the revolution itself."

TRICONTINENTAL's publication of several of the works of Carlos Marighella is not only a tribute to the man who has done most to give the Brazilian revolutionary movement a new direction, but in our opinion is also a contribution to those numerous forces, particularly in Latin America, who are now beginning to follow the example of the Cuban and the Vietnamese people, and take up the arms that the reactionaries forced Che and now Marighella, too, to drop.

In the books, pamphlets, and documents he wrote from 1964 on, not everything is original. There is a great deal of Lenin, of Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, Fidel, Che Guevara, and many others. But it is not copied material. He applies to the Brazilian situation, the universal truths expressed in the ideas of the great leaders of emancipation struggles of all times. From his analysis of the physical, economic, and social conditions of Brazil, he extracts new and original elements. "Orthodoxy belongs to religion, to the old religion," he used to say.

His constant concern with making the revolution is what led the man to dedicate his entire life to the cause of socialism, to developing a new overall strategy for the Brazilians' fight for liberation. For him, the expression "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution" was not simply a slogan but, on the contrary, had a very profound meaning. All the sacrifices made through the decades were made for the revolution. But when he felt that the men in the organization to which he belonged persisted in applying worn-out formulas, that they insisted on keeping the struggle within narrow tactical limits "until the objective and subjective conditions for revolution were ripe," he realized that the moment for radical change had arrived.

For him, the objective conditions for revolution have existed for a long time because of imperialist actions, and the system of land ownership. The coup of '64 showed this clearly by creating a situation in which the escape valves of bourgeois democracy were closed. Revolution became the order of the day from that time on. It was a question of developing an overall strategy based on the premise of the necessity for armed struggle, the road of rural urban guerrilla warfare, the need to attack the nerve centers of the dictatorship, to attack the North Americans and the guerrillas wherever they are. It will be the task of other revolutionaries, following his example, to mobilize and draw together the struggle of growing numbers of workers, students, peasants, and men of the people in general.

It is this perspective (and also the clear understanding that the liberation of the peoples of Latin America is one single battle and that from now on, in the battle for national emancipation and a socialist road, Latin Americans must unify their forces in the same way that the struggle for

political independence in the last century became a single battle) that led him to participate in the OLAS Conference. His statements then, on Radio Havana and in the Cuban press, made a deep impact in Brazil. He spoke directly to the revolutionaries and to the people. To limit the struggle to the confines of the party would be to condemn it to the sterility of endless discussions, of tedious documents, and finally, to the end of all hope. Moreover, the Brazilian left is atomized. There are 20 or 30 organizations, all of which claim to be "the party" or "the vanguard." The creation of one more bureaucratic organization would lead nowhere. It was necessary to turn the problem upside down. A general strategic and tactical program had already been presented in the documents approved by the OLAS Conference which had synthesized the best experiences of the Latin-American peoples' liberation struggles; the conclusion coincided with the thinking that had matured among those elements that had rebelled within the Brazilian Communist Party and numerous revolutionary groups of other origins.

The essential point is action. "Action makes the vanguard," Marighella proclaimed. And the leadership? The leadership is the guerrilla, the guerrilla command. The operational command and the political-military command will be mixed together. He undertook a study of Brazilian topography and of its past history of guerrilla action.

A country of continental proportions, Brazil has no very high mountains nor dense woods in its inhabited areas. But it does have great rivers and plains that make rapid movement possible. The important factor would be to escape the strategic circle of the armed forces concentrated in the coastal area and to be thoroughly familiar with the entire area, the roads, highways, geographic peculiarities, etc., of the zones where the guerrilla groups would have to exist. In the triangle of sustenance formed by Guanabara-São Paulo-Belo Horizonte, "guerrilla axes" are fixed on "the heart of Brazil."

But the guerrilla will not be limited to "the heart of Brazil," nor will the triangle of sustenance be the only source of arms, money, technicians, medicines, etc. The guerrillas will have to spread out all over Brazil and the power of the dictatorship will have to be challenged as well in the vital organs of the country. Urban and rural guerrilla warfare, sabotage in the cities and in the countryside, actions by small groups and mass action. This is the overall strategy which he never kept secret, which he explained in detail to every revolutionary with whom he had contact. And not in order to proselytize, to place them under his command, but rather to stimulate action.

Revolutionary groups can join together or act separately, with or without ties to each other. The important fact is action. That is what will awaken revolutionary energy among our people, that is what will determine the formation of such a battle force that no one will be able to hold it back. It is what will truly unite all revolutionaries, will stimulate the development of guerrilla leadership. The vanguard will be guerrilla warfare, the command will be a guerrilla command, but the commanders will be those who prove themselves by flesh and blood in the struggle, not anyone named by a decree from the cities.

And in this connection he liked to mention the example of Virgulino Ferreira (Lampeão), the *cangaceiro* chief who fought for two decades in six states of the Northeast. Initially his brother was the leader of the group, perhaps because he was the elder. The leadership qualities of

Lampeão are what made him recognized and accepted by everyone as chief.

It was from these basic ideas, but at the same time starting from zero in terms of arms, financial resources, and trained cadres, that he began action in 1968. On the one hand he tried, along with a few others, to get to know what was called "the heart of Brazil," to make contact with the peasants, to study their reactions and their attitude toward fighting. On the other hand, he grouped around himself a number of others and began expropriation actions. He personally went to the banks for the resources necessary to finance the revolutionary plan. Other groups sprang up, accumulated arms, and diversified actions began. The anonymity was maintained for many months. The police sensed something but they had no proof as to who was carrying out the successive bank robberies and acts of sabotage, nor did they know who was directing them. At the same time other revolutionary groups began action, and this was a positive fact because it increased the number of actions and also confused the police. But in November of 1968 the Guanabara police succeeded in proving that the assault on an armored bank car was directed by Marighella and that he was at the scene of the action. A price was put on his head and he was declared "public enemy number one."

Newspaper headlines, full page photographs, magazine covers, posters, radio and television stations broadcast the news throughout the country. The versions given out were all distorted but Brazilians, accustomed to censorship and to official notices, have learned how to read between the lines. They understood, correctly, that there was a real revolutionary action taking place and that it was possible to act against the dictatorship. For this very reason, Marighella said that the robbery had produced not just the 120 million old cruzeiros for the needs of the revolution, but 5120 million. The publicity experts estimated at more than 5000 million the cost of so much publicity throughout the capitalist communications media.

The actions continued from whatever sources, and the movement, at this level, had grown and spread to various parts of the country. It was necessary to consolidate it into one organization. That is how the National Liberation Action came into being. In the document "Organizational Questions" it says that the organization will have a mass front, dedicated chiefly to work in the factories, the neighborhoods, the schools, farms, etc., on the basis of people's immediate needs, but always with a general revolutionary perspective; this "front" convinces the masses through propaganda and actual experience, of the necessity for armed guerrilla struggle. The **supply front**, or **logistics**, brings together those groups able to contribute to the direct solution of what is needed for armed guerrilla action. The **guerrilla front** is made up of armed tactical groups in the cities and men active in the countryside. Finally, those elements engaged in the specific preparation of rural guerrilla warfare are directly tied to what it was decided would be called **strategic work**. The most careful security measures are insisted upon as is intense propaganda action — armed and unarmed — intended to awaken the masses.

At the same time, National Liberation Action never claims to be "the party" or "the vanguard." It does not grow out of the electoral process, meetings, and congresses, but rather out of its own actions. Its leadership is made up of those elements that have most distinguished themselves on each work front, especially the guerrilla front, and for this reason

it is not a question of a crystallized and rigid organization of "democratic centralism." The vanguard actually evolves from the initiation of armed struggle in the countryside, from rural guerrilla warfare and its development into a prolonged war of liberation.

We constitute a revolutionary group and there are others. We do not claim to be the owners of the revolution, only to fulfill our revolutionary obligation. What concerns us, because it concerns the Brazilian revolutionary movement, is that all the organizations should become active. They should always act in the best interest of the revolution and facilitate the participation of other organizations in the revolutionary action. When it is necessary, they should participate together in specific actions; but we should avoid the amalgamation of organizations since that invites the risk of exposure to the police in case of arrest. As is known, actions of this type have been carried out (for example, the kidnapping of the United States Ambassador), and have resulted in closer ties among the organizations involved.

As he was making the last efforts to insure the security of a sizeable group of comrades (Marighella was always more preoccupied with the security of others than with his own) and was preparing to initiate the war in the countryside, Marighella fell in the struggle.

There are those today who ask whether the action will be continued after such a serious blow as the assassination of the principal director of the organization, the man who contributed most to the qualitative change in the Brazilian revolutionary movement. But Marighella himself was very clear about this. Last October, in answer to a French journalist from the magazine *Front*, who asked him whether he himself would carry out to the end the process he had initiated, he said:

This is not the question. The revolution does not depend on individuals but is a matter of the people and their vanguard. My role was to give the initial spark. Our organization, for the most part, is made up of young people under 25 years old. It is up to the best of them to provide the leadership. One of them will take up my banner or, if you prefer, my gun.

And the message later to the 15 patriots freed from jail in exchange for the US Ambassador, expressed once more his deep confidence in the continuation, the development, and the victory of the Brazilian people's struggle: "The Brazilian people have begun to move forward — resolutely, shoulder to shoulder with the other Latin-American peoples, with their eyes fixed on the Cuban Revolution, symbol of the triumph of the armed revolutionary movement."

On the prophetic night of November 4, police agents of the dictatorship snuffed out the life of the great revolutionary leader. But instead of choking the revolution, they only succeeded in issuing a still stronger call to the battle to which his whole life had been dedicated.

Today, the name of Carlos Marighella is written with honor beside the names of Che Guevara and hundreds of other heroes in the fight for liberty, for independence, for a happy future for mankind.

His example will continue to light the liberation struggle of all Brazilians who know how to avenge him through the revolution itself.

J. Camara Ferreira
for the National Liberation Action leadership
Havana, November 1969



news behind
the news

□Sergio Paranhos Fleury (36 years old), known to be responsible for the assassination of Carlos Marighella, entered the Death Squadron through his relationship with the world of crime. The Squadron was organized in Rio de Janeiro in 1968 at the instigation of General Amauri Kruei, but achieved its fullest development in São Paulo ten years later through the desire of the police to even accounts with the drug traders who refused to pay royalties (in goods and money). This was denounced by one of the traders named Robertão, who presented a judicial complaint and was then riddled with bullets. Paranhos Fleury is a known drug addict, a regular user of the drug



pervertin which he injects daily in his leg. This has affected the main artery and joints in his right heel, giving him a peculiar gait.

His extensive list of services as criminal includes some 40 common prisoners, in addition to the persecution and assassination of revolutionaries. Fleury has been identified as the personal torturer of the wife of the worker José Sabino Santana and of the priests Ives Lesbeaux Pins and Fernando Brito. For these accumulated "merits" he was recently named head of the shock groups of the Department of Public and Social Order (DOPS), the Bandeirantes Operation (in charge of organizing torture), the Death Squadron and the Operative Center for Investigations (CODI), all coordinated by the Army Command.

Journalistic sources have noted the existence of a photo of Sergio Paranhos Fleury taken in 1968 by a Canadian priest which shows him participating in the secret shooting of an alleged criminal. Sister Maurina Borges de Silveira, Mother Superior of Santa Ana Convent, referred to the sinister individual in a letter denouncing the tortures to which she was subjected during her captivity: "...Commissioner Fleury asked me: 'Were you Mario Lorenzato's lover? Say yes, just that, and it is all over. Don't say you weren't like the others.' [...] They connected the electric shock equipment and enjoyed themselves at my expense."

The latest exploit by the torturer Paranhos Fleury is having personally directed, on October 22, 1970, the operation against Marighella's successor as director of ALN, Joaquim Camara Ferreira (Toledo or O Velho),

who was tortured to death.

Among his chief men of action (salaried bullies) in the São Paulo Squadron are Helio Tavares, Ernesto Milton Dias, Raul Ferrreira, Ruben Cardoso de Melo Tucunduva. Also implicated are Augusto de Oliveira and his brother Antônio Augusto, Trailler, Givani, Demarizinho, Leme, Silvio, Santos, Nelson Querido, Delbor Carpes Fagundes, Abilio, Eduardo Yavier Santana, Angelino Moliterano, Astrogildo Correia, Deodaro, Gaucho Bigode, Morvan Lopes Carneiro, Justino Silva and others not identified.

□ Although the sale of arms has always been good business over the past ten years, the enormity of the transactions and the growing contrast between the high technical quality of the materials and the low technical level of those who use them, has marked a new aspect of this trade.

In effect, the step from colonialism to neocolonialism has totally changed the perspectives of the war merchants.

In the "classic" colonial epoch, the only possibility for sale was turning over secondhand arms to feed a rebellion. The operation was merely a commercial accessory, the principal objective was political. Thus, Czarist Russia furnished arms to the Afghan tribes in order to keep the Indian border in a state of insecurity that favored an eventual Russian intervention.

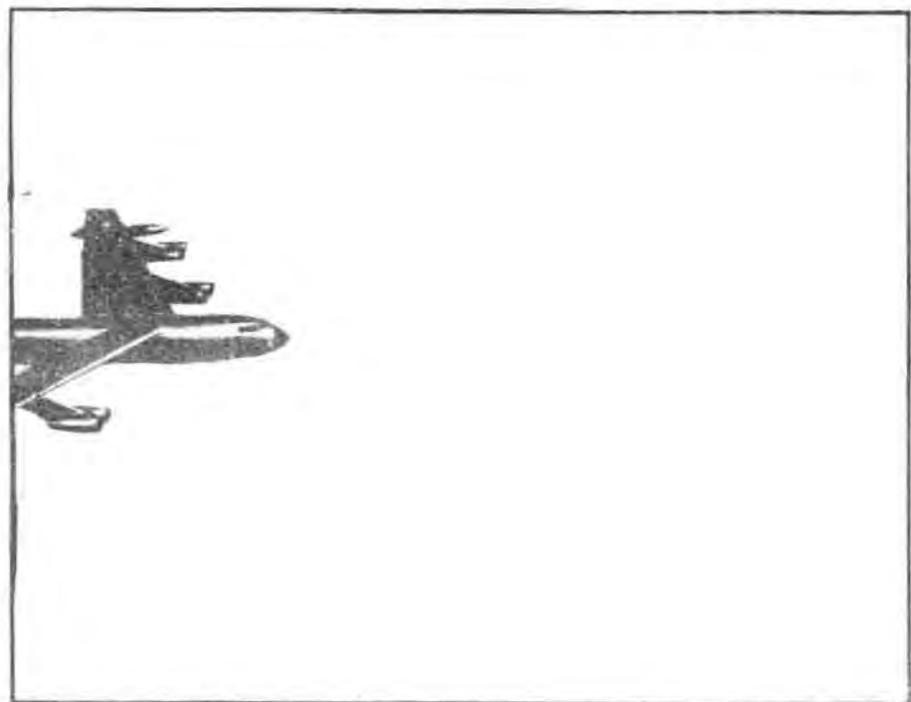
This tactic was continued from 1914 to 1917 by Germany in Mexico in order to support a conflict with the United States that could postpone any threat of the latter's intervention in Europe.

As a typical historic procedure, we cite the furnishing of third-hand arms by the colonial power to certain indigenous collaborating tribes in order to form auxiliary troops without danger to the metropolis. As a general practice, for the colonial powers, any modern arming of the colonized peoples, even against enemy territory, was fundamentally out of the question because it was too dangerous.

It took the First World War and an increasingly urgent hunger for cannon fodder for the situation to evolve a bit. After all, the evolution was very prudent: solidly "incorporated" indigenous troops. The only exception to the rule was Lawrence's adventure which brought the Arab people

into war against the Turks. It is unnecessary to recall that this attempt **immediately** ran into the hostility of the great British General Command and that, at the end of the war, the subjugation of the Arab people by British forces left nothing enviable to the way in which the Turks had behaved.

At that time, the only "clients" in the modern sense of the term were the small countries, chiefly the Balkans in relation to the European continent and the Latin-American countries in the Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence. The method of exploitation was now neocolonial: following the independence struggles against the colonial powers (Turkey for the Balkans, Spain where Latin



America was concerned), the capitalist powers began supplying arms to the sovereigns or dictators who were their devotees. Thus began the system of impositions.

All the advantages of neocolonialism now appeared: extension of the market, surplus sales, bloody battles between neighboring countries, etc. On this basis, a particularly successful method was put into practice, first by Germany, then by France and finally by Great Britain, with respect to Russia.

The utilization of neocolonialist methods is now general. But in order to understand the present extent of the markets, the second factor must be included: the formation of the military-industrial complex, sustained within the framework of most nonsocialist nations by the policy of anticommunist alliances imposed by Yankee imperialism.

The Military-Industrial Complex in the United States

In 1936 the North American army made its first major contributions to the arms industry, although the principal clients were France and Great Britain. It was not until United States entry into the war that this industry reached full development. The Yankee military budget rose from \$1500 million in 1940 to \$75 000 million in 1968. In February of 1940 the United States Air Force had 4400 planes; in 1943, 100 000; in 1944, 290 000.

It is said that the most beautiful stories have an ending: in August 1945, the cancellation of contracts begins.

In 1946, Boeing, which built bombers (B-17, B-29, B-50), releases 21 000 of its 29 000 workers. Lockheed reduces its personnel

of 80 000 to 40 000 workers.

Douglas, the least affected because it specialized in transport equipment adaptable to civilian needs, releases 26 000 of its 165 000 workers.

The North American aeronautics industry really tries to play the role of civilian transportation but:

1) The market is more limited than that of military equipment, which is also destroyed more quickly.

2) The army liquidates its excess military transport equipment.

3) The clients are much more difficult and less sensitive to pressures from influentials.

In 1948 the aeronautics industry reaches its lowest level. But that same year it increases with the Berlin blockade and the beginning of the Cold War, although its chief rise occurs in 1949 with the Korean war. Military orders jump from \$1800 million in 1949 to \$10 837 million in 1954 (see Table 1). They maintain this level thanks to an intelligently supported war psychosis.

A powerful group was created made up of militarists aspiring to directorships after their retirement, industrialists, and "selected individuals" from the states in which the war industries were located.

The military market has acquired such importance that a firm such as Lockheed (\$2220 million in commercial operations in 1968), after having suffered a considerable loss in the civilian market, has worked only for the military for the past ten years. This firm could also take responsibility for the Naval equip-

ment that had been turned down by the civilian companies (Electric, now Orion).

Another firm, McDonnell, which during the Second World War produced only military equipment (including the celebrated Phantom II) could, with the impact of the Viet Nam war, turn around and buy Douglas. McDonnell-Douglas became the foremost airspace combination in the United States with \$3609 million in sales in 1968 53% in military equipment. The same occurs with other major firms.

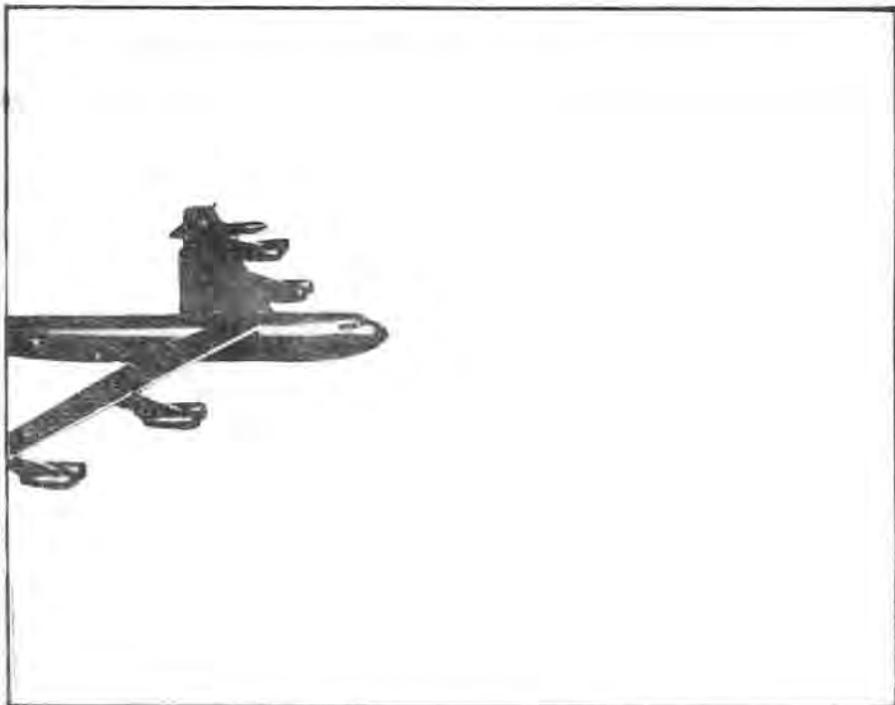
In fact, all firms work for the army, since most civilian equipment depends in the first place on military contracts which permit it to be produced in series without great financial problems,

since the army pays better and faster than civilian companies.

Moreover the military contracts permit state financing of research programs that allow private firms a low-cost technical renovation.

The Viet Nam war thus brings as a consequence a significant division within the armament industry. Those that produce classic equipment are, evidently, delighted with their advantage.

The specialists in advanced systems (electronics, rockets, third generation planes, etc.) face a crisis. For some time they have been able to compensate for the loss of military contracts with those from NASA earmarked for the Apollo project. But all research relative to this program



has now been terminated. NASA itself has just closed its center for electronics investigations and dismissed 850 employees, mainly first class researchers. For this reason they are violently hostile to the war in Viet Nam. Not because they are pacifists or favor disarmament but, on the contrary, in order to reclaim the use of "advanced" destruction systems. No need to await the outcome.

In January of 1970, McDonnell-Douglas won a contract for \$7000 million for the F-15 fighter, while RCA won an "initial" contract of \$250 million for the development of a new rocket system.

It would be interesting to study more profoundly the make-up of this complex and its role in the Cold War. But now we are interested in analyzing in particular the airspace aspect, since this is where the tie-in between the militarists and industrialists is most evident. However, this osmosis affects all industrial areas including those apparently farthest from the field of death machines.

For them the Viet Nam genocide has also acted as a magic potion. The diesels for tanks and armored cars are constructed by General Motors. Chrysler produces a mortar for the armored car, the M-109. The Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation builds the M-113 armored vehicle. The Car and Foundry Company produces, with Switzerland, the mortar for the armored car M-110.

The armaments industry represents 23% of those employed in California, 30% in Kansas, 21% in Arizona, 21% in Connecticut, 24% in New Mexico, 20%

in Utah, etc.

However important the internal market may be, the only good commercial policy is that which culminates in exports; in other words, imperialism is decidedly the higher stage of capitalism (see Table 2).

In April 1966, Henry J. Kuss, Assistant Secretary in the United States Department of Defense, explained the affair to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

If North American arms exports represent only 5% of the total production of the United States, they nevertheless represent between 50 and 75% of the military budgets of numerous "allies." And above all, the benefits of these sales are estimated to cover at least 50% of the cost of Yankee military installations abroad.

Further along we will explain this problem in detail. For the moment let us content ourselves with citing the conclusion of the Assistant Secretary of State concerning defense: "The sales of arms in regions such as the Middle East or Latin America maintain a reasonable degree of stability in these territories." What won't they say to save the conscience?

From 1961 on the annual sale of arms abroad has averaged \$3000 million.

The Military-Industrial Complex in the Developed Countries

Great Britain

The traders in cannon hold their noble title from the middle of the 19th century on. Exports of Armstrong cruisers to Italy, Japan and now Latin America. Export of Vickers cannon, etc.

The major arms trader between 1890 and 1930, Sir Basil Zaharoff, was a member of the Order of the Garter.

Converted today by **decolonization**, the British arms industry is going well although the US and especially French competition is serious.

The industry is essentially private but the Foreign Ministry is none the less interested for that reason.

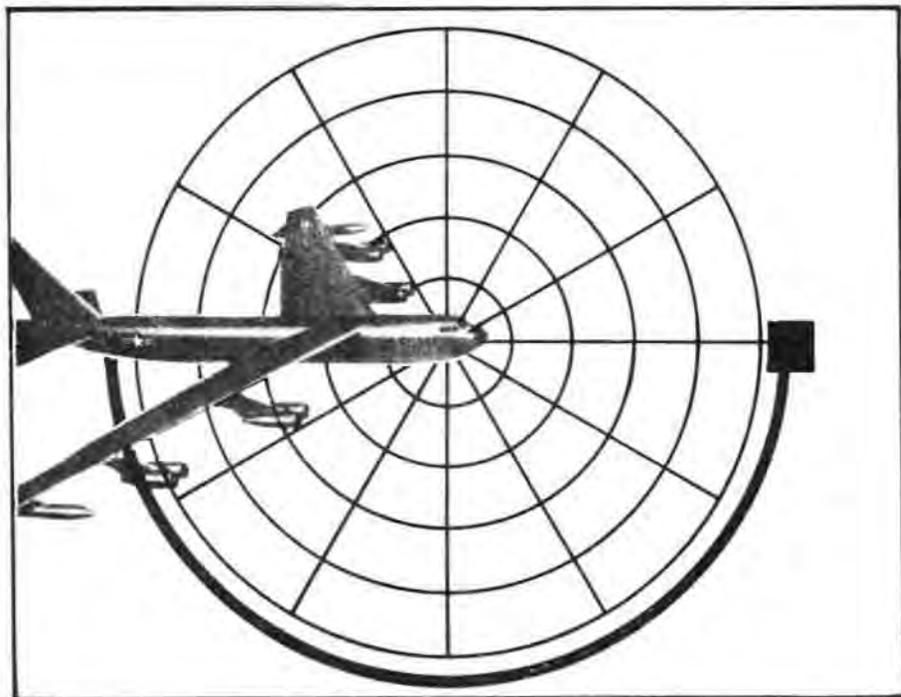
France

Here the military-industrial complex is a state matter, and the state not only functions as mediator among the three sectors — land, naval and air weapons — between suppliers and clients, but is also one of the

main supply purchasers. The Technical Directorate for Terrestrial Armaments (DTAT) alone employs 25 000 persons and in 1967 engaged in commercial operations worth 2150 million francs.

Despite the competition, British and French are joyful companions who have perfected their dual roles.

When Wilson was cross-examined in the House of Commons concerning arms supplies to Nigeria, he exploded: the embargo on arms destined for Nigeria was nothing more than a means of prolonging the war, since Biafra was continuing to receive them. And when the journalists asked Pompidou why France continued supplying arms to Biafra, he be-



came indignant: if Nigeria was supplied with arms, was it not just to permit Biafra to defend herself from genocide?

Arms Sales

The Exchanges Among Developed Countries

More than sales, it is a question of developing in common a system of highly technical arms, or at least their controlled manufacture. In this aspect only the United States is the seller. The markets, therefore, vary.

In 1964, sale of three destroyers to be completed in 1968 to the Federal Republic of Germany for 600 000 million marks. In 1968, the sale to the FRG of Sikorsky CH-53 helicopters for 1400 million marks. The FRG is the major client; after that comes Great Britain, who arranged that all its arms purchases from the United States be paid for in corresponding sales by Great Britain to the United States. Next comes France, followed by the NATO countries, which is natural, and finally Switzerland and Sweden, especially for very elaborate equipment such as radar, antiaerial rockets, etc.

Sales to Third World Countries

Here real deceit functions, an imposition of privations. We saw that the winning of independence, at least formal independence, of the ex-colonies extended markets prodigiously.

Iran's defense budget in 1969, for example, represents a market of \$250 million. In two years, Iran purchased:

50 Phantom IIs;

\$50 million worth of helicopters;

naval units from Great Britain.

For her part France becomes interested and offers helicopters

at a value of \$28 million. (They are Super Frelon, which the Israeli commandos use.)

At the same time we note that the annual per capita income in Iran is only \$200.

Moreover, the interimperialist contradictions lead to a development in arms sales that far surpasses the level judged to be "desirable." It is evident that if the United States, Great Britain or France ardently covets the sphere of influence of the other, each also wishes to maintain in his own zone the lowest level of armaments in order to limit as far as possible the risks of conflict. Thus, contrary to what the defenders of the "market" affirm, it is evident that the number and amplitude of conflicts is in direct relation to the level of armaments.

Finally, to unmask the hypocrisy of imperialism we need only again quote Kuss, who is of the belief that the sales of arms made in the Middle East contribute to maintaining stability in that region. This opinion stated in 1966 achieves its full worth today....

Without a doubt the sale of arms to countries of the Third World constitutes an essential part in the imperialist machinery. Jean Panhard, French arms manufacturer, more discrete than Marcel Dassault but as effective as he, understands the situation well when he says: "The fact of providing arms to a foreign country creates strong ties with it.

Through armaments, French technical ability, French standards, French instructors penetrate that country, and this can produce far-reaching effects...."

Kuss pointed out in a report to Congress that the export of military material would cost half as much as sending Yankee troops abroad.

To make the exploited countries finance the security of the exploiting countries is the first and perhaps the most important advantage of this policy.

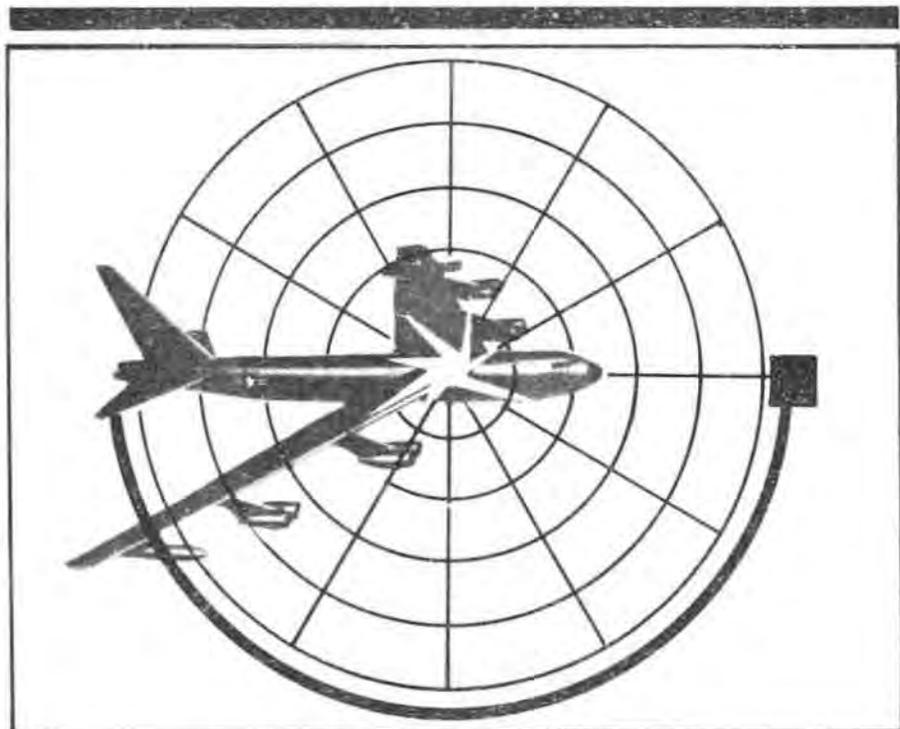
Arms production obeys the same laws as any other production; the larger the quantity the lower the cost. This permits in equal quality, larger orders and faster delivery to the armed forces of the supplier country.

Consequences for the Clients

When Panhard speaks of strong ties, he does not exaggerate. These ties are very solid

chains.

The neocolonialist power controls the "armed band" whose function it is to maintain in power the petit-bourgeois sector allied with imperialist interests, and which in many cases was placed in command by the neocolonial power, preferably before an end to its control. That is how Great Britain decided to place in the hands of the most reactionary Arab leaders its oil interests in the Middle East. As to the maneuvers that guarantee the financial security of the exploiters over the exploited, the astute Albion is master. In Libya, for example, Britain sold the feudal government of Idris a complete aerial defense system for £ 150 000 000 including land-to-



air rockets which the Libyan army was totally incapable of operating. That permitted the British Army to spread out around the oil fields and its own bases on the one hand and on the other to be the only force capable of utilizing the system. After the revolution, Libya broke this contract.

If the maneuver failed in Libya, it was successful in Kuwait which, in January 1967, ordered antiaircraft material worth £ 20 000 000, and throughout all of Saudi Arabia: £ 100 000 000.

Once the contract is made, the country is tied up for the **short run**. Given the role the army plays in these countries, to form and equip the military forces of a nation is practically to take its policy into one's hands.

This action is immediate, because of the preparation courses (in France, two air bases have been reserved for the training of the foreign clients of Dassault), recruitment and its type of training, and finally for the corruption that permits them to obtain very useful complementary markets.

The French embargo against Israel, and especially the Anglo-Saxon blockade against South Africa, had catastrophic effects on the military apparatus in these countries, which have only been able to recuperate because the embargo was broken by the North Americans in the case of Israel, and by France in the case of South Africa, and above all because these countries are sufficiently industrialized to begin a national arms production. It is easy to estimate from these examples the situation in which a non-industrialized country may find itself. In the **long run** there is the

guarantee of maintaining the client in misery and submission.

In fact, perhaps the most criminal aspect of imperialist policy is the stagnation it maintains.

At the outset let us compare the two following cases on the financial plane: When in October of 1968, Belgium orders 88 Mirage-5s for \$132 000 000, it demands that 75% of the order be assembled there. At the time this represents only 0.47% of the total cost in equipment produced in one year's exports. (Since then it is to be assumed that the trade is going well since a year later Dassault-Belgium Aviation, SA, founded for the construction of the Mirage-5 in Belgium, increases its capital from \$2 000 000 to \$2 400 000.)

On the contrary, when Peru orders 12 Mirage-5s for \$15 000 000, this figure represents 2% of exports and evidently has nothing in it about construction under license.

We point out that to reach this brilliant result, Dassault did not hesitate to stimulate anew the arms trade throughout Latin America and that only the intervention of the United States prevented him from extending his little business. This is the effect of the interimperialist contradictions of which we spoke earlier. When a country, Great Britain for example, can take the situation in hand without interference, the results are fabulous.

With respect to Saudi Arabia, a contract worth £ 100 000 000 represents 16% of the country's resources in relation to annual exports.

Jordan has ordered from the United States 36 F-104 fighters

at a total cost of more than \$38 000 000. Now in 1966 (before the loss of Transjordan), total exports amounted to \$36 000 000. This modern equipment is fabulously costly (see Table 3).

The cost of armaments points fatally to just one solution: turn to the financial aid of the supplier country.

Military aid in Brazil, for example, is up to \$500 000 000.

This squandering of finances invested in a sector which is essentially nonproductive augments, on the other hand, a truly bloodthirsty battle for technicians. The scarcity of qualified personnel — worth their weight

in gold — is automatically displaced from the civilian sector to the military to provide maintenance for motors, arms, radar That is to say that the provender country insures the sterilization of all elements that could permit the client even to begin an embryonic competitive national industry.

Thus, when Brazil and Argentina on two occasions tried to create a national aeronautics industry, the United States "kindly" offered them lots of secondhand aircraft, which was however sufficiently modern to absorb almost all the technicians, siphoning off their capacity into maintenance jobs.

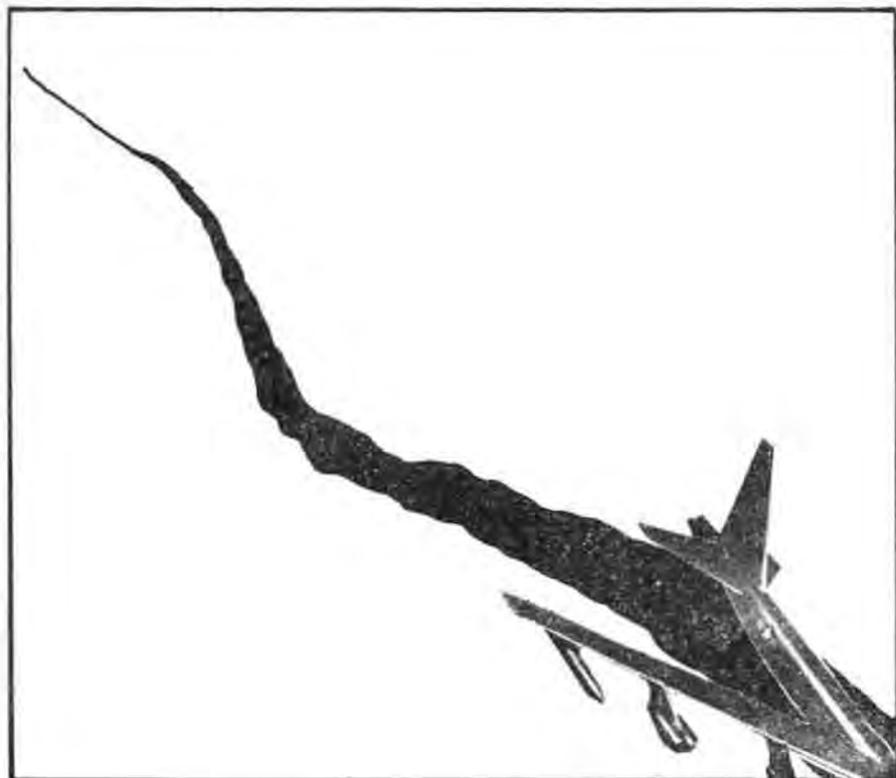


Table 1
Clients of the Aeronautics Industry
1948 to 1964

Year	Clients (in billions of dollars)	
	Military	Civilian
1948	1 182	.177
1949	1 802	.23
1950	2 598	.238
1951	5 353	.347
1952	8 568	.650
1953	10 604	.734
1954	10 832	.822
1955	10 508	.786
1956	11 525	1.166
1957	12 833	1.598
1958	13 246	1.372
1959	13 171	1.841
1960	13 196	2.208
1961	13 871	1.876
1962	14 331	1.772
1963	14 191	1.485
1964	13 241	2.042

Table 2
Military-Industrial Complex
United States
Export of Aircraft Equipment

Type	Years (in billions of dollars)			
	1966	1967	1968	1969
	Military planes	220 951	305 080	300 040
Rockets	134 234	208 622	155 370	165 000

Table 3
Military-Industrial Complex
United States
Prices of North American Planes
(in millions of dollars)

Type of plane	Maker	Price
HH-53C	Sikorsky (United Aircraft)	2.45
HH-3F	" " "	1.25
T-37B	Cessna	.3
T-38	Northrop	8.42
F-111A	Grumman-General Dynamics	6.5
F-111B	" " "	7.99
C-5A	Lockheed	15.5

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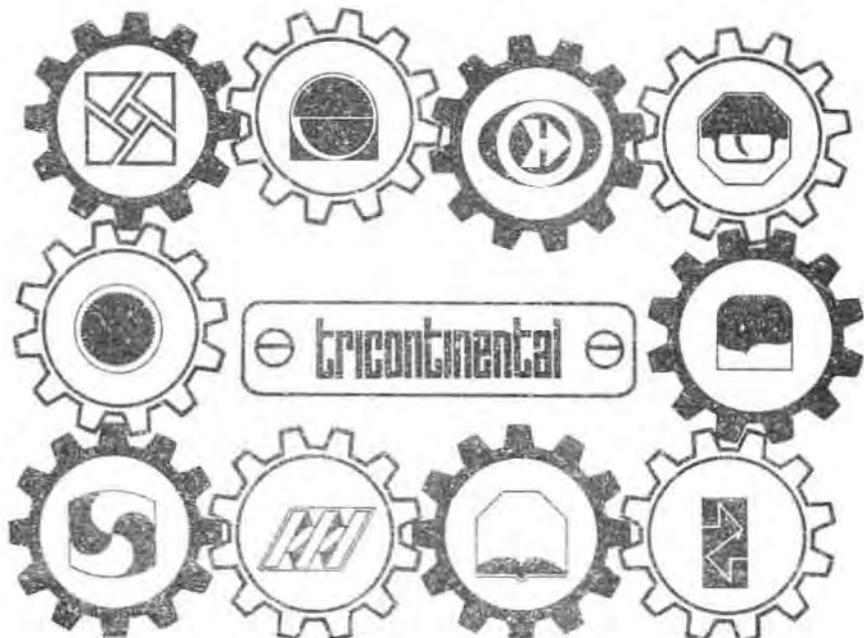
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