

# TRICONTINENTAL







## to the reader

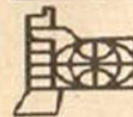
Despite the extensive propaganda concerning the so-called "Vietnamization," the peoples of the world agree in pointing out, just as our cover indicates, that it is nothing more than a sinister mask by which the US imperialists try to disguise and perpetuate their aggression in Vietnam. The Vietnamese, by dealing daily and deadly blows at the enemy, demonstrate that siren songs do not kill the spirits of those peoples disposed to struggle against the political and economic domination of imperialism.

"Imperialist Contradictions and Integration," the excellent work by the French economist Pierre Jalée which we offer in Points of Departure, proves these two essential points. Jalée's penetrating analysis decapitates with one stroke the alleged theses on inter-imperialist contradictions—conceived on an exclusively illusory level—and sustains theoretically those who, according to the teachings of history, do not believe in the natural death of imperialism.

Now, with the end of the Biafran attempt to establish a state outside the Nigerian Federation, the real causes that gave rise to the bloody conflict remain almost unknown. The enormous interests that promoted it once more swept the truth aside, limiting it exclusively to racial differences. "Biafra: the Roots of Secession," the article by the Nigerian intellectual Babo Olutoye, which we present in Experiences and Facts is a serious attempt to establish the causes of the crisis. Written before the end of hostilities, the article maintains its unaltered validity thanks to the rigor of its concepts and analysis.

In the same section the Cuban journalist Gregorio Ortega provides, under his signature, a well documented article on the Leninist concept concerning the liberation of oppressed nations. "Lenin and the National Liberation Movement," taken basically from Lenin's own words,

### TRICONTINENTAL



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viewed in the reality of the peoples of our three continents, reveals countless miles of the builder of the first socialist state who insisted on the right and the necessity of the colonial peoples to take recourse in revolutionary armed struggle to regain their identity.

In Notes for History, we give space to a document that acquires special validity in view of the recent actions undertaken by its members: the Program of the Sandinist Front of National Liberation.

In Man and His Word we present three interviews of great interest. The first appears under the title "Pakistan: Perspectives for the Left" and is an interview by Tricontinental with Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, President of the Pakistan People's Party, who analyzes the present political situation of his country, especially the events that precipitated the fall of Ayub Khan. The second, "Syria: the Arabs' Battle" reports the views of Dr. Mohamed Ammar Alrawi, head of Jordan relations for the BAAS Party, on the development of a socialist economy in Syria and the determined fight of his people against the tragedy (caused by the) Zionist-Arab reaction-imperialism. Finally, "Buddha: the Struggle in This World" voices the strong faith acquired by the Buddhist movement within the struggle for emancipation of the peoples of the Asian continent. The title refers to an interview with Venerable Sato, secretary-general of the Japanese Buddhist League of foreign relations of the International Committee for the Continuation of the World Conference of Religions for Peace, and member of the Executive Board of Servicos.

To our regular Mexican Liberation section we bring a panoramic view of the activities of the Uruguayan urban guerrillas "Uruguay: the Tupamaros in Action" points out the most notable events in which the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement has participated since the imposition of the Emergency Security Measures by Tricontinental on the March we offer: "Dr. Zouayen's Visit," "Santo Domingo: the Voice of Rifles," and "Chile: the Crisis of Reformism." The first of these three titles presents a summary of the remarks of Doctor Zouayen, member of the Regional and Inter-Arab directorate of the BAAS Party, during his visit to OSPAAAL. The second analyzes the situation in the Dominican Republic a few weeks before the elections aimed at prolonging the domination of the oligarchy over the country. And the third is an interview with Comrade Marta Melo, representative of Chile to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL.

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## Imperialist Contradictions and Integration

Pierre Jalée



A good part of the thesis of capitalism, which seeks to keep the people inactive, is based on the well-known dogma of inter-imperialist contradictions. Persons who are self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninists repeat concepts which later events have completely bypassed. They do not understand that any theoretical concept becomes a hollow and meaningless statement outside the specific historic reality that gave it life, not to mention the role it plays in paralyzing the revolutionary forces.

A brief phrase from the work of Pierre Jalée which we now publish clearly defines this disquieting truth: "To repeat Lenin literally and point by point in 1970 is the surest way to betray him."

Pierre Jalée, distinguished French economist, is well-known to the readers of *Orientations*, which counts him among its most diligent collaborators. This article develops clearly and convincingly one of the main theses of his book *Imperialism in 1916* (*Imperialism in 1970*) recently published by the publishing house of Francis Maspero.

With its strength and solidity, the present work fulfills a double function: in the economic sphere it provides the specialists with valuable conclusions, and in the political sphere it sustains theoretically those who do not accept sitting resignedly at the door of their houses to watch the takeover of imperialism pass by.

In Lenin's *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916, the imperialist phase of the capitalist system is characterized, among other things, by the economic division of the world among the monopolies and capitalist organizations, to such an extent that the states proceed to divide the world's land in their colonial struggle "for economic territory." But this distribution is not precise; the relationship of forces changes, and on this base a non-pacifist division of the world operates. "Within capitalism [Lenin wrote] it is impossible to conceive of any other means of proscribing areas of influence, interests, colonies, etc. than by the force of those participating in the division — economic, financial, and military force." Thus, the alliances among imperialist powers are, for him, "an inevitable 'truce' among warriors."

It is certain that the First World War was, in fact, a conflict based on a struggle to divide the world and therefore ended with a territorial division favorable to the victors. And if World War II had more complex causes because of the existence of a powerful socialist state, it is no less true that, among the causes, was the attempt to readjust the boundaries set at the end of the first war.

But today, when imperialism exhibits the essential characteristic which Lenin defined better than anyone, no one any longer believes in the "inevitability of a war among the imperialist powers" which Stalin asserted even in 1951. Doubtless, no one even faces the possibility of a war among the imperialist powers.

Yet all kinds of writers continue to insist on emphasizing rivalries among the principal imperialist powers, especially the dominant imperialism of the United States and other countries. For instance, a writer such as Evgeni Varga argues against the continuation of US supremacy because of the law of unequal development under imperialism. For Varga, "unequal development has removed this domination without a war." Other imperialist powers are developing faster than the United States, whose gold reserves in balance of payments have reached such a low point that they must seek help from others to maintain the stability of the dollar. In short, "they no longer exercise dictatorial control" over economic planning; and at the same time, the European Common Market reinforces its position as main competitor of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, there is no proof here that the economy of the United States is developing less rapidly than that of other imperialist states as a whole. According to United Nations statistics, the index of gross national production (1963 = 100)

<sup>1</sup> Evgeni Varga, *Studies in the Political Economy of Capitalism*, chapter "Imperialist Contradictions and War," Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1967.



went up from 4 to 119 in the United States and Canada between 1950 and 1966. This growth is actually less than that of the Six of the European Common Market (from 49 to 115), but greater than that of the Seven of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA): 68 to 112. The index of industrial production on the same base and over the same period increased from 64 to 127 in the United States and Canada, from 48 to 113 among the Six, and from 53 to 115 among the Seven. The development is therefore unequal both in time and in space and, in the face of this, insufficient to draw any categorical conclusions in any direction. Moreover, one cannot completely lose sight of the enormous difference in economic importance between the United States and other imperialist countries, including Japan. In 1958 the gross national product of the United States was greater than that of the other 19 members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

But above all we cannot make comparisons on the basis of these figures because they quite clearly do not take into account one major factor: the potential of the monopolies and the capitalist groups outside the United States. We must abandon the Keynesian approach, the traditional methods, and not forget that North American industry is the second most powerful in the capitalist world on the basis of its foreign interests alone — that is, outside of its interests within the United States itself. We must note that of the 70 most important international monopolies, 55 are North American; that approximately one fifth of North American industrial investment is abroad where it steadily increases its influence over the financial market and local banking interests; that between 1950 and 1964, the direct North American investments in Europe multiplied seven times over, while the increase in the total of reverse investments multiplied by 2.6, and that United States giants dominate such basic industry as petroleum and advanced technology such as electronics, not to mention atomic, space, and rocket development, with all the strategic and political consequences that supremacy implies.

The progression from independence to economic interdependence among the imperialist countries makes certain types of national statistics appear to be more and more of a formality, since the interdependence does not produce equal benefits for all, but rather for the most powerful and especially for the superimperialist United States. It assumes a managerial role in world economy both through international monopolistic activity and through integration into state monopolies and worldwide institutions in which the US took the initiative and in which it maintains control.

How can one speak of imperialism today, then, without mentioning this new and important fact: world integration which was born at the end of World War II? Can it be simply by chance that, within a brief period, there have appeared such organizations as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and its affiliates, and the "Club of the Ten" in the monetary and

financial camp; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT); the United Nations Conference for Trade and Development (UNCTAD); the Kennedy Round, and other organizations related to exchange; the Atlantic Alliance, NATO, SEATO, and CENTO in political and military areas, and every sort of international regional organization (ECE, EFTA, OECD, OAS, etc.), all of which are also parts of this world alliance?

No doubt North American domination and management throughout the world and in most of these organizations is repeatedly discussed, sometimes bitterly, and this integration scarcely has the magic virtue of abolishing the contradictions inherent in capitalism and imperialism. There still exist those rivalries that Lenin insisted on. But world imperialist integration, which did not exist in his time, has acquired considerable importance in ours, and with it has appeared a new internal contradiction within imperialism which we might call "integration/rivalries." It would seem to be useful, before trying to analyze its significance or its various ramifications, to see how it operates in certain areas.

#### Monopolies and Capital

Everyone is aware that penetration by North American monopolies and capital has caused disturbance and provoked resistance, as for example in Canada and among the Six of Europe. And no one can overlook the fact that, within that group, it was France that proved to be the most recalcitrant. But it is enough to note that, according to the French Ministry of Industry during that period, out of 198 petitions for North American investments to be licensed and registered in France in 1965, only four were denied and none in the first half of 1966, which gives an idea of the distance between political shifts (which were most violent at that time) and reality.

It must be stated that, in certain sectors of the capitalist picture, it becomes almost impossible for the middle powers to resist calling for help from the giant and dominant foreign firms with their resources, techniques, and methods. Thus a totally integrated project to exploit land in French Bas-Languedoc and the industrial production and sale of its products domestically and in foreign countries, was too much of a project for France, with its many other urgent problems, to handle; so the de Gaullist government itself had no other recourse than to sell out to the powerful North American Libby Company with everything at its command: capital, organization, technical skills, a complete production and commercial structure ready to go.

It is just as difficult to oppose North American penetration in areas of automation, such as computers, in which IBM controls more than 70% of the world market. And firms such as Bull in France and Olivetti in Italy would never have survived without having called on the capital investment and the skill of IBM's North American rival, the General Electric Corporation.

In a field such as aviation, integration appears to be a necessity for the rival intermediary powers when it is a question of equip-



ment which requires both considerable capital and the utilization of a range of material and technical skills and technological know-how. The Concorde airplane will be Franco-British or it won't be, and the Airbus will be Franco-German at least, and in December of 1968, Great Britain, Italy, West Germany, and the Low Countries signed an agreement for the joint construction of a fighter plane of variable geometric design. The Dassault firm pride of France and a de Gaullist supporter, associated itself with the Belgian firm SABCA, extended its ties to the Dutch firm Fokker which already had agreements with two North American companies, and signed a cooperation agreement with the North American Aerospace Corporation LTV.

More generally, it will be remembered that although all the business and governmental organs of Western Europe are today favorable to the EEC, a fissure exists between those who lean to an Atlantic Europe — that is to a North American-integrated economy — and those who envisage a European economy, independent if not a rival of the North American economy. But the arguments of one or the other group are of little importance. What is important is that both are clearly partisans of a Europe controlled by monopolies; and it is worth examining, from that point of view, how Europe actually exists and develops in this concrete situation.

Now, ten years after the Treaty of Rome, though there is evidence of a powerful concentration within each of the Six countries, international concentrations on the scale of the Common Market are still quite rare among members of the Six. But the North American monopolies have meanwhile been throwing themselves on little Europe, and between 1958 and 1966, North American investments in Europe increased from 1630 million to more than 7000 million dollars.

As Geoffrey Owen has pointed out, it is the very formation of the European Common Market that has given North American investments a new impulse. North American purveyors, who "on repeated occasions have had to choose between withdrawing from the market or investing in local industry," elected to work within the EEC and adapt themselves "to the formation of a continental market free of import duties and with greater range than the North American market."<sup>1</sup>

Christopher Layton adds that "the great North American enterprises are now in a better position than the European firms to take advantage of the Common Market." With their branches in various European countries, they are more flexible "and better able to rationalize production to adapt to a growing Common Market than are the European firms with plants in one country." He cites in support of this the case of Ford and that of IBM, which integrated the manufacture of their components in various European plants, and concludes that North American firms "have become more 'European' than the Europe-

ans."<sup>2</sup> We would only add: because the US monopolies have at their disposal infinitely greater resources, especially financial and technological.

But Christopher Layton, who is a monopoly lawyer from the other side of the Atlantic, nevertheless goes on about "the political value these direct North American investments represent for Europe." He doesn't understand how it is possible for anyone to oppose these investments.

The North American companies that have interests in different European countries [he writes] want a stable and strong Europe and the maintenance of good relations between the two continents. If at times they try to exercise pressure on the European governments, it is also true that they support Europe's position for their own interest. Direct investments increase the United States' concern for European security and thus consolidate an alliance which the majority of the European countries consider of primary importance. In a way this is the cement of the Atlantic world.<sup>3</sup>

That economic integration through the action of the monopolies flows into politics and from there, back to economics, is too obvious to discuss. The result is that the United States behaves more and more as if it considers the Europe of the European Economic Community its Europe, which is perfectly good imperialist logic since its monopolies are more influential there all the time. And finally, the fact that our modest European monopolies are divided between the pro-North American and the pro-European monopolies, is of secondary importance, which doesn't mean to say that it is of no importance whatsoever. The essential fact is that an EEC which is understood to be controlled by monopolies in general cannot do anything except continue to be dominated progressively and inevitably by those which are clearly the most powerful and have the greatest accessibility — that is, the North American monopolies. Contradictions and rivalries will persist and new ones may arise at any point in the development of actual local concentrations. But the monopolistic integration which accommodates the world integrationist strategy imposed by the Treaty of Rome on the existing regional mechanism, cannot fail to be used for the benefit of the monopolists whose world control is undeniable.

#### Monetary Interchanges and Problems

The inclusion of the European Common Market in the world integration strategy of trade agreements was clearly explained in the negotiations known as the "Kennedy Round." We see from the very beginning that the inclusion was not by chance, that it had been foreseen by Article 110 of the Treaty of Rome which stipulated that the Six "intend to contribute... to the harmonious development of world trade, to the progressive lowering

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey Owen, *Puissance de l'industrie américaine* (American Industrial Power), Le Seuil Edit., Paris 1964, pp. 12-83.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Layton, *L'Europe et les investissements américains* (Europe and North American Investments), Gallimard Edit., Paris, Collection Idées, 1968, pp. 49, 50, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 52.



of restrictions against international exchange, and to the reduction of customs barriers." It was above all the United States that appeared as the petitioner: showing that, if the EEC could be successfully penetrated by US capital from within that did not mean giving up penetration from without, which could most easily be accomplished by lowering customs barriers. It is known that the confrontation was sharp because there were undeniable contradictions expressed between those interests present and those within the Six themselves. But the important fact is that the contradictions were resolved in the end by concessions from both sides, resulting in an accord which, though it does not close the road to new frictions, constitutes at least an important step forward in the integration system. Christopher Layton saw here a partial application of certain great principles which should be written down in a true "Atlantic Code."

It is worth noting that, though the industrialized capitalist countries made mutual trade concessions during the Kennedy Round, they denied everything to the countries of the Third World during the two UNCTAD conferences of 1964 and 1968, which shows the true meaning of integration.

But it is within the monetary system — where, by the way, the gravest difficulties are cropping up to plague the imperialist system — that the inter-imperialist contradictions of "rivalry/integration" merit special examination. The crises that strong money experienced and are still experiencing were essentially the result of the inability of the international monetary system to guarantee permanently the peace and prosperity of money throughout the capitalist world. The system produced contradictions by putting practically all capitalist money under the patronage of the dollar. And the contradictions have become apparent in different ways. France, for example, is no innocent, and has converted an important segment of its reserves from dollars into gold, while others have done the same thing to a lesser extent and more surreptitiously.

But it is highly significant that, at the height of the great dollar crisis in March of 1968, everyone, starting with France, ran to the aid of the ailing dollar, because this crisis threatened the entire world capitalist system. The Times of London said: "The international monetary system and the economy of the free world are facing a major crisis" . . . And The Wall Street Journal said: "It is by no means certain that the system of relatively free enterprise of the United States and the West will be able to survive . . . The communists would score a victory: they would have precious opportunities for exploiting economic and political areas." At the same time the governments of Western Europe were buying dollars in order to prevent its ruin. One of the leaders of the party in power, Deputy Chabanon, exclaimed in a session of the de Gaullist parliament "In the interest of the western world, we must avoid both a war of money and a war of tariffs," while Jacques Rueff, powerful de Gaullist financier,

declared: "The depreciation of the dollar must be avoided at all costs." Without doubt both supported the reevaluation of gold and a system without special advantages for the United States, but in the face of common and present danger they all agreed that the dollar must first be saved.

Several months later, in May and June, and then in November of 1968 when the French franc was in trouble, the roles were exactly reversed. When, in the spring of that year, de Gaullist power seemed to many to be at an ebb, official channels in London discovered that the "order" of a general they didn't really like was preferable to disorder; President Johnson sent hopes for General de Gaulle's success and the North American banks found a method of avoiding further movement of the franc.<sup>6</sup> In August important credits were transferred to France by the International Monetary Fund and by major western banks; and the Undersecretary of the United States Treasury "stressed that the major contribution of the United States to these credits had been agreed upon despite the attacks on the dollar which the French franc had made over the years," since a collapse of the franc could affect the entire western monetary system, and the pound in particular.<sup>7</sup> International solidarity moved again in November when the franc caused the most vital concern. The immediate gathering of the finance ministers of all the major western countries in Bonn is fresh in everyone's memory. The United States, in the voice of President Johnson and the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, let it be known that it was prepared to aid France unconditionally, by every financial and monetary means necessary. "Why [asked the magazine *Entreprise*, voice of French high finance] is there a complete reversal in the position of the United States?" Because, the magazine replied, "it is imperative that the United States support the franc. The North American Government fears that a crisis in France will generate an international monetary crisis in which the United States will pay the cost."<sup>8</sup>

And when, in the end, France decided to devalue its money in August of 1969, it took care to make the devaluation a modest one which did not endanger other moneys (except perhaps the pound, which was already wavering) and which earned for it from that time on the understanding of its partners.

The moral of this story is quite clear. The antagonisms among national imperialisms are inevitable, but it is interesting to note that they are especially noticeable when things are going relatively well, and that they quickly disappear when there is trouble for one of them: Great Britain, the United States, or France. The indispensable solidarity of all in the face of danger is apparent in the various cases cited, and many more could be given. This solidarity of intent is nothing more than a reflection of an actual solidarity: the internationalization of productive forces, of the movement of trade and capital, of economic life generally, is

<sup>6</sup> *Le Monde*, June 1 and 2/3, 1968.

<sup>7</sup> *Le Nouvel Observateur*, weekly, July 12, 1968, article by Jacques Normand.

<sup>8</sup> *Entreprise*, November 30, 1968.



growing and has expanded to a point where every illness that affects one of the members of the imperialist body endangers the entire organism, causing a reaction. The internal cohesion of the imperialist system is an imperative that takes precedence over its antagonisms.

#### Political and Military Problems

After the Second World War, the tight unity of the imperialist powers within this plan, resulting from their basic alignment with Washington's policies, is a fact known and admitted by all. This unity has been opposed by only one country, this time also France, and specifically over the two major problems: the war in Viet-Nam and NATO.

On several occasions, De Gaulist leadership has shown its opposition to North American aggression in Viet-Nam. Without seeking the precise reasons for this, and without examining the extent to which this disapproval is primarily intended to reach that great part of the Third World for which France remains the "metropolis," we must realize that the French position has never been translated into deeds: no recognition of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, nor the slightest bit of government aid, even any symbolic civilian aid; a refusal to undertake any diplomatic relationship even of an exploratory nature. It is easy enough to reduce French opposition to its actual dimensions — namely, verbal declarations.

It is true that France went farther than words with her withdrawal from NATO in 1966. But she always stated openly that she remained loyal to the Atlantic Alliance, which "must continue for as long as it seems necessary" — that is to say, "unless something occurs that would modify East-West relations basically." She did more. A French specialist, Jacques Isnard, has reminded us that despite her withdrawal, France continued her participation in the NATO air alert series, exchanged information with her allies on Soviet maritime operations in the Mediterranean, used the same transmission codes, contributed to the standardization of weapons, and participated in joint maneuvers and work sessions at the level of governmental specialists. The same author also gives us the real reason for France's withdrawal from NATO with this quotation from the French Minister of the Armed Forces:

In case of a major crisis, we will certainly not act with NATO, because NATO will always do what America decides. It will be better to go directly to the chief rather than to his lieutenants. General Lemaitre has never denied that in case of a grave crisis he would telephone the President of the United States. It is better for us to have direct contact with the highest authority!"

The commentators were unanimous in noting a remarkable difference — some said a complete change — in France's policy

<sup>9</sup> Statement by French Minister Michel Debré reported in a communiqué of the Atlantic Council on November 16, 1961.

<sup>10</sup> *Le Monde*, December 13, 1966.

toward the Atlantic Alliance toward the end of 1968 (this about-face continued and became more noticeable later). And most of them noted correctly that this return to the fold wasn't so strange following as it did, unconditional aid to France by financial and monetary means which President Johnson brought to bear during the crisis of the franc. But this shows us very clearly the possible limits of opposition within the Atlantic Alliance for a country of 50 million inhabitants, the fifth most important economic country of the imperialist world and, without doubt, the third most important, militarily. Political unity in the end is directed by the unavoidable economic and financial unity of the so-called free world which exercises on its members a solidarity they can only pretend to escape. And in the case of France, politically and militarily as well as economically and monetarily, her only crime against world imperialism was mild infraction and indiscipline. De Gaulism may be the bad child of imperialism, but it is nevertheless the child of imperialism and by no means a degenerate one at all. The contradictions that France raised within the imperialist camp were really only "nonantagonistic" contradictions, because they did not question any of the fundamental precepts of the imperialist camp.

#### In the Third World

Studies based on incontrovertible statistics reveal that over the past 15 years, commercial and financial relations between the imperialist countries and the Third World have shown an ever-greater tendency to avoid the bilateral agreements inherited from the colonial period and to replace them with present-day multilateral arrangements. Capital and merchandise from France, Great Britain, and Italy, always predominant in the former possessions and dependencies, are still present, though with less priority, and are more and more frequently directed to the possessions and dependencies of other powers on the three continents of the Third World. Between 1960 and 1965, North American investments in Latin America only increased by 16.6%, although it was still the major investor; but in Asia and Africa, US investments went up by 57% and 106% respectively. As for North American exports to the Third World, those to Latin America dropped from 59% to 44% between 1955 and 1966, while those to Africa and Asia, in the Third World, advanced respectively from 7% to 10% and from 34% to 46%. This confirms the general tendency toward international economic growth throughout the entire world and the ability of US superimperialism to increase its control constantly over all parts of the world, particularly the Third World.

It should also be stressed that, though imperialism continues to be preoccupied with establishing its control over all the major raw material sources of the Third World, and especially in Africa over these past few years, the control is almost always effected through these multinational investments.

In short, bilateral "aid" to the Third World, which remains a very important part of international aid, becomes increasingly



integrated into multinational groupings or similar organizations. Thus there is an association for aid to India which includes West Germany, Austria, Belgium, Canada, United States, France, Italy, Japan, the Low Countries, and the United Kingdom under the aegis of the World Bank and with the assistance of the International Monetary Fund. The constitution for aid to Pakistan takes the same form and includes the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Japan, and West Germany. In addition to the associations themselves, there are "consultative groups" which are also set up under the authority of the World Bank. These exist for South Korea, Ceylon, Malaysia, Thailand, Peru, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan, Tunisia, and East Africa. For Colombia and Mexico there are joint and coordinated financial arrangements. The World Bank has an affiliation of 12 countries for aid to Colombia and 11 for aid to Mexico. In 1968, the World Bank took a new step for the first time in established in one country, Indonesia, a "resident mission" whose job it was to give advice in order to advance and implement plans for the development and coordination of all forms of aid, with the consent of the association.<sup>11</sup>

The large-scale collective organizations also fill a gap in the field of private capital. Adela Investment Company for Latin America, for example, was the model for an international investment society created in 1965 for Asia (Private Investment Co. for Asia — PICA) in which Japanese and North American private capital each invested a third of the total capital and the other third was shared among Canada, France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, and Australia.<sup>12</sup>

Such a creation is actually no more than a type of systematization of what actually goes on more and more all the time — that is, the grouping of multinational private capital (sometimes with governmental capital) not only in mining but also in industrial plants and in the development of major public works. This is how the first major fertilizer plant was built in Senegal in 1968 with the participation of various French and German firms, SFI (affiliated with the World Bank); the European Investment Bank (EIB); and the Senegalese National Bank for Development. The Algerian Canal (Saharan liquid gas factory) is only 26% Algerian capital and the rest French-British-North American. In Brazilian iron and steel there is no association per se but a division, with North American and Japanese capital invested in two plants and French capital in a third. On the other hand, various types of foreign capital — especially French and Brazilian capital — are jointly financing the construction of the petrochemical complex in Ustāh in Pakistan the construction of the Tarbela dam, which will be the largest in the world, attracted investments from a French-Italian group and another German-Swiss group in 1967-68. There was rivalry but it was between two bi-

national groups, and the World Bank, administrator of the project, gave its blessing to the stronger group (the French-Italian). In 1968, three groups competed for the major African dam, the Cabora-Bassa on the Zambezi River (Mozambique); one had strong German-South African interests (tied to Anglo-North American interests) joined with Swedish and French interests; another was Anglo-Swiss; and a third combined North American, French, Portuguese, South African, Italian, and Swiss interests. The first group won. The extension of the trans-Cameroon railway was finally made possible with North American and French public capital and the European Fund for Development of the European Economic Community (EEC).

In any Third World country, even though there may be strong ties to a specific "metropolis," it is now the thing to do to seek mixed foreign capital, sector by sector. In the Ivory Coast, whose government is no more than a French office, the construction of the port of San-Pedro brought French-Italian-German capital; France will finance sugarcane plantations, the United States rubber; the Danes and Norwegians are interested in the fishing industry; and North American, Italian, and Ivory Coast investments are financing the hydroelectric project at Kossou.<sup>13</sup>

Out of all of this there is one blinding fact: the closed quotas of times past are over in the Third World. This does not mean that favored countries no longer exist. Far from it. But these preferences are no longer the general rule of exclusive agreements that prevailed almost everywhere a short time ago. Each large imperialist country — and even the smaller ones — has both direct public capital and private interests in 25, 30, 40 countries of the Third World, and the US certainly in far more than that. The economies of the dependent countries have come under co-ownership. The direct consequence is that the open rivalries of other times for the domination of the Third World have decreased almost to the point of nonexistence. The United States has been able to pursue unchallenged its aggressions in Viet-Nam and Santo Domingo, to destroy the progressive regimes of Indonesia and Ghana, to intervene more or less directly in another 20 cases without any other imperialist country lifting a finger and France no more than raising her voice once. She had no choice, not only for all the reasons previously listed, but also because she was doing exactly the same thing the United States was doing: she sent her parachutists into Gabon and Chad, overthrew, almost without intermediaries, the progressive government of Mali, intervened more or less indirectly in another ten cases; and here also, no one lifted a finger. Because all the imperialist countries have a direct or indirect interest in imperialist intervention by the United States, France, or any other imperialist power. Of course there have been, here and there, from time to time, interimperialist frictions, but they are merely the exceptions that prove the rule. The rule is the fundamental agreement to maintain throughout the countries of the Third World an integrated imperialist system in which the road be-

<sup>11</sup> According to *Finance et Développement International*, Monetary Fund and World Bank journals.

<sup>12</sup> *Le Monde*, Chartral notes, February 25, 1969.

<sup>13</sup> Material from *Le Monde*, various articles.



comes progressively more open to the commerce and capital of all, and this latter — public and private — exhibits a significant tendency to move from competition to association for common exploitation.

#### Conclusion

The conclusion of all these and many more facts has been excellently formulated by Harry Magdoff as follows: "The struggle to divide the world has been succeeded by the primary struggle against a shrinking imperialist system."<sup>14</sup>

The imperialist camp has developed an economic internationalism since the Second World War, which has nothing in common with its approach before then. Because of a general reduction and in some cases elimination of customs and trade barriers, the free circulation of capital, and the easy convertibility of money, national economies have become more and more dependent on each other, tending to be little more than parts of the whole in pieces in the puzzle called world imperialist economy which has a fixed law for the giant instruments of world integration. Each recession, each iteration in one of the parts affects the others and it is significant that the problems of foreign trade and of international competition have an importance today that they never had before.

And so in the contradiction "competition/concentration" which Marxist analysis clarified a long time ago, it is the second word in the term that has become the important element just as in the new contradiction of "rivalry/integration," which has emerged with the appearance of integrationist tendencies, it is the second word that has become the most important, without in any way surmounting the contradiction itself.

To repeat Lenin literally and point by point in 1970 is the surest way to betray him and to continue placing the main accent on inter-imperialist rivalries that exist and will exist as long as imperialism exists, is to refuse to look at current facts, to categorize them, and to analyze them.

World economic and political integration, which such a well-known imperialist as W.W. Rostow considers to be the great means of defense of the imperialist camp, especially of North American superimperialism, was born at the end of the Second World War and at that time was directed against the "communist bloc" and its leader the Soviet Union. It was this way all through the Cold War. But then, and at the same time that "peaceful coexistence" as interpreted by Khrushchev and his successors replaced the Cold War, an expression of unprecedented anti-imperialism began to rock the Third World. The integrationist policy and its instruments are still there but from that moment on they have been essentially directed against the new enemy.

Imperialist world integration is the product of the conjunction

of two series of facts: a) on the economic level it was dictated by a growing internationalization of production, of interchange, of the movement of capital and its concomitant monopolies on an international base; b) on the political level it was made indispensable by the geographic contraction of the imperialist market due to the appearance of the socialist states grouped together with a third of the world's population; then, in a second phase, by the threat of a new contraction due to revolution in the Third World, from which imperialism takes the irreplaceable raw materials for maintaining its power. This menace is a question of life or death for the imperialists. This time their back is to the wall. And world integration definitely means for imperialism, changing from an offensive conquistador strategy to a defensive position. The word "containment," an expression of this strategy, says what it means very well. From it world imperialist integration, in spite of its difficulties, its blows, and some apparent contradictions, can do nothing less than gird itself for the future: this is imperialism's last means of defense. Looking at it this way, the supremacy of North American superimperialism does not seem susceptible to being menaced again since all redistribution of power within the imperialist camp has been excluded except on a secondary level, for the economic reasons previously explained, but more particularly for political reasons. The "mandate for leadership" which the United States has assumed cannot now be revoked. Necessity makes it law.

Imperialism cannot turn itself into its opposite. The domination and exploitation of the Third World which we have tried to document in this somewhat inadequate space, are its essence and its vital need. If, by definition, the essence is irvariable, the need is aggravated to such a point that today it is sharply vital and will become more and more so, especially with respect to raw materials and sources of energy. The economic development of the countries of the Third World is "blocked" by imperialist exploitation and the only way to unblock it is to break with the system of exploitation. The peoples of the Third World have no other road than that of fighting to halt this exploitation, and imperialism has no alternative either; it must fight to retain control, realizing that a rupture will toll its death. The only road to life for the one, is death for the other. There is no possible reconciliation.

With this perspective, how can we fail to see that, against the imperialist system which has demonstrated its ability to penetrate and to develop its forces of resistance, the unity and cooperation of all the anti-imperialist forces in the world is a most imperative necessity for the advancement of the liberation struggle. And the economic analysis of present day imperialism is no more than an academic exercise if it does not clearly open the paths of revolutionary political choice and action.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> We would have liked to develop the question of United States superimperialism, but this article has certain limitations, and Harry Magdoff has treated the subject extensively in his recent work (op. cit.) which we heartily recommend to the reader.

<sup>14</sup> Harry Magdoff, *The Age of Imperialism Mortals*, Ferver Press, New York and London, 1964.





Experiments  
and Facts

# Lenin and the National Liberation Movement

Gregorio Ortega



Fifty years is not generally much in the history of humanity. But between Engels' letter to Kautsky in 1882, in which he expresses his judgment that the triumphant proletariat of Europe and North America will lead the native populations of the subject countries to independence, and Lenin's article "Better Form, but Better," published in 1923, there is a one-hundred-and-fifty degree shift in the conditions of revolutionary thought. In this article, considered one of the political testaments that Lenin left, he places the final rickety of socialism with the great majority of the population of the countries oppressed by imperialism, "a population which in recent years has joined the struggle for its liberation with unusual speed."

Lenin saw only the revolutionists in Russia and Asia, Latin America and Africa had not yet risen to their feet. But the revolutions he knew were enough for him to understand that a revolutionary force had emerged whose innateness could not have been imagined even by the founders of scientific socialism.

Lenin also exposed and forewarned of many of the measures capitalism would use for its survival. How imperialism would use its most powerful arms to try to neutralize the military and break the international unity of the proletariat.

In this article which grows directly out of Lenin's words, the vibrant validity of Leninist thinking for the development of the Third World revolution is verified.

The author is the Cuban journalist Gregorio Ortega, presently correspondent for *Pravda* Extra in Moscow, who wrote it especially for *Internationalist*, on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of Lenin's birth.

*But the penance of world history will be a day when the excommunicated peoples oppressed by imperialism are finally aroused and the decisive long and hard struggle for their liberation begins!*

Lenin

*The West had finished with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet risen to them.*

Lenin

FRIEDRICH ENGELS wrote Karl Kautsky on September 12, 1882:

In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population — Canada, the Cape, Australia — will all become independent; on the other hand, the countries inhabited by a native population which are simply subjugated — India, Algeria, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions — must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence. How this process will develop is difficult to say. India will perhaps, indeed very probably, make a revolution, and as a proletariat in process of self-emancipation cannot conduct any colonial wars, it would have to be allowed to run its course; it would not pass off without all sorts of destruction, of course,

but that sort of thing is inseparable from all revolutions.<sup>1</sup>

The year after this letter was written Karl Marx died. Thirteen years later Friedrich Engels died. Thus the opinion divulged in this letter can be considered the conclusion that the founders of Marxism had reached concerning the form that liberation of the peoples conquered by the Western European powers would take: the true colonies, in the Greek sense, the regions populated by people from the parent country because of the level of their cultural and economic development, would become independent by themselves, just as decades earlier, the United States and the countries of Latin America had; the other countries, those "inhabited by a native population," will be led by the hand to independence "as rapidly as possible" by the proletariat, triumphant in Europe and North America. Engels foresaw the possibility of an Indian revolution against the domination

<sup>1</sup> "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'." Lenin's notes from December 31, 1922, published in 1956 in the magazine *Kommunist*, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> "Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx," published in *Pravda*, No. 50, March 1, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Lenin's Notebooks: *Imperialism*, Engel's letter of September 12, 1882.





of the European socialist proletariat and since the emancipated proletariat cannot sustain colonial wars, it would have to resign itself to this. This might also happen in Algeria and Egypt, and Engels comments:

... which would certainly be the best thing for us. We shall have enough to do at home. Once Europe is reorganized, as well as North America, that will furnish such a motivating force and such an example, that the semicivilized countries will themselves follow in our wake; economic needs alone will see to that.

Once the premonopolistic phase of capitalism had completed its development in Western Europe, imperialism surged forth. From 1884 to 1900 there was a period of intense colonial expansion. During this time, England acquired 3 700 000 square miles with a population of 57 million inhabitants; France, 3 600 000 square miles with 36.5 million inhabitants; Germany, a million square miles with 14.7 million inhabitants; Portugal, 800 000 square miles with 9 million inhabitants. At the end of the century, the division of the world was practically completed and the European powers fought like wolves over the bloody, torn flesh of Persia, China, and Turkey.

Peace reigned in Europe. A peace maintained by endless wars waged by the colonial powers throughout the world against hundreds of millions of inhabitants in the colonies, veritable massacres exterminating unarmed peoples. Wars that were considered "small," as Lenin writes, "because few Europeans perished in them; rather, the dead were hundreds of thousands of oppressed peoples — who weren't even considered peoples (Asians, Africans, are they perhaps peoples?); against these peoples

they waged the following kind of war: the peoples were unarmed and they cleared them out with machine guns."<sup>4</sup>

The big socialist parties of the Second International were born. Liberalism, rotten at the core, was reborn as socialist opportunism. Lenin tears off the veil of chastity once and for all:

They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached "social peace" (i.e., peace with the slave owners), renunciation of the class struggle, etc. They had very many adherents among socialist members of parliament, various officials of the working-class movement, and the "sympathizing" intelligentsia.<sup>5</sup>

Friedrich Engels, who had already observed the growth of this phenomenon in England, the first country to provide in all its purity the fundamental outlines of imperialism, wrote to Kautsky in the letter previously quoted:

You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general. There is no workers' party here, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the Workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies.

<sup>4</sup> "War and Revolution," conference published in Pravda, No. 93, April 23, 1929. Retranslated from Spanish.

<sup>5</sup> "Historical Destiny of the Doctrine of Karl Marx."



Marx and Engels could not imagine the new world situation that imperialist expansion brought about. Nevertheless, Karl Marx's position on the liberation struggles of the Irish people will always be instructive for its strong and clear lesson in militant internationalism. Lenin would note it later in his argument with Rosa Luxemburg on the right of national self-determination.

In his long years of study of the Irish question, Karl Marx reached the conclusion that Ireland was the seat of the landed English aristocracy which held on the island not only the principal source of its material wealth, but also used exploitation as 'its greatest moral strength.' Ireland was the means by which it 'maintains its domination in England herself.' The English bourgeoisie had the same interest as the aristocracy in 'turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices.' Ireland, moreover, was a source of low-cost manual labor for the English market; the competition that the Irish worker presented to the English worker permitted a working class split and confrontation between the two. Karl Marx writes Engels on December 10, 1869:

For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by English working class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the New York Tribune. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything until it has got rid of Ireland [...]. It is in Ireland that the lever must be

applied. For this reason the Irish question assumes such importance for the social movement generally.

Finally, in a letter of April 9, 1870, to Sigfried Meyer and August Vogt, he states:

England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the worker's revolution, and moreover the only country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Working Men's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent.

Events did not take place as Marx had wished, but this does not alter the importance of his correct analysis. Lenin, decides later, pointed out that the policy Marx and Engels outlined on the Irish question was a consequently proletarian policy, a policy that educated the masses in the spirit of democracy and socialism.

But not only this, the later development of imperialism has revealed to what point in the oppression and exploitation of other countries reaction will find not only a source of superprofits but also a "moral force." And how the liberation of the oppressed peoples has become an imperative necessity for the very emancipation of the working classes in the developed capitalist countries.

We would not want to end this inevitable preamble to the ideas that Lenin later elaborated during imperialism's full bloom, on the movement of national liberation,

without noting, for their currency, Marx's criticisms of the 'Proudhonist clique' in Paris which thought "all Europe must and will sit quietly on its hind quarters until the gentlemen in France abolish poverty and ignorance." "They are grotesque," Marx writes in a letter of June 7, 1866; and in a later letter dated the 20th of the same month and year, relating to a debate in the International Council, he made fun of Lafargue and other representatives of "Young France" who "came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were 'antiquated prejudices.'" He adds: "I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities, he [Lafargue] appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation."

This position by which the oppressed nations had to sit quietly waiting for the growth of the European socialist movement came up again later and with great force as one of the most characteristic manifestations of the worker aristocracy's submission to petit-bourgeois opportunism in the interests of imperialism.

#### The 1905 Revolutions in Russia and the Asian Revolutions

*It means that "self-determination of nations" in the Marxists' program cannot, from a historic-economic point of view, have any other meaning than political self-determination, state independence, and the formation of a national state.*

Lenin

The 1905 revolution in Russia inaugurated the period of democratic-bourgeois revolutions outside of Western Europe and North America, in the vast world divided among the various imperialist powers. Lenin observes the process

very closely. In his articles first in Proletary then in Pravda, he continuously informs the Russian working class about what was going on in the Eastern countries, analyzes the growth of the national struggle, the outbreak of revolutions, becomes excited over the hundreds of millions of men who are awakening and making a whirlwind entry into history.

Nothing escapes his sharp eye. The Persian revolution; the movement of the Young Turks; the demonstrations in the streets and the strike in Bombay because of the condemnation of the Indian democrat Tilak; the revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen in China; the foundation of a national association that brought together 30,000 persons and organized huge meetings in Java. He notes:

By drawing ever broader masses of the Chinese peasantry into the movement and into politics, Sun Yat-sen's party is becoming (to the extent to which this process is taking place) a great factor of progress in Asia and of mankind's progress. Whatever defeats it may suffer from political rogues, adventurers and dictators, who rely on the country's reactionary forces, this party's efforts will not have been in vain.

The military dictatorship of Yuan Shih-kai, financed by a loan from the imperialist powers, lay in wait for the Chinese democratic revolution. The Czarist government which occupies Azerbaidzhan, Gilan, and

<sup>1</sup> "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," written in February-May 1914; published in the magazine Prosvetshcheniye, Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

<sup>2</sup> "The Struggle of Parties in China," Pravda, No. 100, May 3 (16), 1913.





Khorasan, pits itself against the Persian revolution while English troops land in the South of the country and unleash the cruelest repression against the revolutionary nation; the Young Turks seek conciliation with internal reaction and the European powers hurl themselves on Turkey to tear her apart. The revolution in the East is born in a blood bath, in a terrifying and uncertain dawn. But Lenin observes:

And the school of civil war is never lost upon nations. It is a hard school, and its complete course necessarily includes victories for the counter-revolution, the unbridled license of the infuriated reactionaries, the savage reprisals of the old government against the rebels, etc. But only incurable pedants and doddering mummies can moan over the fact that the nations have entered this very painful school. For it is one that teaches the oppressed classes how to wage civil war and how to carry the revolution to victory. It concentrates in the masses of contemporary slaves the hatred which downtrodden, benighted and ignorant slaves have always carried within them, and which leads to the supreme history-making feats of slaves who have realized the shame of their slavery.<sup>9</sup>

In the writings of Lenin published between the 1905 revolution and the beginning of the First World War, he reiterates three themes which acquired major importance in his later thinking when he had to face the task of developing the international strategy of the Soviet revolution and of the communist movement under the conditions created after 1918:

1) The role of the peasantry in the national liberation movement. Not only does he underline its im-

portance as basic support of the Chinese revolutionary movement, fundamentally while "Shanghai" are not multiplying and the proletariat is not growing, but also, after studying the nationalist struggles in the Balkans, he affirms "Nothing but economic and political liberation of the peasants of all the Balkan nationalities, carried through to the end, can eliminate all possibility of any sort of national oppression."<sup>10</sup>

2) "The counterrevolutionary coalition of the so-called civilized nations of Europe against the nations of Asia, least civilized but most energetic in their striving for democracy."<sup>11</sup> In the face of the national liberation movement, the liberal bourgeoisie do not differ from each other in regard to the colonial policies of the autocratic and despotic governments.

3) Colonial chauvinism which contaminates a part of the European proletariat. Commenting on the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart, held in August of 1907, and his debates on the colonial question, he says:

... as a result of the extensive colonial policy, the European proletariat partly finds himself in a position when it is not his labor, but the labor of the practically enslaved colonies, that maintains the whole of society. [...] In certain countries this provides the material and economic basis for infecting the proletariat with colonial chauvinism. Of course, this may be

<sup>9</sup> "Inflammable Material in World Politics," *Proletary*, No. 33, July 23 (August 5), 1908.

<sup>10</sup> "The Social Significance of the Serbo-Bulgarian Victories," *Pravda*, No. 162, November 7, 1912.

<sup>11</sup> "Events in the Balkans and in Persia," *Proletary*, No. 37, October 16 (29), 1908.



only a temporary phenomenon, but the evil must nonetheless be clearly realized and its causes understood in order to be able to rally the proletariat of all countries for the struggle against such opportunism. This struggle is bound to be victorious, since the 'privileged' nations are a diminishing fraction of the capitalist nations."

The emergence after 1905

Democratic-bourgeois revolutions

Russia and in the countries of Asia inevitably signifies the awakening of a whole series of national movements with the definite aim of creating independent and nationally homogeneous states.

The social-democratic Poles and Rosa Luxemburg refused to understand this fact. Rosa Luxemburg, criticizing the article on the right of national self-determination in the Russian Marxist program, affirmed that "not one single program of contemporary socialist parties" had it. In fact, national self-determination had ceased to be a problem in the countries of Western Europe, where, at the beginning of the imperialist period, there already existed a system of bourgeois states which in the main were nationally homogeneous states; but it became a cornerstone for the revolutionary movements of Russia and the East, and the entire colonial world.

Lenin polemized with Rosa Luxemburg studied the problem from every angle and over a period of time and in completely different situations he constantly returned to it. National self-determination for Lenin had a very clear meaning; it was the right of nations to their statehood separated from the other national collectives, it was the right to the formation of a national independent

ent state. The problem held two dangers against which it was necessary to alert the working class: the ultra-reactionary nationalism of the oppressor nations, an expression of the policy of the bourgeoisie and the land holders, and the bourgeois nationalism of the oppressed nations which sought to divert the working class "from its great universal tasks."

In the years preceding the October Revolution, Lenin is basically preoccupied with the attitude of the working class in the oppressor nations toward this problem. He writes:

In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist.<sup>29</sup>

He reminded that Marx, in 1848, demanded that triumphant democracy in Germany proclaim and carry out the liberation of the peoples conquered by the Germans, and that in 1869 he demanded the separation of Ireland and England. If the proletariat of the oppressor nation did not bring about the freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by "their" nation, "it would make impossible confidence and class solidarity between the workers of the oppressed nation and those of the oppressor nation". On his

<sup>29</sup> "International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart," written at the end of August and beginning of September 1907, published in *Proletary*, No. 17, October 20, 1907.

<sup>31</sup> "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up," written in July 1913, published in *Sovetskii Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 1, October 1913.

part, he reiterated that "the question of self-determination of nations today hinges on the conduct of socialists of the oppressor nations."<sup>30</sup> And he proclaimed in an assertion valid for all the oppressor nations, that Czarism not only oppressed the Russian population "but also demoralizes, humiliates, dishonors and prostitutes, and accuses it to hide its shame in hypocritical phrases of self-styled patriotism." He declared in synthesis:

The important thing is that in the epoch of imperialism owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split into two international camps, one of which has been corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table of the dominant-nation bourgeoisie — obtained, among other things, from the double or triple exploitation of small nations — while the other cannot liberate itself without liberating the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist, i.e., anti-annexationist, i.e., "self-determinationist" spirit.<sup>31</sup>

After the October Revolution he no longer considered it sufficient for a working class party to propagandize in favor of the self-determination of the oppressed nations in order to call itself communist unless it also supported by deeds those people struggling for their liberation. In the article, "The Conditions for Joining International Communism" he writes:

On the question of the colonies and the oppressed nationalities, the parties of those countries whose bourgeoisie dominates these colonies and oppresses other nations must have a singularly precise and clear line. Each of the parties that wishes to belong to the Third International has the duty of implacably exposing the machinations of "its" imperialists in the colonies, of

supporting by deed and not only by word, every liberation movement in the colonies, by exhorting that its imperialists be expelled from these colonies, by educating the workers of their country in a true spirit of fraternity toward the workers of the colonies and the oppressed nationalities and of carrying out a systematic agitation among its troops against all oppression of colonial peoples.

And in the Second Congress of the Communist International, in his introduction to the report of the commission on the national and the colonial questions, after insisting on "the importance of revolutionary work by the Communist Parties, not only in their own, but also in the colonial countries and particularly among the troops employed by the exploiting nations to keep the colonial peoples in subjection," he recalls that the parties of the Second International promised to act in a revolutionary manner and comments caustically, showing what for him represents concrete support to the liberation movements:

... but they have given no sign of genuine revolutionary work or of assistance to the exploited and dependent nations in their revolt against the oppressor nations. This, I think, applies also to most of the parties that have withdrawn from the Second International and wish to join the Third International. We must proclaim this publicly for all to hear, and it is irrefutable.

<sup>30</sup> "The Question of Peace," written in July-August 1915, published for the first time in 1924 in the magazine *Proletarskaya Revoliutsia*, No. 5 (28).

<sup>31</sup> "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up."



We shall see if any attempt is made to deny it.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Victories of the Red Army

To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by and actions in the colonies and in Europe is fatal reactionary stupidity by a sector of the party bourgeois with all its prejudices, without a moment of the politically revolutionary proletarian or semi-proletarian class against oppression by the landlords, the church, and the monarchs, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution.<sup>11</sup>

Lenin

Lenin's concepts are confirmed when the First World War begins among the imperialist powers, for the purpose of dividing up the world, and the social-democratic parties of Western Europe betray their peoples and violate the Basle Manifest which had been signed two years earlier and which declared that "the workers will regard... as criminal any shooting and other deeds for the profit of the capitalists" and point out to socialists their duty, should war break out, "to arouse the people and hasten the downfall of capitalism."<sup>12</sup>

Lenin's remark accords with these revolutionary ideas. In those days he writes as follows: "...in any war, the Russians cannot defend the country except by desiring the defeat of Czarism." It was a question "of taking advantage of every struggle especially armed struggle for imperialist privileges, to unmask and destroy the government, especially its own, by means of the revolutionary actions of proletarian solidarity on an international scale."<sup>13</sup>

It is basic to examine how Lenin executed the revolution over these years. Lenin written between 1914 and 1917 abound expressing his ideas with complete clarity. Nothing of rigid schemes, a priori assumptions, of how the revolution should be started or what conditions it was obligatory to have in order to begin the revolution.

The socialist revolution may flare up not only through some big strike street demonstration or huge riot or a military insurrection or colonial revolt, but also as a result of a political crisis such as the Dreyfus case or the Zarembo incident, or in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc.<sup>14</sup>

But there is more. "Whoever hopes for a pure social revolution will never see it. He will be a revolutionary of words who doesn't understand the true revolution."<sup>15</sup>

Lenin does not try over revolutionary debates but on the contrary understands that they pave the road to victory. Referring to the Irish insurrection of April 1916, drowned in blood by the English Government, he writes:

Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand the very fact that revolts do break out at different times in different places, and are of different kinds,

<sup>10</sup> Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions, Second Congress of the Communist International, July 18 - August 7, 1920, Semogorov's notes, published in book form in 1921.

<sup>11</sup> "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up."

<sup>12</sup> "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (Theses), written in January-February, 1916, published in *Yubileinye zapiski*, Pt. 1, April 1916.

guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905.<sup>16</sup>

At the same time that he combats the imperialist war and attacks without quarter those opportunists who defend the racist policy of their bourgeoisies, Lenin opposes the petit-bourgeois pacifists who condemn all war. "As a general rule war is legitimate on the part of the oppressed nation (independently of whether it is defensive or offensive in the military sense)." He speaks of the revolutionary wars and gives as an example the fact that the French Revolution liberated itself against the coalition of all the monarchist countries of Europe. In relation to the colonies, he writes: "Socialists... must also render determined support to the more revolutionary elements in the bourgeois-democratic movements for national liberation in these countries and assist their uprising — or revolutionary war, in the event of one — against the imperialist powers that oppress them."<sup>17</sup>

The analysis of the inequality of economic and political development in the capitalist countries leads him to the conclusion that socialism can triumph first in one or several capitalist countries. The victorious proletariat in that country "will arise against the rest of the world — the capitalist world —

attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, stirring uprisings in those countries against the capitalists, and in case of need using even armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."<sup>18</sup>

On November 8, 1917 in Smolny Palace, before the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and in the midst of the flames of the victorious insurrection of the workers and of the Petrograd garrison, Lenin gave his report on the peace decree that was unanimously approved. The Workers and Peasants Government proposed that all the belligerent peoples and their governments enter negotiations for a just and democratic peace — that is to say, a peace without annexations. And in his report Lenin did not limit the concept of annexation to the new conquests which were in dispute in the war in Europe at that time, but also extended it to include all colonies.

...irrespective of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to the given state, or forcibly retained within its borders, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant, overseas countries.

The peace that Lenin offered the belligerent peoples included liberty for all the colonies and an

<sup>13</sup> "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up"

<sup>14</sup> "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (Theses).

<sup>15</sup> "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," *Sotsial-Demokrat*, No. 44, August 23, 1915.



end of world colonialism.

Lenin was confident of the proximity of the European working class revolution, above all in Germany. In his "Theses on the Question of the Immediate Conclusion of a Separate and Annexationist Peace" he writes: "That the socialist revolution in Europe must come, and will come, is beyond doubt! All our hopes for the final victory of socialism are founded on this certainty and on this scientific prognosis." Although he also noted that "it is quite impossible to predict the probable moment of outbreak of revolution and overthrow of any of the European imperialist governments (including the German)." For that reason, he states that: "the position of the socialist revolution in Russia" must form the basis of any definition of the international tasks of the Soviet power.

The peace negotiations in Brest-Litovsk were under discussion. All eyes were on the internal situation in Germany. On January 21, 1918, Lenin added a note to the previous Theses:

The mass strikes in Austria and Germany and subsequently, the formation of the soviets of workers' deputies in Berlin and Vienna, and, lastly, beginning from January 18-20, armed clashes and street fighting in Berlin — all this should be regarded as evidence of the fact that the revolution in Germany has begun. This fact offers us the opportunity for the time being, of further delaying and dragging out the peace negotiations.

In his report on the activity of the Council of People's Commissaries, made on January 24, 1918, before the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, he

recalls that Marx and Engels "having watched the growth of world socialist revolution" said at the end of the 19th century, "the Frenchman will begin it and the German will finish it" and adds:

Today we see a different combination of internal socialist forces. We say that it is easier for the movement to start in the countries that are not among those exploiting countries which have opportunities for easy plunder and are able to bribe the upper section of their workers. The pseudo-socialist, nearly all ministerial, Chervov-Iskretskii parties of Western Europe do not accomplish anything, and they lack firm foundations. We have seen the example of Italy, during the past few days we witnessed the heroic struggle of the Austrian workers against the predatory imperialists. Though the prizes may succeed in holding up the movement for a time, they cannot stop it altogether, it is invincible.

He concludes by affirming:

Things have turned out differently from what Marx and Engels expected and we, the Russian working and exploited classes, have the honor of being the vanguard of the international socialist revolution; we can now see clearly how far the development of the revolution will go. The Russian began it — the German, the Frenchman, and the Englishman will finish it, and socialism will be victorious.

In his speech to the closing of the Congress on January 31, he says:

You have already heard of the telegrams on the state of the revolution in Germany. The flames of a revolutionary wild-

fire, are leaping higher and higher over the whole of this rotten old world system. It was no pie-in-the-sky theory, no armchair pipe dream that once we had established Soviet power we would induce others to make similar attempts in other countries. For I must repeat that the working people had no other way out of the slaughter. These attempts are now being consolidated as gains of the international revolution. We close this historic Congress of Soviets under the sign of the mounting world revolution....

The interest with which they awaited news from Germany can be seen in a message sent by radio to the peace delegation in Brest-Litovsk on February 3, 1918. After reporting on the situation in the Ukraine and Finland, Lenin says:

There is great enthusiasm among Petrograd workers over the formation of a soviet of workers' deputies in Berlin. There are rumors that Karl Liebknecht has been released and will soon head the German Government. Tomorrow's sitting of the Petrograd Soviet will discuss a message to the Berlin and Vienna Soviets of workers.

Two weeks later, he will have to announce during a session of the Central Committee: "Toffe wrote from Brest that there was no sign of a revolution in Germany," and later: "The revolution in Germany has not yet started and we know that over here too our revolution did not win out all at once."

On the third of March, the peace treaty with Germany was signed in Brest-Litovsk. This same month, British, North American, and French troops disembarked in Murmansk, and on April 4 the Japanese occupied Vladivostok. This was the beginning of the imperialist intervention which con-

tinued in a long and bloody war up until October of 1922, when the counterrevolutionaries and foreign troops were cleaned out of the Soviet Far East.

Under the attacks of the Red Army, and as a product of the internal disintegration that undermined them, the interventionist and counterrevolutionary troops led by Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, and Wrangel, armed and financed by the imperialists, were "hit on all fronts. The sailors of the French Squadron revolted in April of 1919 in the Black Sea. But with the aid of social democracy, imperialism succeeded in preventing the socialist revolution in Europe.

The masses of workers and peasants of the numerous nationalities that people the Soviet Union had to forge their revolutionary consciousness under the hardest conditions, at a time when they had to repel the dirty campaign of calumnies launched against the Soviet power not only by the imperialist press, but also by the socialists of the Second International. In "Letter to American Workers," Lenin stated that a revolutionary,

... would not "agree" to a proletarian revolution only "on the condition" that it proceeds easily and smoothly, that there is, from the outset, combined action on the part of the proletarians of different countries, that there are guarantees against defeats, that the road of the revolution is broad, free and straight, that it will not be necessary during the march to victory to sustain the heaviest casualties, to "bide one's time in a besieged fortress," or to make one's way along extremely narrow, impassable, winding, and dangerous mountain tracks.

<sup>12</sup> "On the History of the Question of the Annexationist Peace," *Pravda*, No. 34, February 24 (17), 1918.



And in the Eighth Congress of the Communist (B) Party of Russia held in March of 1919, he has to oppose the formulations of Bucharin, who wants to substitute national self-determination with "workers' self-determination," not only because it is inaccurate but also among other things because it would serve to feed the propaganda of the followers of Scheidemann's social democracy in Germany, which says that the Bolsheviks want to impose their system on the world at the point of the bayonets of the Red Army.

During the years of the civil war imperialism took advantage of the lack of confidence in the Russian people that existed in the oppressed nations formerly dominated by Czarism. A lack of confidence that had been accumulating over centuries of denial of rights and of reactionary violence. Writes Lenin:

The experience of the workers' and peasants' revolution in Russia, the revolution of October-November 1917, and of the two years of victorious struggle against the onslaught of international and Russian capitalists, has made it crystal-clear that the capitalists have succeeded for a time in playing upon the national distrust of the Great Russians felt by Polish, Latvian, Estonian, and Finnish peasants and small owners, that they have succeeded for a time in sowing dissension between them and us on the basis of this distrust.<sup>25</sup>

This lack of confidence was disappearing very slowly, and Lenin counselled care and patience to the Russians who for years had been an oppressor nation in the old imperial Czarist relations with other nations. He added: "It is by

recognizing the independence of the Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, and Finnish states that we are slowly but steadily winning the confidence of the laboring masses of the neighboring small states, who were more backward and more despised and downtrodden by the capitalists."

Applying relations that had to be established between the Soviet Republics of Russia and the Ukraine Lenin at the same time warned against Russian nationalism which could be confused with chauvinism, and against nationalistic petit-bourgeois prejudices of small proprietors in the formerly subjugated nations which had nothing to do with the interests of the workers and peasants in their struggle against capital. And he added: "There must be unity in the struggle against the yoke of capital and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and there should be no parting of the ways among Communists on the question of national frontiers, or whether there should be a federal or some other tie between the states."<sup>26</sup>

Only with the maximum patience would it be possible to wipe out the mistrust engendered over centuries by the regime of private property and hatred produced by excessive divisions of that property. He said:

We want a voluntary union of nations — a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another — a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent. [...] We stand for the close union and the complete amalgamation of the workers

<sup>25</sup> "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin," *Worker*, in December 28, 1919, published in *Pravda*, No. 3, January 4, 1920.

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*

and peasants of all nations in a single world Soviet Republic.

This clear internationalist concept of Lenin's, his indefatigable preoccupation with the unity of the working class and the peasants, explains his furious indignation at the methods employed by Orjonikidze, Stalin, and Dzerzhinsky in the handling of the task of "social nationalism" in Georgia. In the notes in his diary, dictated on December 31, 1922, when he was already quite ill, Lenin considers it to be "unpardonable opportunism" to undermine Soviet prestige with its peoples "even if only by the slightest crudity or injustice toward our own non-Russian nationalities" on the eve of the debut of the East and the "hundreds of millions of the peoples of Asia, which is destined to follow us on the stage of history in the near future." And he added that one thing is,

... the need to rally against the imperialists of the West [and] it is another thing when we ourselves lapse, even if only in trifles, into imperialist attitudes toward oppressed nationalities, thus undermining all our principled sincerity, all our principled defense of the struggle against imperialism.<sup>27</sup>

For Lenin, proletarian internationalism is not a mere acknowledgement of the equality of rights of nations, which has a purely formal character and maintains intact national egoism, but rather:

... first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of the struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital.<sup>28</sup>

#### The Peoples of the Orient

*The peoples of the East are becoming aware of the need for practical action, the need for every nation to take part in shaping the destiny of all mankind.*<sup>29</sup>

Lenin

The victorious campaigns of the Red Army throughout the vast Soviet territory, the coordination of enormous masses of regular troops — armed and equipped through the tremendous efforts of a devastated people — with a ubiquitous and effective guerrilla movement, in a battle that joined and fused all the nationalities in the crucible of struggle, was a totally new fact in history: imperialism can be militarily defeated by the backward peoples. The invincibility of the European colonial forces had received a mortal blow. It was therefore imperative to make the corresponding deductions for the struggle of the peoples for their liberation.

I think that what the Red Army has accomplished [says Lenin], its struggle, and the history of its victory, will be of colossal, epochal significance for all the peoples of the East. It will show them that, weak as they may be and invincible as may seem the power of the European oppressors, who in the struggle employ all the marvels of technology and of the military art — never-

<sup>25</sup> "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'."

<sup>26</sup> "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," Second Congress of the Communist International, published in June 1920.

<sup>27</sup> "Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East," November 22, 1919, published in *Izvestia* of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (B) of Russia, December 20, 1919.



theless, a revolutionary war waged by oppressed peoples, if it really succeeds in arousing the millions of working and exploited people harbors such potentialities, such miracles, that the emancipation of the peoples of the East is now quite practicable, from the standpoint not only of the prospects of the international revolution, but also of direct military experience acquired in Asia, in Siberia, the experience of the Soviet Republic, which has suffered the armed invasion of all the powerful imperialist countries.<sup>29</sup>

And he outlined a plan of action: "Now, our Soviet Republic must, in its turn, bring together all the peoples of the Orient who are awakening to fight side by side with them against international imperialism."

From the new life appearing each day concerning the world situation arising out of the ashes of the war of 1914-1918, he will report to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the Orient, on November 22, 1919: "...the socialist revolution will not be solely and principally a struggle of the revolutionary proletariat of each country against its bourgeoisie; no, it will be a struggle of all the colonies and of all the countries oppressed by imperialism, of all the dependent countries, against international imperialism." Months later, on July 19, 1921, at the Second International Communist Congress, he will state:

World imperialism shall fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming resistance from petit-bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper

crust of labor aristocrats, merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded merely as the object of history.

And one year later, in December 1921, in a letter to the Council of Propaganda and Action of the Peoples of the Orient: "The destiny of Western civilization now depends, to a great extent, on the incorporation of the masses of Eastern workers into political life."

During these years, ideas and concepts are shaped, life continues to be the principal teacher. The Commission for National and Colonial Questions of the Second Communist International Congress, following a rich discussion, unanimously decides that instead of talking about the "democratic-bourgeois" movement in the backward countries, it must speak of the "national revolutionary movement." Lenin explains in his report that the expression "democratic-bourgeois movement" eliminates all differences between the reformist movement and the revolutionary movement. Bourgeois imperialism has also promoted the reformist movement among the backward peoples. It has produced a certain affinity between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and the bourgeoisie of the colonies.

...for which reason, the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries often — and sometimes even in the majority of cases — despite its support to the national movements, struggles at the same time with the imperialist bourgeoisie, that is to say, on its side and against the revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes.

And he adds that the sense of

this change is that communists ... must only support and will only support the bourgeois liberation movements in the colonies when these movements are truly revolutionary and when their representatives do not prevent us from educating and organizing the peasants and the great exploited masses in a revolutionary spirit. If these conditions do not exist, communists must struggle against the reformist bourgeoisie in these countries.

Already in the initial outline of the theses of national and colonial problems presented to the Congress, Lenin had pointed out the necessity of tirelessly exposing "the trickery to which the imperialist powers systematically resort, creating, under the guise of politically independent states, states completely subject to them in the economic, financial and military sense." It was a description of what today we call neocolonialism, already defining its class content and the viciousness implicit in its reformism.

The basic task was to support the peasant movement in the backward countries, against the land holders, against the great agrarian ownership, against every manifestation or vestige of feudalism and to strengthen and give the peasant movement a more revolutionary character. The communists would have to know how to translate the true communist doctrine created for the communists of the most advanced countries, into the idiom of each people. The internal propaganda of each country must be issued in a language comprehensible to the people. The communists will have to adapt theory and practice to specific conditions that don't exist in European countries, conditions in which the basic mass is the peasant, and will have to struggle against the survival of

medieval customs in order to awaken revolutionary action and so that the working masses will show their initiative and will organize, irrespective of their level. "Such are the problems whose solution you will not find in any communist book, but will find in the common struggle begun by Russia. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it through your own independent experience."<sup>30</sup>

Lenin, who always pointed out the necessity for distinguishing between the nationalism of the oppressor nation and the nationalism of the oppressed nation, between the nationalism of the big nation and that of the small nation, tells the communists from the Eastern peoples, "you will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among these peoples, and which has its historical justification."<sup>31</sup> Although he also warns that the more backward the country, the more evident is its small agricultural production, the patriarchal state and its deepest petit-bourgeois prejudices, the prejudices of national egoism and of national limitation. These prejudices will not disappear until imperialism and capitalism in the advanced countries disappear and the entire base of economic life in the backward countries changes radically.

It is therefore the duty of the class-conscious communist proletariat of all countries to regard with particular caution and attention the survivals of national sentiments in the countries and among the nationalities which have been oppressed the longest; it is equally necessary to make certain concessions with a view

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.



to more rapidly overcoming this distrust and these prejudices."

Lenin sees with absolute clarity the picture of the world outside the frontiers of the Soviet Union. This is not the time to fool oneself with illusions. The only country that won the First World War fully and has changed completely from a country with many debts to a country that everyone else owes, is the United States. Japan has also benefited from remaining on the edge of the conflict and extends its grip over the entire Asian continent, and in third place, England. Lenin will say: "The characteristic feature of imperialism consists in the whole world, as we now see, being divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, the latter possessing colossal wealth and powerful armed forces."<sup>12</sup> This "distinction between the oppressed nations and the oppressor nations" is the fundamental idea of the thesis developed by the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions, of the Second Congress of the Communist International. And Lenin notes:

Unlike the Second International and bourgeois democracy, we emphasize this distinction. In this age of imperialism, it is particularly important for the proletariat and the Communist International to establish the concrete economic facts and to proceed from concrete realities, not from abstract postulates, in all colonial and national problems.

It was logical that the secular oppression of the colonies and the weak countries by the imperialist powers awakened in the working masses of the oppressed countries not only rancor but also a mistrust toward the oppressor nations in

general, including the proletariat of these nations. The betrayal of socialism by the majority of the official leaders of this proletariat in 1914-1919, when "defense of country" was used as a social-chauvinist cloak to conceal the defense of the "right" of their "own" bourgeoisie to oppress colonies, was certain to enhance this perfectly legitimate distrust."<sup>13</sup>

Petit-bourgeois democracy, represented by social democracy, had converted itself into the principal supporter of capitalism because it exercised "an influence over the majority, or a considerable section of the industrial and commercial workers and office employees who are afraid that if revolution breaks out they will lose the relative petit-bourgeois prosperity created by the privileges of imperialism."<sup>14</sup>

Lenin draws all the conclusions of this lucid analysis. And he publicly denounces:

These civilized philistines [...] accustomed to regard as "natural" a situation in which hundreds of millions of people (over a thousand million, to be exact) in the colonies and in semi-dependent and poor countries tolerate the treatment meted out to Indians or Chinese, tolerate incredible exploitation, and outright depredation, and hunger and violence, and humiliation, all in order that "civilized" men might "freely," "democratically," according to "parliamentary pro-

<sup>12</sup> "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions," Second Congress of the Communist International.

<sup>13</sup> "Report of the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions," Second Congress of the Communist International.

<sup>14</sup> "Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and the Colonial Questions."

<sup>15</sup> "Theses for a Report on the Tactics of the Communist Party of Russia," Third Congress of the Communist International, June 22-July 12, 1921 (initial project), published in 1921.

cedure," decide whether the booty should be divided up peacefully, or whether ten million or so must be done to death in this division of the imperialist booty, yesterday between Germany and Britain, tomorrow between Japan and the USA (with France and Britain participating in one form or another).<sup>15</sup>

In one of his last documents written in Gorki, "Better Fewer, but Better," Lenin says:

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And during the past few years it is this majority that has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.<sup>16</sup>

Lenin knows that this conclusion, which is reiterated in all his documents of this period and which the history of the last half century has fully confirmed, will be opposed by European social democracy, filled with colonial exploitation, and he hastens to reply with all frankness to "any infant Spengler" who dares to deduce "that this estimate of the revolutionary forces fails to take into account the European and American proletariat."<sup>17</sup>

The only thing the imperialist bourgeoisie could be thanked for was for having taught the men of the colonies to manage arms, with the intention of using them in the war. "This knowledge is extraordinarily useful, and for it we should express our most profound thanks to the bourgeoisie," Lenin will exclaim. For the rest, the

experience of civil war shows that, in the fire, "at the same time that it engenders the force of revolutionary enthusiasm it creates a powerful internal strength." Imperialist intervention, rather than routing the workers and peasants of Russia, only succeeded in tempering them.

Finally, the other experience that Lenin extracted from these years of civil war, studying the work of the communists in such backward regions of the old Czarist empire as Turkestan, was that, if the socialist governments, by every means possible within their reach, aid the backward peoples, they can forego the phase of capitalist development and advance by determined steps toward communism.

Forty years had passed since Friedrich Engels' letter to Karl Kautsky. During those years, the reality of the epoch of imperialism, which the founders of scientific socialism could not study, had opened new possibilities to the world revolutionary struggle. Lenin understood that hundreds of millions of men were becoming a part of history and, with the October Revolution, the victories of the Red Army over the interventionist troops, and the construction of socialism in a country as vast as the Soviet Union, he contributed decisively to putting them in motion. Two years before his death, he will say in triumph: "That majority has now awakened and has begun a movement which even the 'mightiest' powers cannot stem."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> "On the Tenth Anniversary of Pravda," Pravda, No. 88, May 5, 1922.

<sup>17</sup> "Better Fewer, but Better," Pravda, No. 49, March 4, 1923.

<sup>18</sup> "On the Tenth Anniversary of Pravda," 1922.



characterized as a nationalist Ibo coup.

The feudalists mobilized the former mercenaries and the bandits of the political parties (private armies used in the elections by the tribal parties) and also the reactionary officials of the army who had opposed the Revolutionary Council, and launched a campaign of terror against the Ibos -- particularly the petit bourgeois -- who had emigrated to Northern Nigeria years before, and massacred hundreds of thousands of them between July and September of 1966.

Acting through the trade unions, the revolutionary Marxists called on the workers to protect their Ibo comrades and put an end to the massacres organized by the fascists.

#### The Ibos

The Ibos belong to the Bantu ethnological group in Africa; they originally lived in East and West Nigeria, in the regions known today as the Central-Eastern and the Mideastern states.

They were a communal people in the prefeudal stage of their social development before the colonialization of Nigeria in the middle of the 19th century.

But even before that, at the end of the last century the confluence of the Ibos from the Mideastern State had moved eastward under the domination of the imperialist slavery of Benin, and established a feudal Ibo monarchy, in the East, in Onitsha, and one or two other places. The influence of the feudal domination of Calabar, which also penetrated the customs of the neighboring Ibos, must be considered as well.

Even today elements of the slave tradition persist in the East in the Osa caste system whose social devel-

opment received Ibo influence.

It should be remembered that, up until the middle of the 19th century, slave trade and the commercial activities of the precapitalist (but post-feudal) European merchant seamen had generated trading centers in the East, particularly in Calabar and in Rivers, and among the Ibos of the South.

Thus at the end of the second imperialist war we find a people with a strong social communal structure joined with an embryonic feudal political government and a mercantile economic base.

In a Nigeria shaped by the British, the Ibos struggled to elevate themselves socially by becoming men of commerce throughout the country, in Cameroom, in Gabon, São Tomé, Fernando Po, and other regions of West Africa.

It should be pointed out that in the region they inhabit the arid ground is not very productive as farmland because of its geographic location, which is partially in a jungle and partially in a clay belt. The social organization of dispersal in small clans is also significant, resulting in a concentrated use of local land and farming for subsistence, which is a factor contributing to the low land yield.

The Ibos struggled to achieve position in the professions and in governmental service and so they became a great migratory people, with a sizeable proportion living, working, and earning outside their own country. In the period of the 1951 government an Ibo bourgeoisie and an intellectual elite emerged.

This elite, along with the old ruling classes from other parts of Nigeria, is the source of the tragedy of the current civil war. The revolutionary Marxists proposed a united government committed to an equitable development of all peoples

whose development had been unequal up until then for certain historic reasons. But the alliance of the bourgeoisie and the Ibo intellectuals preferred Igbokwenu or Iboism in its own interests.

Between parenthesis we might add that the feudal Yoruba merchants, however feebly and beholden to their feudal chief and intellectuals, had begun this very movement under the mantle of a vague cultural regeneration promoted by Egbe Omo Oudwa (descendant of the mythical founder of the Yoruba nation and an alleged native of the Middle East).

The Ibo elite formed a Union of the Ibo State, Ibo schools, an Ibo bank, and various Ibo enterprises aided economically by contributions from poor Ibo workers and from the Ibo bank, called the African Continental Bank, which continues to be the most important indigenous Nigerian bank, founded by Dr. Azikiwe, president of the first republic.

With the advent of self-government in 1960, this Ibo elite became a part of the spurious alliance of the three major tribes that misgoverned Nigeria.

It must be remembered that Ibo militants like other Nigerian militants fought in the trade unions and mass organizations against this conspiracy.

However, the Ibo commercial communities outside their own territory were organized into commercial societies along Masonic lines and, in 1960, they had a disproportionate control over the distribution and service industries in the North, in Cameroon in São Tomé, and to a certain extent in Lagos. For this reason it was relatively easy for the feudal class in the North to stir up anti-Ibo sentiments in the areas under its control. To this was added the lack of national integration

among the Ibos, a factor which contributed to the identification of the commercial Ibo sectors (largely petit-bourgeois) with the capitalist segment of the ruling classes.

When oil was discovered in the Rivers region, in Eastern Nigeria, and in the Mid-West, Yankee imperialism openly entered Nigerian politics and, along with the English, aggravated the intertribal conflict among the governing classes who were fighting desperately for control of the first republic at the same time that they joined in trampling under foot the working population of every nationality. There are more than a hundred minority groups among the working class of Nigeria.

The Ibo governing class wanted to retain the oil profits for itself. There was talk of secession. The feudal class in the North also began its secessionist movements.

#### Biafran Secession

There were two coups on the night of September 29, 1966. One was by fascist officials who staged it in favor of the feudal Fulanis with help of the CIA and the British imperialists, to break the power of the bourgeois Ibos and again place in control the feudal Fulani hegemony allied with the western feudal sector as minority member, and thus obtain oil for imperialism. The coup was accompanied by another massacre of Ibos who lived outside the Eastern region, especially among the intermediary ranks of the armed forces. The same night, patriotic elements took up arms against the fascists and destroyed the Ironsi Administration.

Immediately thereafter, the governing Ibo class fled to the East and condemned the existence of Nigeria. They fled East far from the public



courts which were going to confiscate the illegally acquired riches of all the former exploiters.

There tribal sentiments in favor of an Ibo state were revived, a state rich with the honey of oil. They made tons of money by transporting workers and merchants into the region, in spite of the security offered by the patriotic officials at the head of the government. They threw all the non-Easterners out of the East, but thousands of Ibos failed to answer their call and remained at their work in manufacturing, in government, the police, and farming.

The Ibo intelligentsia at the University of Nsukka, filled with the ideology of Nietzsche, Hitler, and Mussolini, conceived the idea of a Biafran Republic, an Ibo state.

The revolutionary Marxists, the revolutionary officials, the progressive and anti-imperialist trade unionists, for the most part Easterners who had gone East to participate in the mobilization of the region as a new base camp for struggle, were shot or sent to detention camps by the military governor Ojukwu, while the Republic of Biafra was proclaimed by the followers of secession and fascism.

The revolutionary Marxists, through their mass organ, the Nigerian Socialist, and by other means, condemned the arrests and executions, called on the Biafran and Nigerian workers to join in the defense of an independent and sovereign Nigeria and to respond to the fascists, who misquoted Lenin while shooting down Leninists and advised that the Leninist theory of self-determination by the people presupposes a people racially oppressed by a more reactionary class, whose new self-determination will be led by a more progressive class, signifying a

better life for all those desiring this self-determination.

We argue that in the East, Biafra is made up of the peoples of Rivers, Calabar, and Ogoja, comprising 5 million out of a population of 13 million, and that for years they have been prepared to fight to achieve independence from the great Ibo tribe, from the oppression of the merchant class and of the corrupt federal central government.

In the last days of the first republic, Jasper Boro led a liberation army of the peoples of Rivers, which attacked the Nigerian army, infantry, and police.

The Ibo working masses who live by the millions in the factories, farms, and offices of other parts of Nigeria, would live with difficulty in a Biafra stripped of oil which the people of Rivers will surely acquire along with their freedom.

The Ibo governing class mercilessly exploited the working Ibos, especially after having eliminated from the political scene the militants and mass leaders. We asked at the time to be told where various comrades in the battle might be, among them: Chukumah Kaduna Nzeogwu, hero of the 15th of January; Philip Alele, Obi Wali, Igbokwe, Emmanuel Ifesjuna, Nduka Eze, Mckwugo Okoye, Osita Angwuna, Chukwumerije, Colonel Banjo, P. Epu, G. Okoro, and A. Ikoro.

But we were given no answer because these and other brave heroes were executed or jailed. The Hitlerian doctrine persisted. Arms were accumulated to paralyze the movements of the mass organizations in Nigeria to put an end to the war.

And thus the Nigerian civil war began.

#### Self-Determination of the People

The CIA arms Biafra and the private North American business

interests provide arms to Nigeria. The British monopolies arm Biafra, the British Government arms Nigeria. West Germany arms Nigeria, France arms Biafra. Aid from the Red Cross arms Biafra. Aid from the World Council of Churches arms Nigeria. Clearly it is all an imperialist conspiracy to weaken Nigeria, to dismember Nigeria, and to consolidate imperialism's hold on Central Africa.

The new government of Nigeria decreed the creation of 12 self-governing states in Nigeria, including a Central-Eastern State for the Ibos of Biafra as a solution to the problem of minorities. The government approved the decree concerning companies which froze the excesses of the foreign monopolies. The government freed the political prisoners, among them Chief Awolowo, social democratic leader of the Western people, and S. G. Ikoku, revolutionary Marxist of the Central-Eastern State. The Federal Government invited civilians to join the government, the majority of them nationalists, progressives, fighters against reaction in the first republic, including Aminu Kano, Anthony Enahoro, J. S. Tarka, and Chief Awolowo.

The Biafran army successfully invaded the Midwestern State, threw out the ruling governor, and installed in power an Ibo major. From this there followed atrocities against the natives, who were told that the Biafrans had come to liberate them from the Islamic Fulani oligarchy of the North.

The Midwestern people followed by the Federal Army, expelled the Biafrans. The people of Rivers, led by Isaac Jasper Boro and followed by the Federal Army, expelled the Biafrans from their territory. Oil now no longer belongs to Biafra. But Biafra cannot live without oil.

It conceded the oil in the territory of another people to the French monopoly SAFRAP and it contracted French mercenaries. Shell-BP has begun to exploit oil, paying taxes to the Federal Government. The United States and Great Britain now suggest the creation of unity and sovereignty in Nigeria.

The Calabaris, Ibibios, and Ogojas, allied to the Federal Government, expelled the Biafrans and established their own South-Eastern State within the Nigerian Government. It was a war of these minorities for the unity of Nigeria. The revolutionary Marxists nevertheless continued urging the people in these zones to arm themselves to save their land and guarantee the sovereignty of Nigeria from imperialist intervention.

The Midwestern Ibos are in Nigeria and participate in the government along with other Westerners in the administration of the Midwestern State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

The minority people in the East, the Midwest, the North are free. For whatever military reason, the Biafran Republic cannot conquer the Central-Eastern Ibo State. The phobia and fear felt by this Republic will diminish and finally disappear with the progressive and anti-imperialist measures that will be adopted in the other eleven states. No doubt this is true. The non-Ibo states to the East will not give up the independence they have won with the blood and suffering of the sons of the peasants and through which they reached autonomy and democracy, to a bourgeois administration that says it has socialist plans.

In Nigeria, the Federal Government with its progressive inclina-



tions is blocked by the existence of a reactionary structure in the army, the police and the courts, the church, the mosques, civil service, the universities, commerce and land. The hand of the government continues to strengthen with the taking over of local power by the progressives of the North carried out under the direction of mass leaders such as Tanko Yacasai and Yerima Balla. This has forced the emir to sit and wait while plotting and conspiring for a return to the status quo. The antifeudal and antitax uprising of the Western masses, the demonstrations and agitations organized by the revolutionary Marxists and the organizations of the popular front against imperialism, are all part of the latent social revolt that is mounting an offensive against the reactionary state structure.

For this reason this government continues to be threatened by an imperialist-fascist conspiracy whose success will cost us the heads of numbers of revolutionary leaders who have emerged from this hard struggle, in Nigeria as well as in Biafra. The destruction of this government, if it comes to pass, must not leave a vacuum for the reactionary Biafrans and Nigerians to endanger the birth of a free and progressive Nigeria.

#### Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Thus we are in the midst of an anti-imperialist struggle today, against an imperialism imposed on Biafra and an imperialism that exists within the Nigerian governing classes.

And because the government is broadly progressive and revolutionary, Marxists have a duty to mobilize the people to fight the fascist-

imperialist attack that threatens Nigeria and will topple a government not fully prepared for such an assault.

The fascist conspirators are the old governing class of the first republic, whose federal authority is weak, whose wealth has been confiscated by the public tribunals. The imperialist conspirators are the oil monopolies, the CIA, who view a democratic and independent Nigeria as the chief danger to their "stability" in Africa.

The Nigerian people have cultural and racial ties with all the neighboring republics with the exception of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The Nigerian economy and that of the French-African and English-African territories are closely allied.

The large part of the population and the potential wealth of Nigeria, as well as the military training of progressive forces, is a threat to imperialism in Africa.

That is why today and every day the fascist conspiracy is always ready to repeat the Indonesian massacre, seeking to overthrow this government and substitute a less progressive one. If that succeeds, a tight alliance with the fascist Biafrans would be established. Biafra would be expanded by force to encompass the East. Feudalism would be extended throughout the North and the domination of the merchants would be extended throughout the West. And we would be back at the beginning again.

The centers of world revolution today are many, and there are actually three, four, five Viet-Nams in creation. The Nigerian scene is currently one of the points of confrontation between the Third World and imperialism, and therefore commands the attention of world revolutionaries.



## Uruguay: the Tupamaros in Action

#### Preface

URUGUAY, a country of just over 137 000 km<sup>2</sup> with a level and barely undulating surface, has become the scene of armed struggle since 1964. With a population of scarcely two and a half million inhabitants — concentrated chiefly in the cities, especially in its capital (Montevideo) — known as the "Switzerland of America" in other days because of its model regime of "representative democracy," it appears today for what it really is: one more Latin-American country which does not escape the contradictions of an underdeveloped country neocolonialized by the United States.

Although it is true that the re-

gime still preserves its institutional forms "on paper," the cancer that is rapidly corroding its economy, in this year of 1970 has undermined all the republican garb which the good Uruguayan bourgeoisie prided itself on a decade ago. The surrender to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the North American monopolies disguised in false financial associations with native names — already almost completely Yankee-ized — the freezing of salaries which puts it among the Latin-American countries with the lowest purchasing power, and the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy's legal apparatus, place Uru-



guay among the American republics governed by civilian "gorillas." They do very well without the weight of military rank since the state apparatus, with its repressive arm, obtains the same results as its military neighbors without the formal inconveniences of a dictatorship.

It is precisely within this framework that one of the most singular forms of armed struggle is developing: urban guerrilla warfare, which has already manifested itself with well aimed blows in neighboring Brazil, and is appearing in Argentina to the South.

The struggle initiated by the Tupamaros Movement for National Liberation (MLN) six years ago has shaken the power structure in Uruguay to its foundations. Almost daily the teletypes of the news agencies report at least one action by the urban guerrilla heirs of the native predecessor in the struggle for national liberation: the Inca chief Túpac-Amaru (José Gabriel Condorcanqui), executed by Spanish colonialism in 1781.

Túpac-Amaru's struggle is a reminder of how the Tupamaros' struggle enters into the Latin-American revolutionary framework. This explains why the MLN's best-known nickname is Tupamaros.

The fact that the concept of the MLN guerrilla foco is applied to the cities — principally Montevideo, where almost half the country's population is concentrated — poses one of the initiatives projected in the General Resolution of the First Latin-American Conference of Solidarity (OLAS) proclaiming that "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."

Despite the enormous deployment of forces and resources, the Uru-

guayan authorities know very little about the internal organization of the Tupamaros. The objective conditions under which their specific actions are evolved hinder penetration of the fine scheme of cells composed of four or five fighters who know each other within the cell simply by their war names, and are separated, in turn, from the other cells. This is the secret of the movement's infallibility. To preserve security zealously, one of the first postulates of Comandante Che Guevara's manual, *Guerrilla Warfare*, is the principal rule and the only way for the urban guerrilla to stay alive.

This is the explanation for the desperation of the repressive corps of the regime of Pacheco Areco. Of the few "confidences" that reach the police, very few finally come off successfully for the bloodhounds. Before the repressive agents arrive, the revolutionaries have found a safe refuge and the investigators can find little in the house-breakings that now constitute the scene of the day in Uruguayan cities.

In the few statements and documents of the organization that are known, party affiliation is denied. A party, the Tupamaros argue, would exclude other sectors — possibly in the majority — from the possibility of joining the struggle. On the other hand, the organization of a party demands the expenditure of efforts and resources that necessarily would be turned into almost exclusively political work, a utopian ambition in a country ruled by a repressive apparatus almost forgotten in its history, maintained through the Emergency Security Measures (a virtual state of siege) which has ruled almost without interruption for the past 20 months.

The Tupamaros prefer the revolution "with a party or without a party" before seeing their organization destroyed and their militants arrested by a repressive political apparatus of the oligarchy in an unequal battle, if the object really is to seize power.

On the other hand the MLN understands that in making the revolution, the subjective conditions necessary to unleash the mass struggle can be created. The urban guerrilla foco is, in this case, the "small motor" that will spark the struggle, but as armed vanguard, it has no course other than to initiate it immediately, knowing that the blows it hurls against the regime from its clandestine actions will accelerate the acquisition of consciousness by national forces.

Against the statements of the police hierarchy about a possible break in the internal rank of the MLN, speak such actions as bank assaults to finance the struggle, kidnapping of figures in the regime, and armed encounters with the police that reached a heroic culmination in the assault of the city of Pando on October 8, 1963, in honor of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara.

The continuous and audacious actions of the Tupamaros are evidence that the process initiated by the MLN in the country has no reverse. Armed struggle in Uruguay has now begun and it can be stated that the organization has passed its preparatory stage — the most difficult at the beginning of any guerrilla foco — and has become definitively established in every corner of Uruguayan cities.

Alejandro Otero, former Chief of Intelligence and Liaison (political police), relieved of his responsibility by the Government because of his failure to destroy

the Tupamaros, stated that according to the information and proofs in his possession, the actions of the MLN had reached the level of constant and wearing blows, all of them demoralizing, against the police, who now had to call on the aid of the North American experts in the antiguerrilla struggle.

In this case the propaganda apparatus of the Tupamaros and their principal aid is located in the Central Police Headquarters, charged with divuiging — in the middle of a strict press censorship — the demolishing blows that the MLN directs against the regime.

#### The Actions

However, to carry out a struggle in a country which remembers that belle époque of stability and "exceptionality" is not a task that the Tupamaros, once they initiated their actions, could easily realize. The road has been hard and not without difficulties.

The birth of the Tupamaros as an organization took place between 1963 and 1964, but this is the most obscure and little known period. It appears that they began as an armed branch of the Socialist Party, and then broke off from it. They also claimed militants from other left organizations who were searching for a radicalization of the revolutionary struggle.

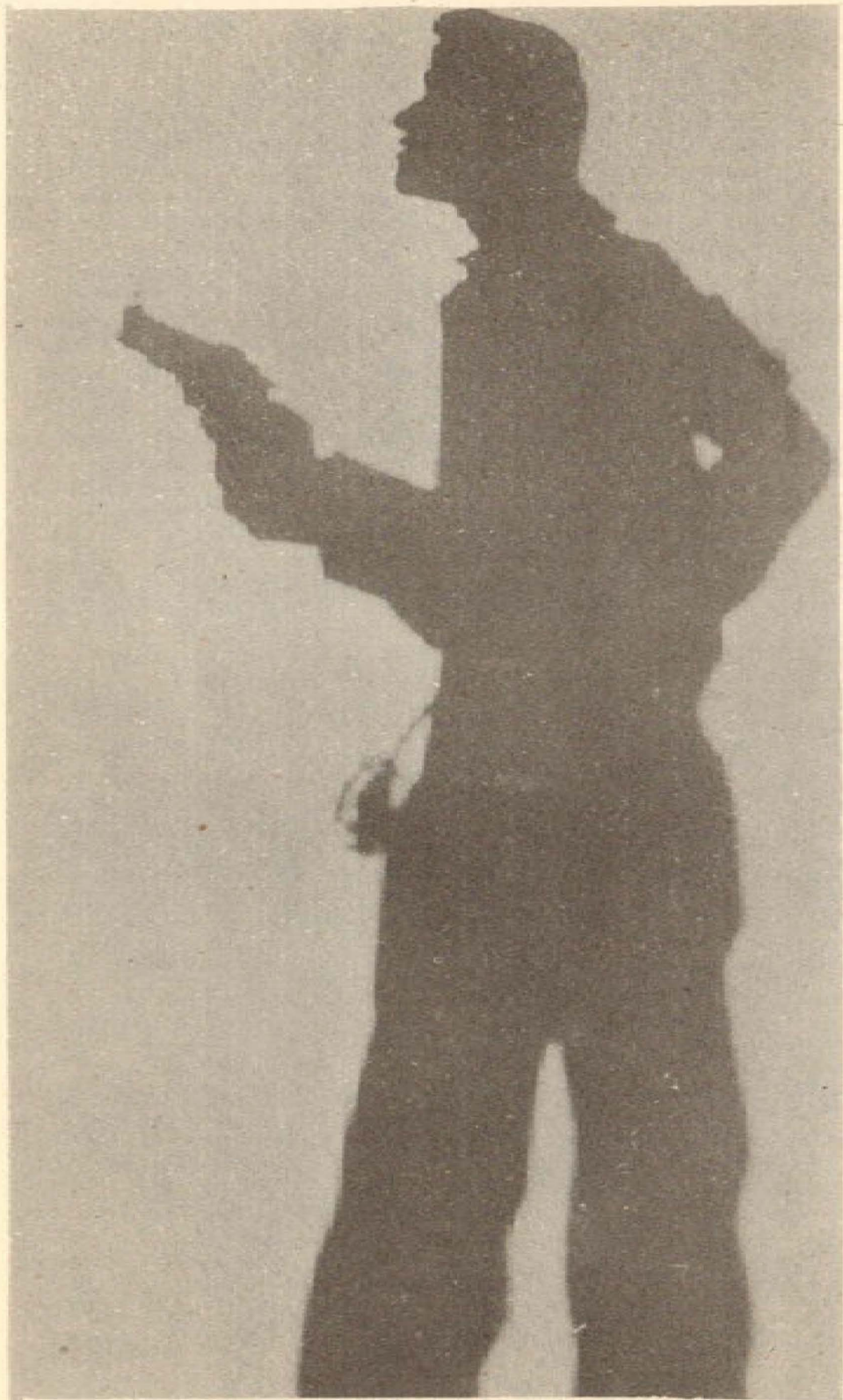
In 1964 the Tupamaros expropriated explosives and arms and carried out sporadic actions (the so-called "hunger commandos") in which they appropriated trucks with food supplies and passed them out among the populations of the cantegriles.

The legend of the Tupamaros begins in 1965. The police circles begin to blame them for various











political assassinations and acts of sabotage against reactionary radio stations and North American firms, and for various expropriations of arms, explosives, and money.

In December 1966, several weeks after the elections, while some Tupamaros were carrying out the transfer of certain materials from one place to another, there was an accidental confrontation with police forces and as a consequence of the shooting, Mario Robaire, a Tupamaros militant, was killed. His comrades succeeded in escaping. After this episode the police carried out a series of raids and a new confrontation took place which cost the life of another Tupamaro, Carlos Flores. As a result of these incidents, the Tupamaros became better known as a revolutionary organization. Since then, the Tupamaros have devoted themselves to overcoming the effects of violent police persecution.

Exactly one year later, another accidental circumstance once more caused a confrontation between the Tupamaros and the police, this time in a health resort near Montevideo during an investigation of a common robbery. In the exchange of shots, a civil guard was wounded and the Tupamaros, at the risk of their own security, gave him medical aid.

A few days later the director of the MLN sent the daily newspaper *Epoca* a letter in which he explained the circumstances of the encounter, specifying the objectives of the organization and its decision not to act against civilian police agents if they do not participate in the repression. Almost at the same time the death of Gestido occurs and Jorge Pacheco Areco succeeds to the Presidency and

imposes reactionary violence. While this was taking place, the Tupamaros increased their activities in proportion.

In May 1968, the MLN carried out assaults on two banks and obtained more than 5 million Uruguayan pesos (\$25 000).

In June of 1968, Pacheco Areco imposes the Emergency Security Measures; this is the point at which the Tupamaros increase revolutionary violence, beginning by blowing up Radio Station Ariel, property of Jorge Batlle Ibáñez, leader of the most reactionary wing of the Colorado Party which supports the Pacheco government.

In the following list, we present a summary of the most important events in which the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement has participated since the imposition of the Emergency Security Measures. The numerous actions that the Tupamaros have carried out since then confirm in practice the strength which the revolutionary movement has acquired and — as a logical consequence — the crack in battered Uruguayan democracy.

#### July (1968)

the 1st: Minutes before President Pacheco Areco was to deliver a speech on radio and television, at exactly 9:30 p.m., four unknown persons strongly armed and wearing the uniforms of the Republican Guard cut off the transmission of Radio Ariel owned by Dr. Jorge Batlle Ibáñez. The action was completed in four or five minutes. First, they forced the functionary on guard to leave, ordering him to go to the Batlle Ibáñez family's house on whose estate the radio station is built, and warning him not to say anything. Once they were rid of the functionary they

placed three high-powered bombs at the base of the antenna and located explosive elements inside the transmitter to destroy the instrument. When they departed, they left some pamphlets and took with them part of the material used to make a short circuit. Of the three bombs strategically located in the base of the antenna, only one exploded which caused large-scale destruction of the antenna but prevented it from falling by cutting the circuit on the other two bombs. The fourth bomb, located in the transmitter, was the first that exploded. No one was hurt.

#### August

the 7th: The Tupamaros kidnaped state-appointed President of UTE (Usinas y Teléfonos del Estado), Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, at the moment his secretary and chauffeur came to his house to pick him up, with the result that the latter two were wounded by bullets.

A person with a sinister reputation, Pereira Reverbel returned to political life with the Gestido government which placed him in the position of President of the intervened UTE, where he proved to be an iron partisan of the so-called "hard line." He is one of Pacheco Areco's confidence men. The year after his kidnapping, in 1969, he was considered by the newspaper *De Frente* to be the most hated politician of the year.

the 11th: Ulysses Pereira Reverbel was left by the Tupamaros inside a jeep, under the influence of two injections of pentothal.

#### September

the 10th: Assault on a branch of the Banco de Londres y América del Sur from which \$5 000 000 (US \$20 000) was expropriated.

the 11th: Assault on a UBUR

bank branch (Unión de Bancos del Uruguay), with an expropriation of \$1 800 000 (US \$7200).

the 12th: Three simultaneous operations in which flyers were left with the insignia CAP (Comandos for the People's Self-Defense). Bombs were set off in the Tres Cruces branch of the Banco Mercantil; in the Tres Cruces branch of the Banco La Caja Obrera; and in the Banco Popular del Uruguay.

the 16th: Four tar bombs were thrown at the headquarters of the Uruguay-United States Cultural Alliance.

the 21st: It was reported that tar bombs were thrown at the home of Florentino Moreira, Sub-Director of the Artigas Police Department.

the 21st: \$600 000 (US \$2400) was expropriated from a branch of the Banco de Crédito.

the 24th: Several unknown persons in an automobile hurled an explosive bomb into a commercial establishment on 8 de Octubre Avenue. On the same day, a Molotov cocktail was thrown at a private residence.

the 25th: An incendiary bomb was thrown at the home of an army general. The same day an incendiary bomb was hurled at the home of a high police functionary.

#### October

the 1st: Assault on a branch of the Banco de Crédito. \$190 700 (US \$763) was taken.

the 2nd: \$50 000 (US \$200) expropriated in an assault on the Parque Rodó branch of the Banco de Crédito.

the 2nd: Several unknown persons threw paint and tar at the home of the Chief of Police of the Florida district, surveyor Julián



Peluffo Fortunato.

the 3rd: In an assault on the Arroyo Seco branch of the Banco Comercial \$325 600 (US \$12 333) was taken.

the 4th: \$262 000 (US \$1048) expropriated from the Malvín branch of the Banco de Crédito.

the 7th: Several armed men took \$11 840 000 (US \$47 260) from a branch of the Banco de Londres y América del Sur.

the 13th: A fire occurred on a finca in No. 7690 Camino Pajas Blancas where an arsenal of arms and camouflaged automobiles was discovered.

the 18th: A coordinated triple sabotage was carried out against the Minister of Industry and Commerce, Jorge Peirano Facio. An explosive bomb was thrown against his private house; another against the Stock Exchange, where the Minister usually was found; and another against the building of the Banco Mercantil owned by Peirano Facio in the city of Salto.

the 18th: \$5 890 000 (US \$23 560) expropriated from a branch of the Sociedad de Bancos.

the 23rd: On the Sanfuentes road two unknown persons fired shots from a motorcycle at the policeman, Almundo Correa Sosa. The policeman wounded one of them.

the 24th: \$3427 400 (US \$13 708) was taken from the La Paz branch of the Banco Commercial.

#### November

the 1st: \$3329 000 (US \$13 316) was taken in an assault on the Goes branch of the UBUR.

the 11th: Numerous individuals seized \$3647 000 (US \$14 588) which was recovered after the arrest of three of the assailants.

#### December

the 1st: In an assault on the casino of the Hotel Carrasco \$6 250 000 (US \$25 000) was expropriated.

the 9th: \$474 000 (US \$1880) was taken from the Banco Mercantil.

the 10th: Eight Tupamaros were captured on a finca north of Pando, and later tried. Important supplies of medicine and armaments were found at the site.

the 11th: A branch of the Banco Popular del Uruguay was assaulted. The assailants took \$3416 924 (US \$13 668).

the 13th: In the early morning hours, in a period of 35 minutes, seven bombings took place against the following buildings: Banco de Crédito; branch of the Banco Popular del Uruguay; home of the Minister of Cattle and Agriculture, Dr. Carlos Frick Davies; branch of the Banco Territorial y Español; home of the President of the Board of Directors of the Banco de Crédito; home of the Vice-president of the Banco Central; Italian Chamber of Commerce of Uruguay; and the Italian Commercial Center.

the 28th: Armed shots were fired against two private homes with a response from the guards in both cases.

the 30th: In a double assault, \$1200 000 (US \$48 000) was expropriated.

#### January

the 1st: The Tupamaros recovered from the Police Court the arms that had been confiscated from them in the proceedings over the past two years. They left in the court, cards with the MLN insignia (a star with a "T" in the center). They also left mimeographed sheets in which they denounced the repressive policy of the Government.

The arms recuperated by the Tupamaros (December 22 Comando) came to 36 revolvers and

pistols, and five submachine guns and carbines.

the 7th: Six of the 12 cases of dynamite the Tupamaros had gotten from a construction firm were found. The discovery took place in Tacuarembó.

the 9th: In a house located in the residential zone of Carrasco, the police found 20 long arms, 25 kilos of dynamite and leftist literature. It was announced that they did not succeed in arresting those who lived in the house.

the 11th: The police found long arms that had been buried on the banks of the Miguelete brook in a suburban section of Montevideo and which were presumably left there for the Tupamaros.

the 12th: In a housebreak carried out in the center of Montevideo, the police found a 9mm submachine gun, three short arms, and various kinds of ammunition.

the 13th: In the office of the Rural Association, an explosive weapon, which did not go off, was found.

#### February

the 4th: Members of the Marine Prefecture of Montevideo found 10 boxes containing 17 kilos of dynamite in Melilla brook.

the 7th: In front of the house of Captain Raúl Manzino, the Tupamaros left various boxes containing explosives in poor condition, which the official, of the army service of material and armaments, could not use.

the 17th: The Chief of Police of Montevideo confirmed officially that the Tupamaros carried out an action in the Monty financial firm. The MLN men left flyers in which they denounced the members of the financial firm among whom is the Minister of Cattle and Agriculture, Carlos Frick Davies.

the 18th: In an action against

the San Rafael Casino in Punta del Este, the Tupamaros took \$55 000 000 (US \$220 000).

#### March

the 4th: The Tupamaros announced that, since a part of the money expropriated at the San Rafael Casino belongs to the workers of that gambling house, they were prepared to hand it over.

the 8th: The police announced that 19 prisoners accused of belonging to the Tupamaros were transferred, for reasons of security, from Miguelete prison to Punta Carretas.

the 13th: \$15 000 000 (US \$60 000) was seized from a bank in Fray Bentos.

the 17th: The police announced the arrest of César Seoane, actor, director, and author of numerous theatrical works, who, with nine others, was accused of belonging to a direct action group.

#### April

the 12th: The police arrested Julio César Rocatagliata and later Betty Larrosa, his wife, and Julio César Listre, accused of belonging to the Tupamaros. According to the police charge, they were found with submachine guns, explosive grenades, and printed material.

the 30th: Three assaults were made by the Tupamaros during the early morning hours; the most important took place in the building of the Comisión de Precios e Ingresos (COPRIN, Commission of Prices and Income) where five persons threatened at gunpoint the two policemen guarding the place and later exploded incendiary bombs. The fire was put out by firemen after the explosives had caused major damage.

Some three hours before, the Tupamaros had placed two bombs



in the residence of the Naval Mission of the United States Embassy and one in the building of the Newspaper Association, which they accuse of selling out to North Americans. None of these bombs went off and they were defuzed by the military engineers.

In the three places, flyers were left that said, "Homage to the first of May. Tupamaros."

May  
the 13th: The newspaper *La Mañana* headlined that the Tupamaros, on April 28, stole from the naval dock of the La Palma beach, 80 kilos of 50 calibre machine gun projectiles. They wrote in chalk on the ground the symbol of the organization.

the 15th: The Tupamaros occupied Radio Sarandí while it was transmitting the game between the Students of La Plata and Nacional for possession of the American Liberators Cup. They succeeded in transmitting a recorded message which was repeated for 30 minutes.

the 22nd: A Tupamaros commando group carried out an action in an armory located in Uruguay Arcades, less than 50 meters from the Central Police Department. The assailants succeeded in taking 18 pistols and revolvers of German and other foreign manufacture, 10 shotguns of 22 calibre, and 16 repeater rifles, as well as 200 rounds of ammunition for these arms; two valuable knives and six alarm clocks which, according to the police, could be used to make time bombs.

the 24th: For a period of five minutes the Tupamaros interrupted the commercial radio station Rio de la Plata which provides background music for various commercial es-

tablishments in Montevideo. The interference was from the outside, by wave length, without the physical presence of the Tupamaros, who used a more powerful transmitter than that of the radio station.

the 27th: Four persons believed to be Tupamaros, one of them in police uniform, entered a UBUR bank and after opening the safe, took \$13 900 000 (US \$45 800).  
June

the 5th: Three expropriations of money took place amounting to a total of \$13 740 000 (US \$4 800). One involved an armored truck and the other two were against banks.

the 14th: Twenty-six Tupamaros held in Punta Carreta prison sent a letter to the prison judge protesting the forced entry by the police into that prison.

the 16th: Announcement was made of the discovery of mysterious underground living quarters under a bed of sand and hidden by branches, measuring seven meters long by three wide. It was said that it could have been a Tupamaros hideout. The President of UTE, Ulysses Pereira Reverbel, thought he recognized the spot as the place where he had been hidden for five days.

the 20th: A Tupamaros commando set fire to the General Motors plant in reply to Nelson Rockefeller's visit, causing damages worth \$250 000 000 (US \$1 000 000). They left leaflets at the site signed by the MLN.

the 20th: A group of four individuals burst into the Mejoral cosmetics and medical products factory and threw incendiary bombs against one wing of the building, which they also hit with 20 pistol shots.

the 21st: The Tupamaros entered a radio station in downtown Mon-

tevideo and for 10 minutes broadcast a recorded message in which they accused Nelson Rockefeller of being the emissary of imperialism and Jorge Pacheco Areco of acting in behalf of and on orders from the IMF. The police had to cut off the electric current in one section of the city to silence the broadcast.

the 24th: The Tupamaros broke into the home of Senator and ex-Minister of Works and Social Security, Manuel Flores Mora, member of the majority section of the Colorado Party. They seized various documents, the contents of which were not revealed, and left without being intercepted by the police.

the 25th: The side arms of a policeman on guard in a North American laboratory enterprise were seized. The same occurred to another policeman who was wounded.

the 25th: Acts of sabotage were carried out against the private residences of the ministers of Foreign Relations, Venancio Flores, and of Work and Social Welfare, Jorge Sapeli, and Prosecutor Francisco Bayardo Bengoa. In one of these attacks a policeman was wounded in the head.

the 26th: The Minister of Defense made known that various acts of sabotage carried out in power distribution substations, endangered the maintenance of electric service in some zones of the capital. Extra-officially it was known that at least 50 employees of UTE were arrested, among them trade union leaders and activists.

#### July

the 7th: In the same number of actions, five police were relieved of their arms. The policeman named German Garay Dama was killed in one of the encounters.

the 15th: An "explosives factory" was discovered.

the 16th: A bomb destroyed the electronic computer and the records of the Banco Comercial. The machine was an IBM/360 — one of the few in the country — that centralizes the accounting for all the bank agencies. It was valued at US \$500 000.

the 19th: Four youths, members of a group that tried to place an explosive in the presidential residence on Suárez Avenue, were arrested and tried.

the 27th: The police found a "Tupamaros laboratory" and arrested six of its participants. This group was also accused of the action that took place in Radio Sarandí and of the "violation" of the home of the politician Manuel Flores Mora.

the 31st: Armed groups — including with machine guns — carried out actions against four private homes located in different parts of Montevideo and seized a large quantity of arms.

the 31st: A police agent was killed by bullets while on guard in front of the City Bank. One of the participants in the action was wounded by the police in turn.

#### August

the 13th: The attempt to use a neighboring terrace roof to rescue six Tupamaros held in the Montevideo Police Headquarters, was discovered.

#### September

the 6th: Announcement was made that the following had been arrested and accused of belonging to a direct action group: Juan José Domínguez Díaz, hairdresser and musician (drummer in a combo from Salto), and the taxi driver Carlos A. Varela. According to the



police, both are members of the active cadres of a clandestine movement with an action radius along the coast.

the 6th: In raids carried out by the police 294 persons were arrested.

the 3th: In Riviera, a city on the Brazilian border, arms stolen in that country — presumably to be sold to the Tupamaros — were found. The police detained three persons and said that possibly six others were implicated.

the 5th: Kidnapping of the banker Gaetano Pellegrini Giampietro.

the 11th: The police said they had identified four of Pellegrini Giampietro's kidnappers and published their photographs.

the 15th: The police announced the detention of 15 persons accused of belonging to a direct action group.

the 20th: Using as "bait" a house in the Pocitos section of Montevideo, the Tupamaros called the police, who after investigations decided to invade the house; when they did so a forceful explosion took place and various pamphlets appeared which stated that in the future the action would be more drastic.

the 23rd: Three men and a woman entered the home of a judge on Scoserfa Street almost at the corner of Benito Blanco, taking from the house a 38 calibre Smith & Wesson revolver, a 9 mm German pistol, a 22 calibre rifle, a large quantity of ammunition, four daggers, two recording machines, a pair of binoculars, a sum of money in excess of \$200 000 (US \$800), and other effects.

the 25th: Two persons were arrested and a place was discovered where they were practicing as

the operators in the construction of explosive weapons. In the plant they made bombshells and grenades, which the experts qualified as nonprecision weapons without synchronization. Also seized was a small cannon which was thought to have been used like a bazooka, to hurl projectiles which could penetrate armor of 30 mm density.

the 26th: Two actions were carried out: one against a police marksmanship instructor who was shot dead when he resisted. The other action was against Luis Bruzone, arms collector and champion marksman, whose fire arms were taken.

#### October

the 2nd: In one operation against the Intendant of the City of Salto, \$10 000 000 (US \$40 000) was seized.

the 3rd: In an action against the Banco de la Unión, \$6 000 000 (US \$24 000) was expropriated.

the 6th: Manuel Antonio Ramos Filipini, official of the Ministry of Foreign Relations, was placed on trial, accused of acquiring bullets and firearms and of falsifying documents for direct action groups.

the 8th: In homage to Che Guevara, the Pando action took place. The Tupamaros attacked the police station, the fire department, cut communications, and seized all the money from four banks, with an estimated total of between \$60 000 000 and \$100 000 000 (between US \$240 000 and US \$400 000).

The prime result of the action was four dead, five wounded, and 16 arrested. At least 15 Tupamaros were said to have succeeded in outmaneuvering the police circle.

The dead were: Alfredo Emilio Cultelli, Jorge Luis Salerno, and Ricardo Zabalza Waskman for the Tupamaros. Accidentally killed in the action was Carlos Burgueño,

who happened to pass by.

the 13th: Héctor Clavijo Kirce was arrested and tried, after a house at Malvin beach containing an important arsenal was broken into.

the 17th: In three bank assaults more than \$7 000 000 (US \$28 000) was obtained.

the 20th: Radio Patrol Sergeant Enrique Fernández Díaz died as a result of wounds received in the exchange of fire at Toledo Chico between the police and the protagonists of the Pando events.

the 21st: It was announced that, the 15th, an action took place against a clandestine money exchange house, in which, in addition to stealing important documents, \$6 000 000 (US \$24 000) was taken.

the 21st: Ever Mejías Collazo, his wife América García Rodríguez, and Jaime Machado Ledesma were arrested. Arrested later were José Félix Díaz Berdayer and Elena Cándida Quintero Almeida.

The documents found in possession of those arrested revealed that the cell commanded by Mejías Collazo was planning to assault OSE, the banks of Caja Obrera and Nación Argentina, and Caja Nacional de Ahorro y Descuentos. According to calculation, anyone of the holdups would produce the sum of \$60 000 000, or US \$240 000. It was also known that Mejías Collazo was the one who planned the "robbery" of the flag of the Thirty-Three Orientales, which took place in July 1969 in the National Historical Museum building.

the 27th: A couple was tried for making bombs: Luis Orlando Larrosa Montes de Oca and his wife María del Rosario Alonso Rimbaud.

November  
the 1st: Two men on motorcycle fired bullets against a patrol car. One of the motorcyclists, Arturo

Cardama Martínez, who worked in the Central Battle of UTE, was killed in the crossfire; the other, Fermín Chapitel Bottini, an official in the National Council of Secondary Education, was arrested.

the 3rd: Twenty short arms and other matériel was seized in a commando type operation carried out in the office of a custom's official in Ciudad Vieja.

the 3rd: An important explosives factory located at No. 1864 Juan Budfoot was accidentally discovered. The factory was discovered by the owner of the building who, while walking by the house in the early morning hours, noticed that the door was open and the lights were on in various rooms.

the 3rd: A teargas bomb with its fuze dismantled was found in the building next to Police Headquarters, where the movie house 18 de Julio operates.

the 5th: The police broke into numerous homes in the Unión, Carrasco, and Shangrila sections.

the 12th: Ten men, some with machine guns, took three automobiles from the garage at No. 1790 Blandengues Street. The watchman there said he recognized some of the ten from the photographic gallery as "extremists." Later the assailants went with these automobiles to the Aguada branch of the Banco de Montevideo, from which they took \$15 000 000 (US \$60 000).

the 12th: The priest Indalecio Olivera da Rosa, together with two other men, went to buy a mimeograph machine and two typewriters valued at about \$1 000 000 (US \$4 000), in a store at No. 942 Uruguay Street. The priest tried to make the payment with a check — it was a blank check — and a



certain amount of money, but the owner became suspicious and refused, communicating his suspicions to an employee of his, Juan Antonio Viera Piazza, who at the same time was acting as a detective. The agent followed the three men and asked for their documents and a shooting took place in which the priest and Viera Piazza were killed. The other two succeeded in escaping.

the 15th: The Metropolitan Guard Carlos Rubén Zambrano Rivero was shot dead while travelling on a bus, by a commando group composed of three men and a woman.

the 17th: Another assault was made against an official of the Metropolitan Guard. The home of a physical education instructor in the police corps, Gonzalo Fernández Perdomo, was shot at.

the 19th: A house on Bell Street in Sayago was broken into and documents and manuals for making bombs and explosives were found.

the 19th: A policeman was stripped of his side arms.

the 21st: Gaetano Pellegrini Ciampietro was freed after a donation of \$7500 000 (US \$30 000) was made to the Caja de Auxilio del Prigonal and another of the same amount to a school.

the 24th: Twelve commandos, four women and eight men, seized 20 large and short arms, telescopic lenses, binoculars, and other valuable objects in an action against the pawn shop Ferretjans, after overcoming and tying up six employees, four clients, and the owner.

the 25th: Armed men expropriated more than \$7 000 000 (US \$28 000) from the Banco Popular.

the 25th: By means of false checks the commandos obtained \$25 000 000 (US \$104 000).

the 27th: The policeman Antonio María Fernández was killed by bullets in El Pinar.

#### December

the 1st: The seminary students Luis Eduardo Sarmandu Sierra and Mario Cáceres Martínez were arrested and prosecuted after the authorities of the Aeronautics Technical School learned that Cadet Fernando Luis Bossio Gutiérrez had given them data for a plan of the locale where the arms were kept.

the 4th: The police detained another seminary student, Luis Ernesto Fernández, whom they also accused of being implicated in espionage attempts against the Aeronautics Technical School.

the 11th: Armed men tried to enter the home of arms collector and Colonel of the Air Forces, Armando Muter, who was gravely injured in the assault.

the 13th: Four men and a woman took 26 000 ampules of penicillin from a laboratory located in Salto Street near the corner of Durazno.

the 13th: The police found a clandestine press and seized a great quantity of political propaganda. They arrested one person.

the 16th: There was an attack on the presidential garage with two or three shots fired against it from an automobile.

the 28th: Eleven armed persons, two of them women, entered the Montevideo branch of the Banco Francés e Italiano and expropriated approximately \$380 000 000 (US \$1 520 000).

the 29th: Attempted assault on the Banco Comercial. The policeman guarding it was killed by bullets when he resisted. He was Juan Techera Bobadilla, ex-official of investigations who was working as a private detective of the Banco Comercial.



notes for  
history

# Program of the Sandinist Front of National Liberation

## Introduction

THE SANDINIST FRONT of National Liberation (FSLN) grew out of the Nicaraguan people's need for a vanguard organization, which through a direct struggle with its enemies, is capable of seizing political power and establishing a social system that will wipe out the exploitation and misery our country has suffered throughout its existence.

The FSLN is a political-military organization whose objective is the seizure of political power through the destruction of the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the dictatorship and the establishment of a Revolutionary Government based on a worker-peasant alliance and the support of all the anti-imperialist patriotic forces of the country.

The Nicaraguan people have suffered under the oppression of a reactionary and fascist clique imposed by Yankee imperialism since 1932, the year in which Anastasio Somoza García was designated chief director of the so-called National Guard (GN). The Somozaist clique has reduced Nicaragua to the status of a neocolony which the Yankee monopolies and the oligarchic national groups exploit.

The present regime is a politically unpopular and juridically illegal regime. Its recognition and aid from North Americans constitutes an irrefutable proof of foreign interference in Nicaraguan affairs.

The FSLN has analyzed the national situation seriously and responsibly and has decided to confront the dictatorship with arms in hand since we have reached the conclusion that the people's Sandinist revolution and the destruction of the regime that is the people's enemy will come about as a consequence of the development



of a hard and prolonged people's war.

Whatever may be the maneuvers and methods employed by Yankee imperialism, the Somozaist dictatorship is condemned to complete failure before the advance and rapid growth of the people's forces headed by the Sandinist Front of National Liberation.

In the face of this historic opportunity, the FSLN has outlined this political program with a view to strengthening and developing our organization, inspiring and stimulating the Nicaraguan people to move forward to fight until the dictatorship is overthrown, and to resist the intervention of Yankee imperialism in order to create a free, prosperous, and revolutionary nation.

1) **The Revolutionary Government.** The people's Sandinist revolution will establish the Revolutionary Government of the People and will create a nation without exploitation, without oppression, without backwardness, a free, independent, and progressive country. The Revolutionary Government will undertake the following measures, of a political character:

a) It will liquidate the reactionary state structure based on electoral farces and military coups and will establish a system of full participation of all the people, on a national level and on a local level (departmental, municipal, regional).

b) It will deprive of their political rights those individuals who occupy high public positions as a result of the electoral farces and military coups that have taken place in the country, following the publication of this document.

c) It will establish the full practice of human rights and all individual safeguards.

d) It will guarantee freedom of expression of ideas which lead first of all to the energetic diffusion of people's rights and patriotic responsibilities.

e) It will guarantee freedom to organize the workers' trade union movement in the city and in the countryside; freedom to organize peasant, youth, student, women's cultural, and other movements.

f) It will guarantee the right of Nicaraguan emigrants and exiles to return to the country.

g) It will guarantee the right of asylum to citizens of other countries persecuted for engaging in revolutionary struggle.

h) It will severely punish the tormentors responsible for persecuting, informing on, torturing, or assassinating revolutionaries and the people.

2) **A basic and independent economy.** The Revolutionary Government will undertake the following economic measures:

a) It will nationalize the assets of the mining and forestry companies, etc., and other such riches usurped by the Yankee monopolies in Nicaragua.

b) It will nationalize the huge landholdings, factories, sugar refineries, means of transportation, and other assets usurped by the Somoza family.

c) It will nationalize the huge landholdings, factories, transport, and other assets usurped by the politicians, the military, and all the other accomplices in administrative corruption sanc-

tioned by the regime which is the enemy of the people.

d) It will nationalize banks and place them exclusively at the service of the economic development of the country.

e) It will establish state control over foreign commerce with ways to diversify it and make it independent.

f) It will plan the national economy, thus eliminating the anarchy reigning in production under the present regime.

g) It will control the exploration and exploitation of natural resources, for which it will create special state institutes. Electrification will occupy a special place in the integral development of the country.

h) It will establish control and participation by the workers in the administration of industry and other nationalized assets (latifundia, factories, mines, etc.).

i) It will protect the small — and middle — sized proprietors (producers, tradesmen).

j) It will develop lines of communication (it will attend to the railroads which, nationalized in the past as a result of struggle, have been ruined by the sell-cut regime)

k) It will guarantee stable and independent money.

l) It will follow a just and equitable fiscal policy.

m) It will refuse to acknowledge the usurious loans imposed on the country by the Yankee monopolies.

3) **Agrarian revolution.** The people's Sandinist revolution will put into practice an agrarian policy which will liquidate the large and small estates by a just distribution of land to the peasant who works it.

a) It will expropriate the capitalist agricultural industries and all aspects of the latifundia, with a view to liquidating the parasitic hold on the land by the exploiters.

b) It will hand over the land to the peasants free of charge, in accordance with the principle that the land must belong to those who work it.

c) It will stimulate and promote the organization of cooperatives in the countryside.

d) It will facilitate every type of aid to the peasant and will grant loans at low interest rates for the purchase of farm equipment and machinery, seed, fertilizer, etc.

e) It will cancel the debts contracted by peasants with the landowners and other usurers.

f) It will carry out a technical revolution in agricultural production, through a rational mechanization and the use of modern systems (aerial, fumigation, artificial insemination, irrigation, etc.).

g) It will diversify cultivation with the object of ending the monoculture that prevails in Nicaraguan agriculture. It will promote the production and diversification of cattle in the country according to the characteristic of each region.

h) It will protect the small — and medium — sized landowners.

i) It will protect the landowners who collaborate with the armed revolutionary struggle; the lands of these owners which exceed the limit established by the agrarian laws promulgated by the



revolution will be purchased from them for distribution among the peasants who need them.

j) It will liquidate the forced work stoppage that the peasant suffers during most of the year and will create sources of work for the peasant population.

k) It will guarantee markets for agricultural, meat, and dairy products.

4) **Labor legislation and social security.** The people's Sandinist revolution will put an end to the unjust conditions of life and of work that the workers suffer under the present regime.

a) It will promulgate a labor code and other laws of social security for the exclusive benefit of the broad mass of workers.

b) It will put into force full freedom of trade union affiliation and organization.

c) It will impose absolute respect for the dignity of the worker, prohibiting his unjust treatment in the course of his work.

d) It will liquidate the punishing unemployment.

e) It will extend social security coverage to all workers and employees in the country; the coverage will include illness, accidents, physical incapacitation, retirement, etc.

f) It will extend free medical care to the entire population; it will construct clinics and hospitals throughout the entire national territory.

g) It will eliminate humiliating begging by applying the methods outlined in this point.

h) It will promulgate an urban reform law to benefit the urban masses.

i) It will provide adequate housing for every family. Moreover, it will develop plans for urban housing, plans for the construction of houses for the peasant population.

j) It will reduce taxes for water, light, sewage, and public maintenance, and will set up programs to extend these services to the entire urban area.

5) **Special plan for the Atlantic Coast.** The people's Sandinist revolution will put into practice a special plan for the Atlantic Coast and other areas of Nicaragua sunk in the most complete abandonment.

a) It will stimulate a special program to be applied to the Atlantic Coast, the region of the country that has continuously suffered the most cruel Yankee exploitation. At the same time, it will extend this program to the zones of the country that share the situation of the Atlantic Coast. Such zones include a large part of the Segovias, Chontales, and Rio San Juan.

b) It will stimulate the mining industry, converting into a nightmare of the past the mining centers of the Atlantic Coast that have been nothing less than Yankee concentration camps.

c) It will prepare the lands in this zone that are suitable for the development of agriculture and cattle raising.

d) It will take advantage of the conditions favorable to the promotion of the fishing industry.

e) It will also take advantage of the conditions in this region favorable to the promotion of forestry.

f) It will stimulate the flowering of local culture on the Atlantic Coast, originating in the historic traditions of the region.

g) By the measures stated, it will wipe out the ignominious discrimination to which the indigenous Misquitos, Sumos, Zambos, Blacks, and all other sectors of the peoples of the Atlantic Coast have been subjected.

6) **Liberation of women.** The people's Sandinist revolution will abolish the odious discrimination that women have suffered compared to men, and will establish economic, political, and cultural equality between women and men.

a) It will establish the principle that woman is equal to man in political, economic, cultural and social life.

b) It will put an end to the discrimination that woman has suffered and which is reflected in the abandonment of the working class mother.

c) It will extend special attention to mother and child.

d) It will establish two months of maternity care before and after birth for working women.

e) It will establish the right to equal protection from revolutionary institutions for children born out of wedlock.

f) It will establish nurseries and other centers for the care and attention of children.

g) It will promulgate progressive laws concerning the family and marriage.

h) It will eliminate prostitution and other social evils to raise the dignity of women.

i) It will raise the political, cultural, and vocational level of woman through her participation in the revolutionary process.

7) **Administrative honesty.** The people's Sandinist revolution will clean out traditional governmental administrative corruption and will establish strict administrative honesty.

a) It will abolish the criminal industry of vice (prostitution, gambling, the sale of alcoholic beverages, the sale of drugs, etc.) which the privileged National Guards exploit. (Sometimes in association with foreign parasites.)

b) It will establish strict control of all taxes collected in order to prevent government officials from profiting, which will end the common practice of most of the official departments under the regime which is the people's enemy.

c) It will put an end to the arbitrary business of National Guard members who strip the population through the imposition of local taxes.

d) It will put an end to the business by which military commanders appropriate the budgetary allowance earmarked for the care of common prisoners, and will construct care centers designed to rehabilitate delinquents.

e) It will abolish the contraband practiced on a large scale through the political and military clique and other accomplices of the regime which is the enemy of the people.

f) It will severely punish individuals who engage in crimes against administrative honesty (embezzlement, contraband, profit from the exploitation of vice, etc.); the severity of the



punishment will be greater when a militant of the revolutionary movement is involved.

8) **Revolution in culture and education.** The people's Sandinist revolution will establish the basis for the development of national culture, people's education, and university reform.

a) It will stimulate the development of national culture and will put an end to the cultural penetration of Yankee imperialism.

b) It will eliminate illiteracy.

c) Education will be free at all levels (this will include scholastic needs, food, transportation). It will give scholarships to elementary and high school students at different levels who have scanty economic resources.

d) It will provide all the teachers that the school population needs, ending the absurd situation of students without teachers and teachers without students; at the same time it will provide for the construction and installation of the necessary school centers.

e) It will adapt the educational programs to the needs of the country; it will apply experimental and scientific teaching methods.

f) It will strip the teaching programs of neocolonial penetration, bringing to light national and universal struggles for justice and freedom orienting youth in the spirit of the noblest ideals and against exploitation and oppression.

g) It will bring out of the oblivion in which they have been buried by the antipeople regime, the progressive intellectuals and their works which have appeared throughout our past national history.

h) It will free the intellectual from reactionary oppression so that his creative work can be placed at the service of the nation and the people.

i) It will carry out a revolutionary university reform which will include, among other things, the following measures:

—Reclaim the University from the domination of the exploitative classes, so that it serves the true creator and producer of culture: the people; the University should be inspired to place education at the service of man, the University must not continue functioning as an incubator for egotistical bureaucrats.

—Liquidate the discrimination that youth of the working class, the peasantry, and other poor groups have suffered with respect to access to the University; liquidate such discrimination by granting scholarships, establishing student residences and dining halls.

—Increase the state budget for the University so that it can finance the various problems it faces.

—Establish majority representation of students in faculty meetings, recognizing that the student is the principal sector in the university population.

—Liquidate neocolonial penetration in the University, particularly that exercised through the charity given by pseudophilanthropic foundations of the Yankee monopolies.

—Promote free, experimental, scientific investigation so it

will contribute to the solution of national and universal problems.

—Strengthen the unity of students, professors, and researchers with the entire people, perpetuating the lofty example of students and intellectuals who sacrifice their lives to the revolutionary ideal.

9) **Respect for religious beliefs.** The people's Sandinist revolution will guarantee to the people freedom of religious expression.

a) It will respect the right of citizens to subscribe to any religious belief.

b) It will support the work of priests and other religious ministers who support the working people.

10) **Independent foreign policy.** The Sandinist people's revolution will liquidate the foreign policy of submission to Yankee imperialism and will establish a patriotic foreign policy in support of national independence and authentic universal peace.

a) It will put an end to Yankee intervention in Nicaragua's internal problems and will follow a policy of mutual respect and fraternal collaboration with the peoples of all other countries.

b) It will expel the Yankee military mission, the so-called Peace Corps (Yankee spies disguised as technicians), and similar military and political elements which constitute a brazen intervention of the country.

c) It will accept economic and technical aid from any country as long as it does not involve political compromises.

11) **Abolition of the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty.** The people's Sandinist revolution will abolish the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty, and all other treaties that injure national sovereignty.

a) To abolish the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty, signed by the Government of the United States and by Emiliano Chamorro, and ratified by governors Diego Manuel Chamorro, José María Moncada, Juan Bautista Sacasa, Anastasio Somoza García, Luis Somoza, René Schick, Anastasio Somoza Debayle. This onerous treaty converts Nicaragua and other Central American countries into colonies of Yankee imperialism by granting exclusive rights to construct an interoceanic canal and the right to install military bases.

12) **People's patriotic army.** The people's Sandinist revolution will abolish the antipeople armed forces known as the National Guard and will create a people's revolutionary and patriotic army.

a) It will abolish the National Guard, the armed force which is the enemy of the people, created by the Yankee occupation troops in 1927 to persecute and assassinate the Sandinist patriots who took up arms in defense of national sovereignty. The National Guard will be replaced by a people's revolutionary and patriotic army. In the new army the following professional soldiers of the old regime can take part:

—those who have supported the people's guerrilla war;  
—those whose hands are clean of revolutionary blood and who are not guilty of fleecing the people.

b) It will arm the workers, peasants, students, and other sectors that can be organized into people's militias to defend the rights which have been won against the inevitable attacks which the



# Pakistan: Perspectives for the Left

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto



Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, important figure on the Pakistan political scene, granted Tricontinental an exclusive interview in which he discussed current problems in his country.

Son of a feudal landowner in West Pakistan, Ali Bhutto studied in his own country and the United Kingdom and graduated as a lawyer. He is outstanding in several areas: administration, finance, and politics and was, therefore, invited to join Ayub Khan's government team from the very beginning, when it came to power in 1958.

Despite his background and his participation in the Ayub Khan government during its most reactionary period when it was most subservient to the United States, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto very quickly began to be recognized and noted as a cabinet member who leaned toward separating Pakistan from North American interests in Asia, particularly after 1953 when he was named Minister of Foreign Relations. Everyone credits him with responsibility for having a decisive influence over the changes in Pakistan's foreign policy in the period 1963-1966 (keeping United States relations at a distance, expanding and strengthening relations with the socialist countries, cooling the connections and compromises that grew out of SEATO and CENTO).

After the Conference of Tashkent, Bhutto relinquished his government position, crossed to the opposition, and formed the Pakistan People's Party.

When the movement against the regime of Ayub Khan began in mid-1968, Bhutto joined it and with his party, played an outstanding role in a process that forced Ayub Khan to resign in the midst of a gigantic wave of repression and violent popular demonstrations. During this period, the political combination of the students and Bhutto, later joined by the prestigious National Awami Party headed by Bhashani, constituted the basic forces that sparked the first upsurge of popular political violence registered in 20 years on the whole Asian subcontinent.

As the leader of his party, Bhutto represents the most significant progressive and popular political group in West Pakistan today. Around him and his party are grouped the students, the professionals, the best sectors of the petite bourgeoisie, the most radical and militant workers' groups, the anti-imperialist and progressive ulamas, the peasants, the small shopkeepers and artisans, who have outlined a political movement which, along with Bhashani and the National Awami Party, offers an alternative, a new perspective for the exploited masses of Pakistan who have already demonstrated their strength and power through the violent overthrow of Ayub Khan's regime.

Will you analyze the political upsurge that overthrew Ayub Khan? Basically, I would say that economic discontent was the primary factor in the overthrow of Ayub Khan. Over a period of years,

exploitative classes will launch when they are overthrown. It will never repeat the disarmament imposed on the people's fighters in 1927 by the Yankee Henry L. Stimson, the liberal traitor José María Moncada, and the conservative sell-out Adolfo Díaz, in the Espino Negro de Tipitapa.

c) It will fortify the new people's army, expanding its combat capability and its technical and tactical level.

d) It will inculcate in the consciousness of the members of the people's army, the principle of relying on their own force to carry out the fighting tasks and to develop their creative initiative.

e) It will deepen revolutionary ideals within the people's army with the object of expanding the patriotic spirit and fortifying the determination to fight until victory, overcoming obstacles and rectifying errors.

f) It will improve the discipline of the people's army constantly and will establish a firm and fraternal relationship among the soldiers and between the fighters and the people.

13) **Solidarity among peoples.** The people's Sandinist revolution will practice a true combative solidarity with the peoples fighting for their liberation.

a) It will actively support the fight of the peoples of Latin America, Africa, and Asia against imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

b) It will support the struggle of North American Blacks to win human rights.

c) It will support the struggle of all the peoples against the installation of yankee military bases in foreign countries.

14) **Central American people's unity.** The people's Sandinist revolution will struggle for the true union of the Central American peoples within one country.

a) It will support an authentic unity with its brother peoples in Central America. This unity will begin with the cooperation of forces to achieve national liberation and establish a new social system, without imperialist domination or national betrayal.

b) It will liquidate the so-called integration which seeks to multiply Central America's subjugation to Yankee monopolies and the reactionary local class.

15) **Veneration of martyrs.** The people's Sandinist revolution will cultivate gratitude and eternal veneration for its martyrs. It will continue the shining example of heroism and generosity which is their legacy.

a) It will educate the workers, peasants, students, and other people's sectors in gratitude and eternal veneration for those who have fallen in martyrdom so that Nicaragua and all peoples shall be free.

b) It will demonstrate its gratitude and veneration for the sacred martyrs by defending the revolutionary ideal until its victory.

Free Fatherland or Death  
Sandinist Front of National Liberation

Some place in Nicaragua



Ayub Khan's economic policies were not really directed toward the common good but toward the self-interests of a handful of capitalists, and the country's economic situation became intolerable. I think that was the primary consideration since, as we know, there is almost always an economic factor in all political agitation. The second cause was that Ayub Khan completely destroyed democracy and people in this country have had a democratic tradition and were yearning for a return to democracy. Thirdly, he weakened all other institutions as well, such as the judiciary, and generally corrupted the people. Fourthly, he became too dependent on the bureaucracy, and as a result the country was ruled by a handful of arrogant bureaucrats, callous to the needs of the people.

In that situation, law and order also broke down. The student community was disillusioned. The people generally felt that the rights of Pakistan had not been upheld at Tashkent. Frustration mounted. So there were a number of factors altogether which reached an intolerable point and that is why the upsurge was nationwide.

**What are the main political lessons that can be drawn from the process that culminated in Ayub Khan's downfall?**

The main political experiences or conclusions to be drawn from the agitation against Ayub Khan are that the oppression and force of a corrupt regime provide no basis for solving the problems of the people and that force exercised in this fashion must eventually fail. If our problems are to be resolved, they must be solved on the basis of finding lasting economic and political solutions for the people of Pakistan, and not by coercion and force. That is the main consideration.

The second conclusion is that the people will not be content until they have social justice, until they obtain social rights, so that the problems of Pakistan will continue to be a cause for agitation until an equitable solution is found. I think these are the two main political conclusions you can draw from the agitation against Ayub Khan.

**In your opinion, what are the main weaknesses within the movement?**

It was not well organized in terms of coordination between the political parties; there was no real unity of the opposition and the political parties went off in different directions. Really, it was more a triumph of the people who came out in the streets, who came out everywhere and fought for their rights and overthrew the regime of Ayub Khan. The main weakness, therefore, was that it was not properly directed toward a logical conclusion.

**There has been much talk about the role of the reactionary forces in this agitation, even to the extent of stating that somehow they marched parallel to the progressive forces. What can you say about that?**

Actually the reactionary forces were opposed to Ayub Khan in only one respect and that is that they opposed the dictatorship and wanted the restoration of democracy. But so far as the economic

interests of the reactionary forces are concerned, they coincided with those of Ayub Khan and that is why, at the time of the upsurge of the people, they went to the conference table with Ayub Khan, after 11 years of opposition to him. They were prepared to accept him, provided he would restore democracy, because their economic interests were similar and they felt that in the overthrow of Ayub Khan, their own vested interests were threatened. So they responded to his invitation to attend the round table conference.

**What was the role of the students, workers, and peasants in this movement?**

The students played an exceptionally prominent role in this agitation. As a matter of fact, the students were the first to lead the revolt against Ayub — not only in its final phases, but soon after he came to power. I should say that about two years after he took over, the students began to agitate and the student movement began to pick up ground and became the vanguard of this movement. Full credit goes to the students for being the vanguard of this struggle against Ayub Khan. Secondly, labor also played a very important and active role and the peasants also played their role, but the basic role was played by the students and the laboring classes. The peasants sympathized and were coming out a little more openly, but the movement did not spread as deeply into the rural areas as it did in the urban areas.

**Was that true of both West and East Pakistan?**

I would say more so in West Pakistan. In East Pakistan, it was different: the peasant role was more significant, but even so, taking everything into account, I should say that in terms of contribution, students, laborers, peasants played an important role. To what extent were the intellectuals related to the struggle directly and to these different social sections?

First the students and then the intellectuals gave this movement a great deal of inspiration, and the professional strata, in particular the lawyers, came out among the first and, as I say, they provided an example.

**Could you analyze the Pakistan ruling class and the existing political parties?**

Well, so far as the ruling classes are concerned, they completely dominate industry and agriculture. They control the means of production and distribution of the factories and fields, but it is primarily in the fields of industry and agriculture that they exercise their full rule over the economy of the country. In the last 11 years, the industrial class really has held sway over the economic life of the country. They were greatly pampered by President Ayub Khan, and if I were to enumerate the kinds of privileges that were given to them, you would think I am exaggerating, but they were given all manner of facilities and all avenues were opened for them to exploit fully the resources of the country. I would not call it exploitation; it was loot and plunder with a vengeance.





As far as the political parties are concerned, we have a number of them on the right, in the center, and to the left I think the whole spectrum is covered in Pakistan. On the right we have Jamat-i-Islami, which is more of a religious party, but of course with political ambitions; then we have the Council Muslim League, which claims to be the heir to the party that established Pakistan, although the Muslim League which Jinnah led was different in composition and attitude from the present Muslim League. Then we have a new party that is coming into being which is a merger of some three or four small parties, which is called the Pakistan Democratic Party. Ayub Khan also had a party called Convention Muslim League. He also held to the name "Muslim League" thinking that he could make capital out of it since it was associated with the founder of the country; but that party is now more or less dead and the people are going into the other parties, so I don't think it has a future.

On the left we have the parties called the NAP (National Awami Party) but there are two NAPs: one is led by Maulana Bashani, who comes from East Pakistan, and the other one at present is led by Wali Khan. We also have my own party, Pakistan People's Party (PPP). These actually are the parties that exist, but the funny part about this is that today the parties of the right have an economic program which is similar to that of the parties of the left. Now, that is not because they intend to implement such a program. They want to have these programs to attract the people to work for them in the event of elections but it only shows this much: parties that for 15 or 20 years refused to move an inch on progressive reforms, are now compelled — whether they are sincere or not — to come out with programs of the left. Which I think is in itself a good sign.

But of course by now, the people have also become more enlightened and they know the parties that sincerely want to implement a socialist program and those that are just paying lip service to social justice.

**What has been the role of foreign imperialist powers in the development of the ruling class in Pakistan during this period of 22 years?**

Well, so far as the last 22 years are concerned, the imperialist powers, the foreign powers have not developed the feudal ruling class, because that existed before this time, though they have, of course, given it some kind of encouragement. But they have really brought into being the industrial class, because foreign investments generally have taken place in the field of industry, which is their primary concern. Their loans are on industrial projects, their investments are also in industrial projects, so in the last 22 years the class that has really been strengthened and brought into being has been the industrial barons.

You have mentioned that the economic situation of exploitation was an important factor in the development of agitation against the regime of



Ayub Khan. What are the chief remaining features of this system of socio-economic exploitation?

Well, at present the basic structure remains the same, but the people have the expectancy that there will be changes, because they have made a sacrifice for change and they entertain the thought that those who have followed Ayub Khan will take into account the lessons of the past. At present the regime has been in power only five or six months and there have been some announcements relating to industrial reform and other such matters of some moment so the people have seen that some effort is being made and are watching with hope and expectancy to see what future changes will take place in Pakistan. To what extent these changes will take place, I would not like to hazard a guess at the moment, but I believe the people have a long road to travel; they still must go through many trials and tribulations. I don't think they should be so simplistic as to expect that in one stroke, with the success of one movement, all their rights will be restored to them.

We know that the restoration of democratic rights in itself involves a struggle, but the restoration of economic rights involves a larger struggle. Sometimes it involves a political struggle, and other times it involves more than a political struggle; sometimes people have to struggle and fight for their economic rights, and so I would not say that we have come to the end of the road merely because the dictatorship of Ayub Khan has ended.

Could you specifically analyze the role of the PPP in the agitation?

I think that it would be better to allow history to make that verdict because, for one thing, we were too actively involved in the agitation. When you are in the center of the scheme of things, you are not likely to take an exactly objective attitude. But I will say this much: we made our contribution, because we had faith in the people. The odds were against the success of the agitation; the situation in Pakistan was so demoralizing that it was even difficult to lift a leaf or stir anything in the country. People felt that Ayub Khan had come for a millennium and that he would last as long as he lived, but we had faith in the people. We knew that the power of the people was superior to all the levers of power that the dictator had under his control and that what the people needed was leadership and initiative, and we gave them leadership and initiative.

What was the organizational and political development of the PPP after the agitation?

We are organizing our party. As you know, it is a new party, which came into being on the first of December 1967, under very difficult circumstances, because Ayub's regime tried its best to crush the party at its very inception and we had to face many problems, so we could not give our undivided attention to the fundamental questions of the organization. Efforts were made to infiltrate our party with saboteurs, agents provocateurs, and govern-

ment agents; and the press was silent on our activities, because it was entirely under government control. All manner of false reports were given about the party, so really before we could tackle the basic problem of our organization and related matters we got involved in this movement.

People came in large numbers to join our party, because they had faith in my leadership as well as the program that I gave to the people of Pakistan. There was tremendous good will for me and my party, but we wanted to give it organizational shape. We were giving that shape and are still giving that shape to the party, but then the movement started; I was put in jail and after my release and since martial law, I have tried to give as much attention as possible to the organization of my party, and I consider this to be the most important task that I face for the time being. The three basic principles of the party are Islamism, Democracy, and Socialism. Could you analyze the significance of each of these principles for Pakistan?

All three are, in my opinion, indispensable for Pakistan. I do not believe that with only one or the other the country could really progress, because you must take into account the basis for Pakistan's existence: it came into being as a Muslim state, where Muslims could live out their lives according to their beliefs and their ideology and the force and strength of Islam is as strong here, if not in some respects stronger, than Catholicism is in the Catholic countries, where the Catholic Church is a big factor. But more than that, the basis of Pakistan is Islam and for that reason Islam is essential to Pakistan.

Secondly, democracy is a right, an inherited right of all people. A country divided into two parts requires the participation of both wings, and that participation comes best with democracy.

Thirdly, there can really be no progress without social justice, and social and economic justice are most possible under socialism. Now, there is nothing incompatible between these three principles. Islam's broad principles accept equality, and socialism means equality of men, so there is no contradiction between the beliefs of Islam and the economic methods of socialism. Also there is no contradiction between socialism and democracy, or between democracy and Islam, and so we have tried to harmonize the three supreme principles which are essential for a progressive and enlightened Pakistan, where the people can put an end to exploitation and domination and live a life which they deserve as human beings. The combination of these three basic principles would give more or less a definition of what you could call Islamic socialism?

I don't want to really enter into this controversial matter because, in some respects, it has become controversial for academic reasons. In practical terms, there is no need for the controversy. The father of the nation used the phrase "Islamic socialism" and it was also used by Iqbal, the poet who interpreted the thought of Pakistan.





Now, what it really means is that Islam faced the idea of socialism in the modern sense of the word. And because Islam's principles do not reject socialism as it has developed subsequently, when we talk about the progress of modern times in the context of our culture, we talk about Islamic socialism.

**And how is the element of religion being used by the reactionary forces?**

The reactionary forces are exploiting religion in a perverse way and the difficulty is that, because we have departed from the principles of Islam, Muslim countries everywhere have suffered. When we upheld the principles of Islam — that is, when we upheld the principles of equality and social justice — you saw the contribution that Islam made to world civilization. But subsequently, when people distorted these principles or betrayed these principles, you have seen what difficult times we entered. So what we really want to do is to defend the principles of Islam and not depart from them. The reactionary forces have really departed from the principles of Islam and they are doing a disservice to Islam by incorrectly interpreting subsequent developments.

**You have mentioned the importance of democracy for East and West Pakistan. Could you analyze the problems posed by this geographic separation of the country?**

I will not, in any way, brush aside the problems that prevail as a result of the separation, the first being the problem of the separation itself — that geographically we are divided into two halves — and that has created many conflicts for us, but certainly these complications can be overcome. This is not an insurmountable problem. We have lived for 22 years together, and of course, 22 years is not much time in the life of a nation, but there are other countries that have been geographically contiguous and have fallen apart in less than 22 years. So there must be something inherently binding that has kept us together in spite of the cruel and vicious social system that has prevailed in Pakistan and in spite of the injustice that it has brought about. If we want to maintain our unity, and I think we can maintain our unity, even in spite of this geographic separation, what we need, even more than democracy — although I am well aware of the need for democracy — is to put an end to economic exploitation. Once we put an end to economic exploitation, then we can create conditions of unity and create conditions of cooperation, but as long as we have economic exploitation, you will find people moving apart instead of coming together, not only in a divided country but in a contiguous country as well. **What is the policy of the PPP in relation not only to the liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggle throughout the world, but also the role that these struggles have played here in Pakistan?**

To the first question I would like to answer immediately and state that, as is natural, we will support the liberation movements throughout the world. In our outlook, there is no difference between the liberation of our people and that of the people of other countries, because there is a common struggle against a common enemy and it



would not be wise or correct for us to believe we can succeed while others fail. If others fail, we cannot succeed; if they succeed, we can also succeed, so we have to pool all our resources together. This is an indivisible moral obligation and that is why I have always maintained that the struggle, for example against Israel, for the restoration of the rights of the people of Palestine; of Eritrea in Ethiopia, in the struggle against the Ethiopian dictatorship; or Angola, or Mozambique, are no different from the struggle of the people of Kashmir.

All of this forms part of the common struggle and we consider that this struggle is of utmost importance, as much as our own struggle for liberation. That is our attitude also to the Viet-Nam struggle. The heroic people of Viet-Nam will attain their freedom by their own efforts, but nevertheless, they have been encouraged and inspired by the overwhelming support that they have received from the oppressed people everywhere, as well as the people who want to end exploitation and domination. So I hope that I have made my position clear. It is uncompromising on this question.

Secondly, naturally, it flows from my answer to the first question that if we are to succeed, it must be a common struggle. If our struggle is to inspire others, their struggle will inspire us. After all, that is a lesson of history, how man has struggled from the beginning to free himself from exploitation, from the time he came out of the cave and how he has had to go from one phase of the struggle to the next and how with the successive passage of time, he has brought about the fruition of the struggle — this is in itself a very important consideration. A just cause must triumph, no matter what the odds are against it, and a people who uphold such a cause can never fail, no matter what the odds.

**Could you give us an analysis of the present stage — let us say the present transitional stage — through which Pakistan is living?**

Well, it is a period of transition when all matters are at the crossroads and it is difficult to make a penetrating analysis. However, I would say that if, from this experience, we are able to find a constitutional formula for the solution of our problems, that in itself would be a positive contribution.

**What are the basic views and the basic demands of the PPP in the present situation, especially on the issue of the constitutional formula and other political themes which are now being debated?**

We want primarily to overcome the constitutional formula because for us the constitution is not the last word for a people. It plays a major role, it plays an important role, but it is not the final and decisive factor: it is a conditioned precedent and the sooner that this conditioned precedent is removed, the better it is because then we can go on to the basic problems. Then we will not be bogged down with these peripheral issues. That is why we would like to approach this problem in the right spirit, because to us, the constitutional rights of the people are important, but

their economic rights are more important, and so, if we overcome the constitutional problems, then we can give our undivided attention to the economic problems of the country.

Now these problems get diverted because of the constitutional crisis; therefore, we shall always study this matter in a flexible manner and I believe we are moving toward a consensus. What we believe is that there should be a federal parliamentary form of government, because in a parliamentary system it is easier to divide power and here we have to divide power between East and West Pakistan.

Presidential systems have invariably led to military dictatorships and that is why they have failed and why we must have a parliamentary form of government, as I said before; more than anything because we have to divide power between East and West Pakistan. Also, we have a parliamentary tradition in this country of long duration.

The second question is that we want to restore the autonomy of the provinces, because as you know the autonomy of the provinces and the autonomy of the people is an important consideration in the development of their culture and also in the exercise of their talent. It is the right which people have within the nation, because they have greater freedom to assert themselves and in this diversification a richer contribution can be made. Secondly, our country is, after all, a decentralized society, with many languages, many races and it is for that reason federally-orientated, so a provincial autonomy is a second demand we have, which means that the unitary form of government of West Pakistan must end and we must restore the federal structure and give the provinces their autonomy.

Thirdly there should be representation on the basis of population, because that is the rule of democracy — one man, one vote — that is one of the principles of democracy. Also, because we are divided into two parts and each region or wing of the country has unique problems of its own, we naturally want the federal parliamentary form of government in which the provinces must exercise their equality in some form, since that is the principle of federal government. We could have a Lower House on the basis of population representation and an Upper House on the basis of the equality of the provinces. These are three or four of the principles on which the constitutional structure can be made. Some parties may think there are one or two more, and some one or two less, but the only way to do it is to get together and arrive at a consensus.

**In the field of economic and social problems, what are the basic aims of the PPP?**

We have to have massive industrial as well as agrarian reforms. These are two essential aims that we must bring about to end exploitation, and exploitation has been taking place in these two



vital fields of economy.

**And in the field of relations with foreign imperialist countries?**

Our attitude has always been to struggle for the sovereignty of our people, to maintain the independence of our country, and to prevent foreign interference. Foreign interference has really been a curse for Pakistan, and it has led to many problems which should not have arisen. Naturally we will oppose imperialist efforts to encroach upon our rights and to interfere in our internal affairs and in that also there can be no compromise.

**In this transitional stage, what is the political conduct or attitude of the ruling classes?**

For the moment, they are watching the situation to see in what direction the regime moves, but I think they are not getting so many sleepless nights as they got at the time when the change did take place.

**Now, in the present circumstances, how do you foresee the perspectives of the movement in Pakistan?**

Again, since we are in a period of transition and things have not come to a firm head, it is difficult at this moment to give a definitive view. I think the position will become clearer in two or three months' time, and before the end of the year this position will become clearer and more definitive.

**How about the possibility of unity and cooperation among the different anti-imperialist and progressive parties in Pakistan?**

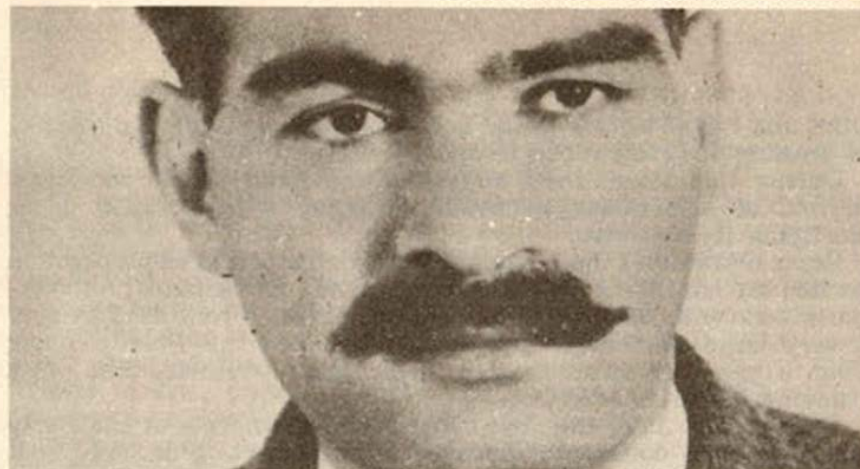
Naturally we would like to see that. We would like nothing better than that and we will continue to work for it. As far as we are concerned, we arrived at two agreements with the NAP of Maulana Bashani, we also came to an understanding with the Kizan Masdoor Party, which is a leftist party, and also with the left wing of the Huksas, which is the progressive wing. Therefore, we will continue to strive for the unity of the left and we will make our contribution. What the prospects are depends mostly on the contribution of the other leftist parties, and also as to how the situation develops.

**Would you like to refer to the obstacles in this process of unity?**

The obstacles are so many because it is always more difficult for people to unite on ideas. The rightists can easily unite because they have vested interests to protect. There is something tangible to protect; someone may have his factories to protect and another may have his lands to protect, so there is always something that they have wanted to protect and hold and for them it is the unity of material factors. But for the left, it is what you want to achieve, what you want to do, how you want to bring it about; so much of the abstract is involved, although fundamentally it is not abstract, it is very material. The whole concept is for material changes but, nevertheless, because something is to be done, rather than preserved, it is more difficult to bring about unity, as it requires greater statesmanship, more flexibility, and a greater sweep of history.

## Syria: the Arabs' Battle

Mohamed Ammar Alrawi



The history of the BAAS Arab Socialist Party covers most important stages in the struggle of the Arab people for their independence and the defense of their rights. In the future and in the present day Middle East, the events that preceded the upsurge of the BAAS are inscribed as inestimable experiences—the liquidation of the Ottoman empire in Syria, the failure to fulfill the promises of Arab independence made at the end of the First World War, and the struggles against the French and English imperialists—passing then from the first constitutional congress of this party up to the present period in which it is taking firm steps toward the conversion of Syria to socialism.

Doctor Mohamed Ammar Alrawi, head of foreign relations for the BAAS Party of Syria and member of its Political Committee, develops this interesting theme in the present interview, at the same time that he explains his party's tactical-strategic line for recuperating the Arab territories occupied by Zionism.

The words of doctor Alrawi—whose Israeli origin and high position in Syria are an indication of the BAAS concept for the Arab homeland—are a great contribution to the understanding of the problems that affect this part of the world, one of the most burning and explosive areas at this time.

**What is the background of the formation of the BAAS Party and what is its structure today in its Arab homeland?**

The Arab struggle did not begin with the formation of the BAAS Party; the struggle against imperialism is actually quite old. The first stage was that against the Ottoman Empire. This stage was concluded at the end of the First World War in which the Arabs joined the Allies with the hope of winning their independence; but after the war, the Allies failed to live up to their promises and Arab rights were lost. We can say that this stage was marked by a nationalist-religious character. Then began the period of struggle against western imperialism represented by the French and English. This stage was distinguished by its nationalist-liberationist character and developed not only in Syria, but in all parts of the Arab homeland.

We will discuss the struggle that took place in Syria since the BAAS Party was born there.

The struggle of the Arab Syrian people against French imperialism continued over almost a quarter of a century, from the end of the First World War up until the evacuation of French troops from Syrian territory. This liberation struggle, as we call it, was nationalist and manifested itself in demonstrations in the univer-



sities and in the efforts of the entire Syrian population to succeed in pushing out the French troops.

During this stage, the struggle of the Arab people was crystallized as a national liberation struggle, with socialist ideas clarifying its objective.

From 1943 to 1947 the Party went through a period of preparation limited to issuing certain communications, participating in elections, etc., without formulating new concepts. From 1943 to 1947 a very large number of young people joined the Party, among them a group of Arab students from other countries who were studying in Syrian schools.

On April 25, 1947, the first constitutional congress of the Party was held. The document approved at that meeting declared that the Arabs, because of their spiritual and cultural unity, constitute a single nation and have the natural right to live in one State, and that the Arab homeland is economically and politically indivisible.

The BAAS Party was the first one in the Arab homeland to pose questions of socialism and of nationalism at the same time, while the other parties that had preceded it had a nationalist-religious character and proposed certain very limited reforms, always within a very limited context. That is to say that they were regional parties, not Arabic as is the BAAS Party. On the other hand it should be realized that the countries now existing within the frontiers of the Arab homeland are the work of imperialism, which has done everything possible to keep the Arab countries divided in order to facilitate its domination and the plunder of riches. When the BAAS Party stated its position and pointed out the necessity for uniting our countries in order to achieve liberty and socialism, many young people who had previously been affiliated with other parties came as militants into the BAAS Party. This Arab youth understood that the ideology of the BAAS Party faithfully reflected their goals.

We must make it clear that, when the BAAS Party announced its aims, it did not do so with the idea of subduing the nation and taking power, as others had done, but rather its chief objective was the development of long-range principles that expressed the interests of the working masses. For this reason, we proposed to direct our first efforts to the popular masses, and began right then to struggle within the ranks of the workers, the peasants, and other exploited classes, in order to win power.

The BAAS Party chose this route knowing that it would confront imperialism and reaction. And so began the battles against reactionary governments and against imperialism, always in strict alliance with the masses in various parts of the Arab world. The BAAS Party was the leader of the demonstrations against the accords and pacts that damaged the interests of the Arab people.

The force of the BAAS Party as a popular influence began to be seen after 1952, especially in Iraq. The Party unmasked imperial-

ism's plans there. In Syria, the Party struggle continued and it was because of this that many of the military dictatorships fell, for the BAAS Party's work within the armed forces was no less successful than its work within the popular masses.

In Syria the BAAS Party struggle was climaxed by the union reached between Syria and Egypt in 1958. As far as Iraq goes, the BAAS Party played a positive role at the popular level of the revolution of June 14, 1958. At the beginning it was thought the revolution in Iraq could play a positive and constructive role in uniting Iraq with its brothers, Syria and Egypt. But the revolution departed from its objective and the militants of the BAAS Party in Iraq began to suffer the persecution of Abdul Karim Kassem's military government.

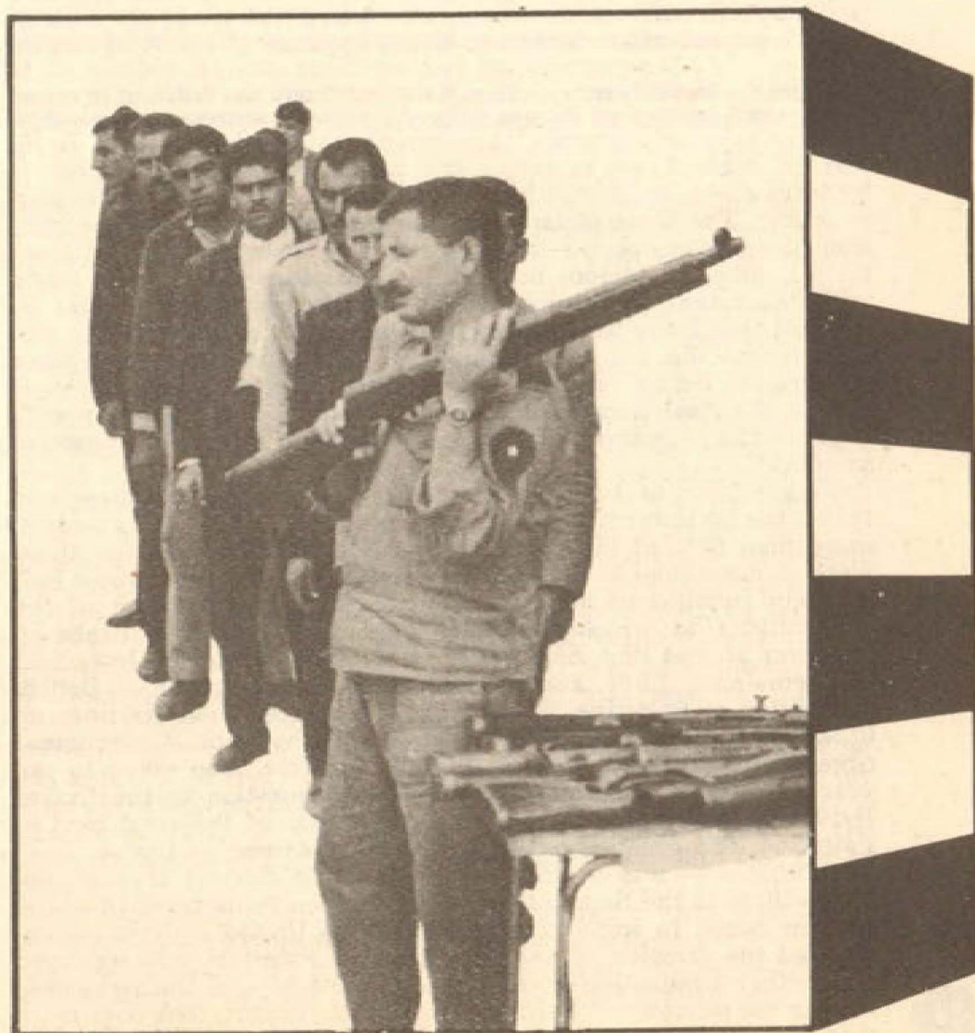
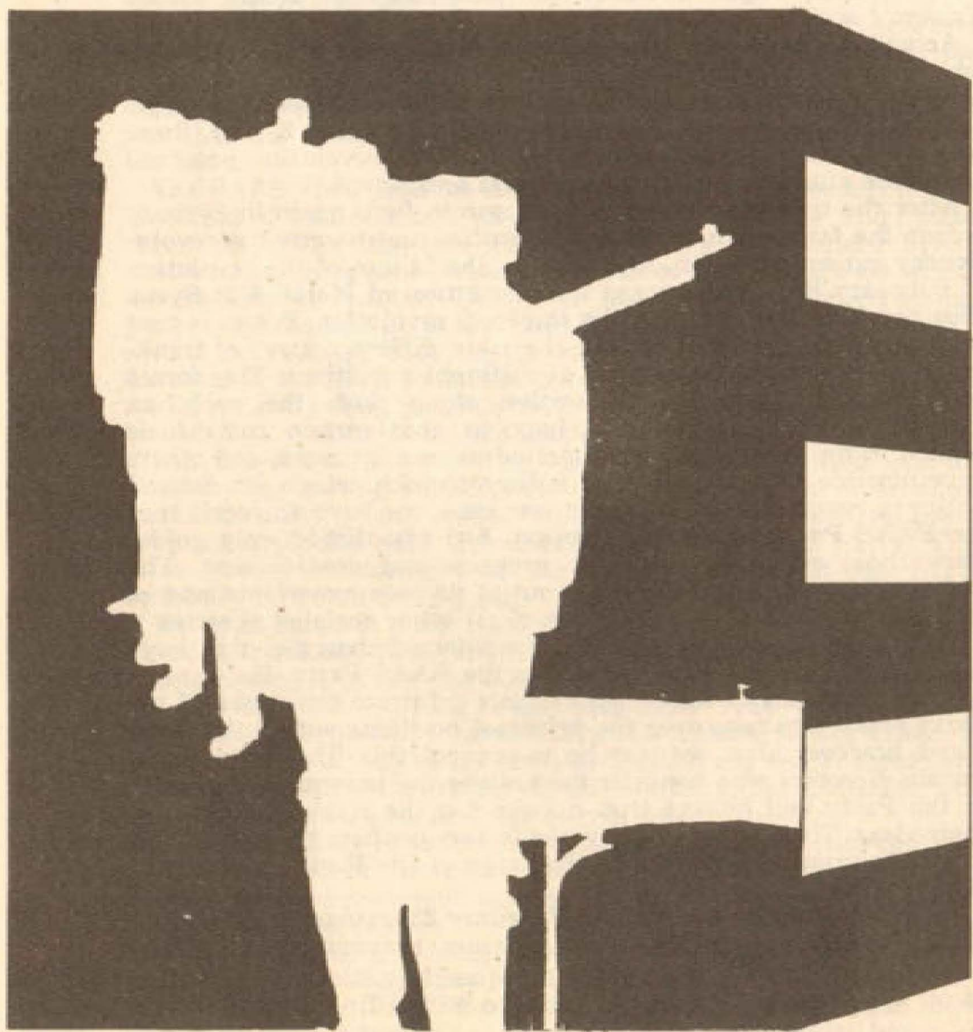
Actually, this persecution had beneficial results for the Party which gained large numbers of new members from the masses because of the persecution. The Party began a violent struggle against the Iraq authorities and finally, on February 8, 1963, there was the revolution of the Ramadan 14. This revolution occurred two years after the split between Syria and Egypt.

After the split, the BAAS Party began to fight again in Syria to recoup the failure which the split signified and reunite the revolutionary movement again. And so from the failure of the revolution of February 8 in Iraq, surged the revolution of March 8 in Syria. This revolution was inspired by the Iraqi revolution. But as is true in all revolutionary movements, there are different ways of thinking and the struggle grows out of different conditions. This forces revolutionary movements to evolve along with the evolution of revolutionary ideas. But it happens that certain individuals remain in the same position, others advance a bit more, and others have new ideas, so that there are discrepancies, which are natural within a revolutionary party. In our case, we have to recall that the BAAS Party, from its inception, had established only guidelines, those generally suited to progress and development. The theory of the BAAS Party grew out of its own experience and of its assimilation of the experiences of all other socialist theories.

To a great extent this explains the internal struggles that have taken place from time to time within the BAAS Party. But it must be added that many times opportunists infiltrate the ranks of the Party and try to take over the principal positions within the Command, however alert we may be to prevent this. Then there exist certain directors who consider themselves the maximum authority of the Party and believe that no one has the right to contradict their ideas. These and other diverse factors confirm the correctness of the February 23 movement that started the Party on the road it now follows.

Actually, with the birth of the February 23 movement, important steps were taken toward the conversion to socialism especially — and this is just an example — as far as the national exploitation of oil is concerned. Syria thus came to be the first country of the







region that completely defied the oil monopolies, broke the imperialist vise, and began to exploit its oil for its own purposes. Certain other economic projects also indicate a socialist direction as, for example, the Euphrates dam and all the agricultural institutions that have been nationalized.

The oil monopolies, and the imperialist countries that support these monopolies, consider the step Syria took with respect to the exploitation of oil a challenge, and have centered all their efforts on destroying the government, but all the internal plots have failed. These failures forced the imperialist countries to call upon Israel's services. Thus the aggression of June 5 was their response to the Syrian defiance of the oil monopolies who made the most of Israel's expansionist objectives at the expense of the Arab homeland.

**What are the tactical-strategic lines the BAAS Party has followed to regain the occupied territories? Do you believe a peaceful settlement is possible?**

If we take into account the form in which the State of Israel was established, we arrive at the conclusion that it was created by force and is supported by world Zionism and by the imperialist countries. The State of Israel has been created through the expulsion of an entire people from its territory in order to make room for a number of persons brought in from other parts of the world with the intent of occupying that people's territory. It must be stressed that those who came from other parts of the world to live in Palestine did not do so simply to seek a livelihood but rather were motivated by expansionist and imperialist ambitions, directed against the Arab homeland. It is quite natural that a country with expansionist objectives will never accept what is called a "peaceful solution."

We are going to show that Israel has expansionist ambitions and that it has no interest in a "peaceful solution." In 1917, for example, more than 90% of the inhabitants of Palestine were Arab; there were no more than 56 000 Jews in Palestine at that time, about half of them immigrants who had fled from Europe because of the persecutions to which they had been subjected. The Arabs in Palestine at that time held 97.5% of the land, while the Jews held the remaining 2.5%. During and after the 30 years of British occupation of Palestine, the Jews only increased their holdings up to 3.5% of the land of Palestine, even though the British Government urged them to seize as much land as possible. And when in the year 1947, England brought the Palestine question to the United Nations, the Zionists had no more than 18% of the total land of Palestine. The great increase the Jews obtained — that is, from 2.5% to 18% — was obtained by the Zionists directly through the good offices of the British Government which transferred this land to their name. In spite of these truths, the United Nations recommended the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and approved the further annexation to this state of some 54% of the remaining land in the territory of Palestine. Israel, for its part, took over more than 80% of Palestinian territory. This expansion occurred before

May 15, 1948; in other words, before the British mandate officially ended.

Israel's method was to expel the Arabs living in the territories it took by force. In this way, when the State of Israel was created, there were more than a million refugee Arabs. From then on, Israel continued expanding and expelling Arabs so that the numbers of refugees increased. On many occasions the Zionists engaged in terrible massacres to force the Arabs to flee from their lands. Israel later crowned its aggressions by launching an attack against Egypt, in cooperation with England and France. Israel continued committing systematic aggressions against all the neighboring Arab countries and also began harassing the United Nations observers. Among other actions, the Zionists are responsible for the killing of the United Nations mediator and his military aid.

On top of all of this, it must be added that Israel imposed a regime of racial discrimination against the Arabs who remained in the country. More than 90% of these Arabs live in ghettos and under a military regime which controls their movements and prevents them from traveling from one village to another without prior permission. The children of these Arabs are deprived of equal opportunities as far as education, jobs, and the right to equal pay are concerned. But such racial discrimination applies not only to the Arabs who live in Israel, but also to Jews themselves, for the Jews who come from Arab countries and from oriental areas are oppressed and persecuted in Israel. Among the most outstanding examples of discrimination against Jews is the concentration of 11 000 immigrants from Turkey and Tripoli, a third of whom live in 540 identical dwelling units, whose measurements are no larger than 24 m<sup>2</sup>. Each one of these identical cubicles is designated for one family, without taking into consideration the number of its members. Generally the families who live in these units — and who at times may include more than ten or 12 persons in each one — live on a salary no higher than 130 Israeli pounds.<sup>1</sup>

Let us give an example of the discrimination that exists between the Jew of European origin and the Jew of Mediterranean origin. A Moroccan Jew came across a very easy way of demonstrating the discrimination that exists there. This man sent out various letters soliciting work in a number of factories. In some of the letters he put down that he was born in Poland, in others that he was born in Morocco. The result was that in the replies to the letters in which he had stated he was Moroccan, the factory owner was sorry but there were no vacancies; while the replies to the letters in which he had said he was Polish invited him to come to work.

There are many examples that can be offered to show that Israel has expansionist ambitions and aggressive tendencies.

Let us talk about the aggression that Israel committed on June 5, 1967, against more than one Arab country, occupying part of its

<sup>1</sup> The Israeli pound is quoted at \$0.2857 US. (Ed. note)



territory and driving out still greater numbers of Arabs who then became refugees. How could anyone think that after all this there exists the possibility for a peaceful solution? Actually for us, what is called a "peaceful solution" is no more than a solution of capitulation on our part, which would simply permit a new imposition. For this reason we categorically reject any solution which is imposed on us and which accepts the surrender of the territory occupied by Israel.

We have followed a tactical-strategic line represented by armed struggle and by the war of popular liberation. The political struggle must serve the armed struggle. We do not believe there is any other way to liberate our occupied lands. Many other peoples have preceded us along this road, from the Cuban Revolution to the Algerian Revolution and the current revolution in Viet-Nam. We are convinced that we will reach victory following this road.

The BAAS Party has been the first in this region to propose armed struggle to liberate the occupied territories. When we proposed armed struggle, there was great opposition in almost all the Arab countries, but two years after the June 5 aggression, guerrilla action has increased, has become a reality, and has begun to develop and to have a great influence on the inhabitants of the occupied territories.

It is indisputable that the guerrilla action is an exceedingly preoccupying reality for the Zionists and those who support them. Although, finally, the popular war of liberation will be successful, we still have a long way to go.

**How do you reconcile the external war against Zionism and imperialism, and the internal fight against the reactionary forces?**

We really consider the battle to be between the progressive and revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and against the forces of imperialism, reaction, and Zionism on the other hand, since reaction is a natural ally of imperialism just as much as of Zionism. For this reason we believe the battle is one.

The fact that we are focusing our battle against imperialism and Zionism at this moment does not mean that we have forgotten reaction; it is simply that the circumstances of the battle many times force a choice of fronts, but it goes without saying that we consider imperialism, Zionism, and reaction to be firm allies with common interests, and that we do not in fact distinguish among them. This means that the effective battle, the real struggle against Zionism, imperialism, and reaction cannot be undertaken all at once, but the daily battle we wage against reaction continues. We are not able, for example, to undertake an armed struggle simultaneously against Israel and against the reactionary regimes of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Tunisia, and others. But our battle, I repeat, our struggle against reaction is a constant struggle.

For us the revolution is indivisible. With respect to this point, we consider that the struggle of the Arab people is the same as is being waged by the people of Africa, of Asia, and of Latin America, because, like them, the Arab people are struggling against

imperialism. For this reason our relations with the people of other areas are very strong, as for example, with Korea, Viet-Nam, Cuba, the African countries, and the entire liberation movement. But we must strengthen these relations even further and we must coordinate our forces to be able to reach our goal.

**Zionist propaganda contends that the Palestinians plan to exterminate the Jews. What can you say about that?**

Before anything else, we must make the distinction between Zionism (which is nothing more than a reflection of Nazism) and Judaism in its religious character. This very difference is recognized by many Jews who are also opposed to Zionism. We are against Zionism but we have nothing against the Jews.

Going back a little in history, we can see that the Arabs and the Jews lived together for centuries without having any problems among themselves over racial questions. And never did Arabs massacre Jews, nor persecute them, nor throw them into the sea to drown, as they say we are going to do now. Moreover, our point of view, as BAAS militants and as Arabs at the same time, is: we have no intention of harming anyone because he is a Jew. We repeat that we are against Zionism.

Many persons of the Jewish religion live comfortably in all the Arab countries and never have they been subjected to any kind of oppression or persecution. In Syria, we are disposed to give the Jews a warm welcome, but not as Zionists. We must make an observation. Over many centuries, during which Jews were persecuted in Europe, a great number of them finally decided to come to live in the Arab countries and many went to Palestine because they knew they would have no problem there and could live harmoniously with the Arabs. And it is very good to know that we, the Arabs, traditionally and temperamentally, are accustomed to protecting the minorities who live among us. There is more than one minority living among the Arabs but they all enjoy the same rights as the majority: never has any type of discrimination been practiced against them whether they are a religious or a national minority. And perhaps we can say that the presence of so many minorities among the Arab people is precisely due to the fact that they are welcomed among us when they have been oppressed in other countries and even in their own countries.

Therefore, once the occupied territories have been liberated, once the problem of Palestine has been resolved, we will make a distinction between the Zionists — who have come as invaders and terrorists, and who have massacred and oppressed both Arabs and Jews in one way or another — and those who practice the Jewish religion.

For we believe that once liberation has occurred, this problem of Zionism and Jews will also be resolved so that the Jews who want to live in Palestine or any place else can stay without the slightest problem, while the Zionist invaders will be barred from entering Palestine.



# Buddha: the Struggle in this World

Venerable Sato



The present position of the Buddhist movement, given distances and special features, is identified with and joined to the shock of currents and tendencies registered within Islam and with the crisis affecting the Catholic Church and Protestant sects throughout Latin America, and also within the United States itself.

This phenomenon, which is explained by the relationship religion-people-liberation, holds particular importance for the strengthening and development of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement throughout the world.

The Venerable Sato, secretary-general of the Japanese Buddhists and an important figure in the Nichiren sect, granted Tricontinental an exclusive interview on the specific status of Buddhism, its origins, and its position in the Far East.

The Venerable Sato, who has spent 25 years actively professing Buddhism, has to his credit difficult but very fruitful pilgrimages through the regions of Southeast Asia. Wounded in the Second World War (during which he was an engineering officer in the Japanese Air Force), he has been an outstanding personality in the struggle against imperialist wars, for peace and against imperialism. He has participated actively in all the Japanese people's struggles for the return of Okinawa, against the Japanese-North American Security Treaty and against the resurgence of imperialism and Japanese militarism.

Our interviewee is currently in charge of the foreign relations section of the International Committee for the Continuation of the World Conference of Religionists for Peace, and is a member of the Executive Board of the Japanese Council Against A and H Bombs (Gensuikyo).

**What is the situation within the Buddhist movement in the Far East?**  
I should begin by explaining the routes by which Buddhism was extended through the world. This religion was created by Buddha, in India, 2520 years ago. There are three tendencies or principal

schools: Maha-yana, Vajra-yana or Lamaism, and Thera-wada or Hina-yana.

Maha-yana, which believes in various reincarnations of the Buddha, was taken from northern India, across the mountain ranges, to China and Korea. Later it was transmitted to Japan and Viet-Nam. This school is divided into various denominations, one of which, Vajra-yana, also called Lamaism, penetrated into Tibet, Mongolia, and among the Buryat-Mongol tribes, now part of the Soviet Union.

Thera-wada or Hina-yana (which recognizes one Buddha, the creator of the religion) went South, from India to Ceylon; to Burma, to the East, where it later went into Thailand, then into Cambodia, and finally into part of Malaya.

These branches, Thera-wada, Maha-yana, Vajra-yana-Lamaism, are the three most important schools of Buddhism.

We had contact with all these branches during the first and second world conferences of clergy for peace, in which there were representatives of the various regions of Asia; the Soviet Buryat-Mongols, Mongolia, China, Cambodia, Ceylon, Burma, and India. The Vietnamese Buddhists could not come although we would have liked for a representative of the National Liberation Front to come.

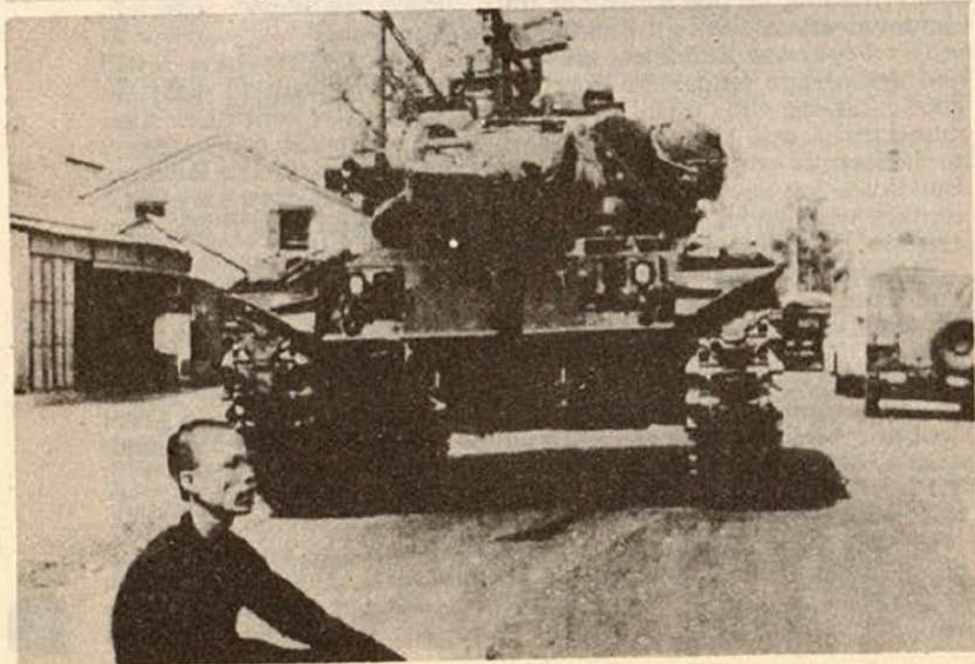
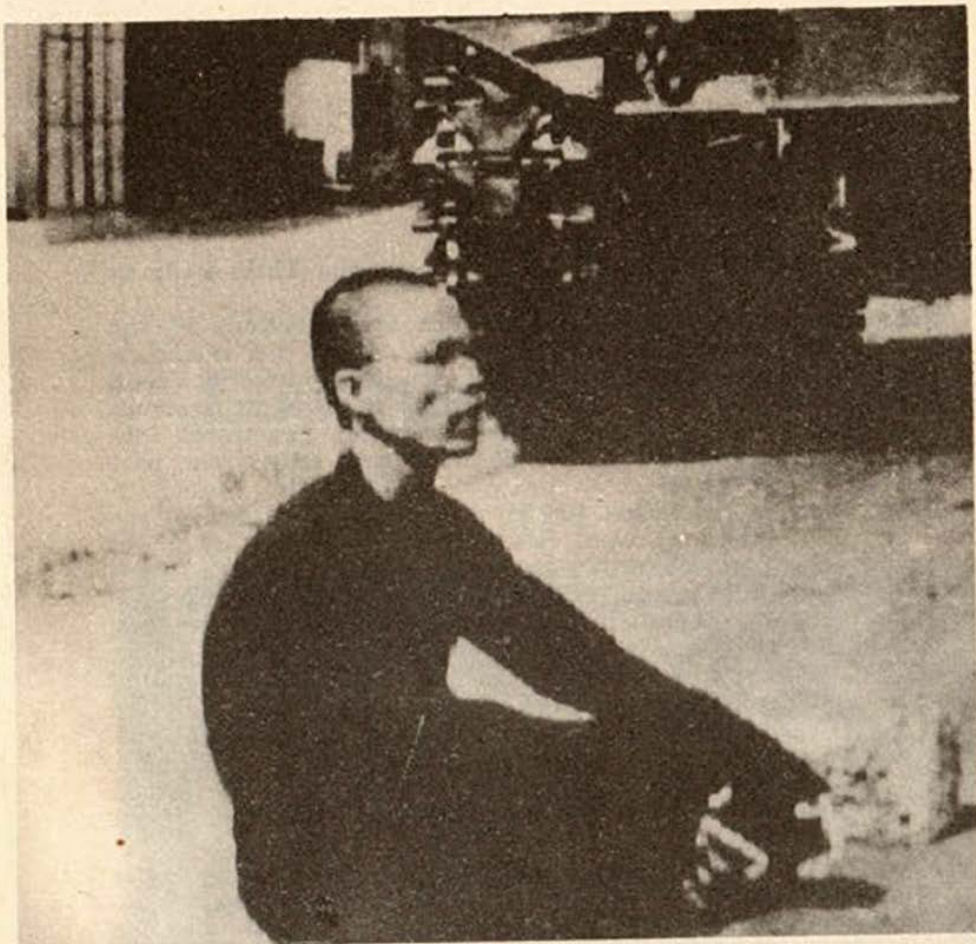
Our second world conference brought together almost the entire circle of Asian Buddhism. We agreed on a general declaration approved by all the delegates, including the Soviet and Chinese. Due to differences, we postponed our third conference, but we maintain communications with all Buddhist circles in Asia.

The Ceylonese Buddhists are the most liberal. They have broad and democratic tendencies. For that reason we want to maintain good relations with them. In Burma there is strict control of communications and the Buddhists are very backward with respect to democratic and revolutionary movements. Most of the Burmese Buddhists are apolitical or even conservative. We have very little contact with them. There are very few revolutionary and progressive Buddhists there.

Thailand is a monarchy with a cabinet which controls everything. Buddhism is their state religion and is not independent, so that all Buddhist monks are state supported; very few can be progressive. Those who would like to be are expelled from the order and defrocked. For this reason there are secular Buddhists who are not officially able to practice. Lately there has been a great deal of repression against the Buddhists in the North of Thailand; it is directed against those who want to liberate themselves with the help of the Patriotic Front of Thailand. We haven't been able to establish contact with them as yet.

In Malaya, the Buddhists are a minority. There are some Buddhist circles in Irian and Kuala Lumpur, but they lean more to the reactionary line. They talk about peace but collaborate fully with the reactionary government and make no effort to establish





relations with the progressive movement in Malaya.

In Singapore, the Buddhists are almost all overseas Chinese with business connections. Even here, however, there are revolutionary activists among the laity though not among the Buddhist monks.

In Indonesia, most of the Buddhists were repressed or assassinated during the counterrevolution. The majority of Buddhists, many of those in the big delegation that attended our conference, were executed.

In Viet-Nam there is a strong Buddhist movement. We have contact with the Association of United Buddhists, headed by Tic Ten Ho, who is a member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front. We also have good relations with the Buddhists of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, where we have a delegation right now.

We have had no contact with China since the cultural revolution. There is no telegraphic communication. We have also lost contact with the Maha-yanas and Vajra-yanas of Tibet.

As for Korea, in the South the Great Buddhist Association is completely demoralized and is not undertaking revolutionary activities; only the laymen, not the professionals, are now with the revolutionary movement. In the North we have contact with the Buddhist League; on every occasion, they have wanted to send delegations to our country, but the Japanese Government won't allow them to come. And so in our conferences we have had representatives from the Korean Buddhist residents in Japan, with whom we have good relations.

In India we have relations with the Neobuddhists, who total more than six or seven million. The Neobuddhists are those converted from the "untouchables." Originally there were Hindu untouchables (pariahs without any caste, according to Hindu religion) and now they have converted to Buddhism. The Buddhist Indians call them Neobuddhists — and they are hated. But we in our organization have sent many monks to live among them. We hope to convert them from their "untouchability" to a higher level of life; with an attitude of sympathy toward them we hope to open their eyes to the external world. Nevertheless they have certain communalist attitudes which do not lead to revolution nor to a progressive society. We are trying to help them.

Eastern Pakistan has a Buddhist circle with whom we maintain contact. But it is sleeping silently, maintaining its tranquil life with very few problems in the State of Islam.

In Nepal there are two types of Buddhists: one, the Lamayahistas, and the other, the Thera-wadas imported from Ceylon. The leader of the Thera-wadas is the Buddhist monk Amuritanda, who came to the conference. He runs all around Asia, goes everywhere with a pliable mind able to adapt to everything; he has no definite political line but is nevertheless progressive.

As for Japan, I can tell you that pure Maha-yana Buddhism





has spread throughout the country and that certain characteristics have been extracted from the original form and are being developed in new denominations as history changes. During the 6th and 7th centuries of our era, Buddhism was tightly under imperial rule. Its sects were Sanrom, Kegon, and Hosso.

From the 7th to the 13th centuries, during the imperial reign of Kyoto in the city called Meian, capital of peace, the Ten-dai sect, which was imported from China, had its general quarters to the east of Kyoto and extended itself throughout the country. The Chinese called this sect Shin-tai. Another branch of the Kyoto religion is the Shin-gon sect, which is Vajra-yana or Lamaism, very similar to the Thera-wada branch of world Buddhism. It was considered a mystic sect in both China and Japan. These two principal denominations are the ones that existed in the Kyoto era under the imperial reign.

The feudal government of Kamakura in the 13th century, marked the beginning of feudalism in Japan. The old Tenda and Shin-gon sects were sponsored by the imperial family and the nobles, but the people, in their ordinary struggles, derived no benefits from these sects. The common people had their own religion, easy to guide the masses to Buddhism.

The Jodo sect of pure line emerged during the feudal government of Kamakura. Nothing is possible in this world, and after death, one may be invited to achieve salvation by Adarvna Buddha, an imaginary Buddha of whom it is said that he is the real Buddha and the one that appeared on earth was not real; so that Buddha must be in another world where there is no suffering. The Jodo-shin sect is its new form (shin means new) and has many followers in Japan. Its partisans say almost 40 million persons, just about half the Japanese population, belong to it.

The other tendency, the Zen sect, advises meditation for everyone, wherever they may be, even in the midst of action. There are three Zen denominations: Sodo, Rinzai, and Ohbaku.

The Nichiren sect also grew out of this and that is the one we follow, which prefers meditation during action. The Nichiren sect is the newest and dates from the year 1212. Now when this sect was born, all the Buddhists were totally inactive and inaccessible to the masses of people. They talked about the other world, not this one in which people lived. They spoke of a pure earth far from this earth where we would go after death. With so many denominations fighting each other, Nichiren sought the best way to follow Buddha. He began to investigate all the writings and found that Maha-yana was basic for what must be done, and he began to question all the existing denominations and asked what the Buddhist position should be. He insisted that Buddhism must dedicate all its efforts to the salvation of this world; whatever difficulties there might be, whatever pain and suffering might be incurred, we have to purify it, eliminate it, make the world happy as it ought to be. There were struggles among the various



Buddhist denominations and Nichiren insisted that Buddhism must return to the original position Buddha had 25 centuries ago. That is why the Buddhists who are not Maha-yanas are not very active in their attitude toward the world.

Generally, Buddhism is in favor of eliminating the people's suffering; believes that by purifying one's acts and thoughts one purifies oneself and will no longer suffer. This type of approach is Thera-wada or Hina-yana and religiously observes the rule of not doing this or that. No error is allowed. Finally one becomes pure. But one can become very inactive. For this reason it doesn't offer people many benefits.

Maha-yana believes that this world full of suffering must be changed into a vehicle in which everyone sits and is raised to a happier earth but that earth is not the same as before, although it is in the same world. In the present world one sees many phenomena. Well, these phenomena must be converted into a fountain of happiness. Suffering must be converted into happiness. The two are only opposites, but through suffering we must improve ourselves and make this suffering disappear. We must struggle to conquer suffering. Because Thera-wada exists so that its followers remain more pure, more inactive, and also pure in their action and deeds. One should never kill anyone, according to the Thera-wada monks. One must not steal nor get drunk; these orders are so complete that society lived according to them is very inactive. In the Thera-wada country, the people are very mild and have no desire to accomplish things. The Maha-yanas can commit many errors in practice. They can become angry when they see injustice committed. The Thera-wada Buddhism says that one should not become angry, that people will reap their own reward and that the evil committed by a person will be suffered by that person. Thus they isolate themselves from what is going on in other places.

**How can you explain simply the mixture of Buddhism and Shintoism, which is so significant in Japan?**

National Shintoism is a very recent creation, it is not the traditional Shintoism at all. National Shintoism was formed after the restoration of the Emperor brought about by Meiji 100 years ago. It is the creation of nationalism, of feudal nationalism, imperialist nationalism, and exists solely for the Emperor. This is the ideological background for imperialist Japan and many wars have developed from this base. We must die for this. Then, when we are dead on the battlefield, we are good.

This education continued for almost 100 years during which Meiji ruled for 34, Taisho for 15, and Ansoa for 44. These 100 years were the period in which nationalist Shintoism was born, grew, prospered, collapsed, and reestablished itself by force. There was complete suppression of other religions under nationalist Shintoism. Shintoism is not a soft religion and there is no resistance against it in government circles. They accept it naturally. For this reason, you always see a Buddhist altar and, at its side, a

small Shintoist shrine. The children are asked to give homage first at the Shintoist shrine, then to bow at the Buddhist altar before breakfast. This was the general education in prewar days. And so every Buddhist has to be Shintoist as well. The Christians resisted this, even at the beginning, because Christianity is not a religion that adapts easily. Buddhism is a very soft religion that can adapt to anything, whatever comes along it can accept. This has been the attitude of Buddhists up to now. Not all, of course; there have been priests and followers among the Buddhists who have warned of the dangers in this tendency. So some have resisted nationalist Shintoism. Many Nichiren priests resisted this policy.

**What is the relationship of Buddhism to the ruling class of Asia today?**

As far as that is concerned, state-controlled and supported Buddhism exists throughout Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. In Ceylon it is independent. In Nepal it is independent. In Pakistan, India, Korea, and China it is also independent. In Japan it is completely independent. In Thailand, Burma, Laos, and Cambodia — Laos no longer — the state-supported religions are suffering. We oppose state control of religion. In Burma, 90% of the population is Buddhist; in Thailand, almost 100%, let's say 95%; in Laos, 80% and in Cambodia, 100%; Viet-Nam, about 70%; in Malaysia, very few, 10%; in Pakistan, let's say zero; in India, about six million, perhaps 10% or something like that.

In Thailand, there are monks who work for the revolution, but they are arrested, defrocked, executed. In Burma, similar things occur, but Ne Win does not speak in favor of Buddhism, the government doesn't want to get mixed up in religious matters. In Nepal, religion is totally state-run and there is no other ideology. In Japan, we have been under the patronage of imperial governments during the period of Kyoto and Nara, while in the Kamakura and subsequent periods, when the feudalists controlled Japan, they used the Buddhist centers, with the help of other organizations, to register births and deaths, for schools, orphanages, and asylums for the aged. These organizations are maintained on the basis of feudal patronage. The governments maintain these Buddhist organizations and give them economic support as long as the Buddhist priests act in accordance with their desires. This has been the norm established in our country since the feudal epoch, and beginning new sects have been suppressed by government order. The active and progressive Buddhists in Japan belong chiefly to the Nichiren and Jodo sects. The other sects are extremely conservative and have been neutralized by the groups in power. Imperialism utilized nationalist Shintoism against Buddhism to eradicate the Buddhist influence.

**How does Buddhism relate its conviction or philosophic principles to the liberation movements in Southeast Asia, to the anti-imperialist movement in Japan and other parts of the Far East, and how does the Buddhist world generally view the actions of the South Viet-Nam Buddhists who have been very active in the armed struggle against United States aggression?**



In the first place, the Buddhist philosophy is for peace. Buddha himself was called the Prince of Peace. Our philosophy is completely for peace, we know who is destroying peace in the world today and we can distinguish between the criminal and the victims. The Vietnamese people are the best example for us. In Viet-Nam the majority of Buddhists are against imperialism. And this has provided an impulse for the growth of certain anti-imperialist tendencies in other countries — in Thailand, Burma, Indonesia — but in Indonesia the Buddhists fell and I believe they have been totally exterminated. In Burma they are strictly isolated by the government and we have difficulty finding out what the real situation is. In Thailand, when we go there, we do so under difficult circumstances because of the Thailand authorities. The Buddhists there cannot leave their country without a passport authorized by the reactionary government so that their relations have been almost destroyed and it is only through European channels via Laos and China that they are able to do anything. Cambodia also is somewhat isolated and the government won't allow any Buddhist delegation to travel abroad.

In Japan there are also some difficult points — we believe it is difficult to talk about this to the mass of Buddhist followers. The word "peace" is a beautiful word. But one has to fight to make peace or to maintain it. It is necessary to distinguish between those who destroy peace and those who defend it. This is how we are letting the mass of followers know who are the criminals — the imperialist criminals. When the war of aggression against Viet-Nam began, there were certain peace slogans about Viet-Nam. These slogans did not distinguish between those who attacked and those who suffered. We did not consider them correct. We have to say more. We have to oppose the war of aggression and support the Vietnamese people. This commitment is deeply rooted in Buddhist circles. And we can now extend our movement within these Buddhist circles.

The Vietnamese Buddhists were brought into Viet-Nam by the Chinese Government from the South of China. From the very beginning, these Buddhists acted heroically and patriotically. The Buddhist priests that had been brought by the Chinese conquerors deserted them; for this reason Buddhism in Viet-Nam is very independent and nationalistic. At the same time the Vietnamese Buddhists are extremely faithful to the teachings of Buddha and from a nationalist point of view, they have always been very united in just one sect. Consequently they have been able to undertake united actions in a very organized fashion. Moreover, when the French colonialists arrived in Viet-Nam they brought Catholicism with them and tried to impose it on the population, but the Vietnamese hated this religion. The Buddhists also opposed Catholicism and, of course, the colonialists so that it was natural, when the national liberation campaign began, to make the Buddhists a part of it. In summary, the Vietnamese Buddhists have been courageous

and patriotic from the beginning. They are very united and have succeeded in escaping extermination. They were solidly against the French colonialists' Catholic propaganda and only a few supported them.

Now that the Vietnamese are fighting with determination against the United States, the Buddhists are a part of that fight. More than 75% of the population of South Viet-Nam is in liberated areas in which there is freedom to follow one's faith. Even where they are under the yoke of the colonialists and the puppet government, in the occupied zones, Buddhists are a part of the fight their brothers are waging in the liberated areas. As is natural, there are very close relations between the two areas, and they collaborate fully with the National Liberation Front. In this great enterprise, the Buddhists are converting their temples into active political centers.

We have already invited a delegation of Buddhists from the National Buddhists Association of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and we also expect a visit from members of the National Liberation Front.

But in Thailand and Laos, as I mentioned previously, the Buddhists were actually under state patronage, which meant that the slightest deviation from the government's political position would result in their total extermination. For this reason the liberation movements in Thailand and Laos will have to take the first forward steps and let the Buddhist forces feel they can be secure under their influence; then these forces will understand that it is preferable to follow the course of the liberation movement than to continue to accept government protection. It is evident that, for these reasons, they will need more time to free themselves from such rigid controls as those that exist in Thailand and Laos. Naturally, in the liberated areas of Laos, the Buddhists are working with the liberation forces and a large number of Buddhist leaders have been collaborating closely with the liberation movement; it should be remembered that, among the Buddhists with leftist tendencies, there are many different points of view which prevent their unified support of any single progressive idea.

In Japan the Buddhists have been controlled by the feudalists for the past 100 years, and after every revolution in Asia this control was reestablished; a great number of Buddhists have been persecuted, many Buddhist temples have been closed, and a considerable number of monks have been separated from their followers. The progressive monks in Japan belong to two sects that have joined the vanguard and with whom we are in complete accord.

As for imperialist penetration in the Far East, we are definitely against North American imperialism and its colonial and neo-colonial policies, which are endangering the existence of Buddhist congregations in several Southeast Asian countries. We also want to join with all other Buddhists, and not only Buddhists but with other religions outside of Asia, to bolster our combined forces



through a wide exchange of views, and to fully investigate the imperialist situation under which Buddhists are forced to live.

For example, the imperialists want to use the Buddhists for their own ends, which means we must be alert and vigilant against them. We have an example: singers came with the Christian Crusade and Billy Graham and asked for an interview with the Christian Society here in order to obtain its support for the North American cause. Other similar things have happened to Buddhists. Once we had a visit from a reactionary Buddhist leader from South Viet-Nam, living in Saigon, who tried to divide the struggle against North American imperialism. This individual went to Japan, I believe it was two years ago, and tried to call an Asian conference of Buddhists under the sponsorship of his reactionary faction, led by the Viet-Nam Buddhists from Saigon. But since we were alert we were able to detect his aims immediately and even before he got to Japan we had advised the top hierarchical authorities in Japan not to give him their support. At first they received him and planned to welcome the delegation this reactionary leader brought with him. But after our information reached the Buddhists his trip became totally useless and he couldn't accomplish anything in Japan. So he continued on to South Korea, where he also wanted to gain the support of the Korean Buddhists for his reactionary group in South Viet-Nam. Apparently they were less vigilant there, less concerned than our Buddhists here, for they allowed him to be favorably received.

We hope to organize a Third World Religious Conference in the near future, although not this year nor next. We hope that this conference will be highly successful not only as a conference of Buddhists but as an international conference of all religions that support peace; which is why we are following the broadest possible organizational approach.

Concerning social justice and how to obtain it, the Buddhists have a long way to go on this point, before social justice prevails in our society. But our position can be joined to other positions concerning peace and justice. Our peace program can take on such slogans as "do not kill nor permit others to kill." These rules of conduct can be observed instead of letting justice and injustice battle among themselves verbally. We must make words mean simply what they say. We must declare ourselves in favor of justice and not injustice. It is as easy as that. It is very easy to judge, but there are various means for achieving justice in a society, just as there are various Buddhist denominations.

As for ourselves, we must confront fully the suffering of the people and work to change life on this earth; we cannot concentrate only on prayers for a better life in a future life, in another existence, in another world, without trying to achieve peace and happiness in this world. Then we will be able to find a common base on which to work together with other groups and organizations.



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on the march

## Dr. Zouayen's Visit

During its recent visit in Cuba, a delegation of the Arab Socialist BAAS Party of Syria, headed by Youssef Zouayen, member of the Regional and Inter-Arab directorate of this organization, was received by the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL.

On this occasion, Zouayen made a report which included various aspects of the situation in the Middle East, and answered questions of the members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL concerning the position of the BAAS Party with respect to the results of the Arab summit conference held in Rabat, the political changes in Libya, Sudan, and Southern Yemen, the solidarity of the Arab Socialist Party with the Palestine liberation movement, and other important topics relating to the struggle against Zionism.

The BAAS delegation which visited Cuba at the invitation of the Communist Party, also included Moujalli Nassarouine, chief of the Organization and Liaison Committee of the National Command; Souheil Alsaïman, member of the Regional Command; as well as Adel Nalssi, Rateb Yassia, and Mahmoud Abdellah.

The following is a summary of what Comrade Zouayen said.

IN THE NAME of the Arab Socialist BAAS Party and the Arab people

I wish to express greetings and gratitude for the opportunity you have given us to be here with you to talk about the peoples' liberation struggle and to present a picture of what is actually taking place in Arab territory.

The events that are taking place in Palestinian territory mark the true beginning of the liberation struggle of the Arab fatherland. The commandos fighting there against the Israeli aggressor, who represents the spearhead of imperialism in our land, are assured of victory with the aid and solidarity of the peoples.

From all sides and in every form of expression, imperialism, headed by the United States, guarantees Israel the most modern and diverse armaments. Our people suffer daily bombing by modern arms that Washington has made available to Israel. This proves the imperialist alliance with Zionism for aggressive ends. In the face of these maneuvers, we simply record that the Arab liberation movement has begun armed struggle and will not cease until it eliminates imperialism





from our land.

The BAAS Party has called for armed struggle to expel from our territory all aggressors and every vestige of colonialism. It is true that each day comrades from the Party, from the people, are killed, but this is the road of struggle and there is no other. The great examples of Cuba, Viet-Nam, Korea, and Algeria demonstrate that there is no road other than armed struggle.

In relation to the pledge of armed struggle, we can say that the BAAS Party has been carrying this out very effectively for a year. For example, in the future it will not be possible to become a party member without participating in the armed struggle. Thus you can clearly judge how the Party fulfills and develops its program of armed struggle.

Referring now to our contribution to the Palestine revolution, which we consider to be an integral part of the Arab revolutionary movement, we must note that the organization of the Palestinian forces which operate today in the territories occupied by Israel, began in Syria in 1965.

At the outset it has to be brought out clearly that we do not consider our position to be one of aid to the Palestinian revolutionary movement, but rather one of direct and effective participation in the armed struggle and in the delivery of equipment and matériel. The Arab Socialist Party maintains that

the struggle in Palestine concerns not only the Palestine people, but is a general struggle of all the Arab peoples and the Arab liberation movement which began in Palestine and will be concluded in the entire Arab fatherland.

With respect to the Arab summit conference held last December in Rabat, Morocco, we must begin by pointing out that the Arab Socialist BAAS Party has maintained a firm ideological position concerning this type of conference which began to be held in 1964; we do not believe that such conferences, set up along diplomatic lines, are capable of replacing the national liberation movements.

The position of our Party with respect to summit Arab conferences became still more firm after February 23 of 1966 when the BAAS political line was clarified.

The solution of the conflict in the Middle East depends on the confrontation of the Arab people with imperialism and world Zionism, which have the same strategy. We cannot make distinctions between imperialism and Zionism because Israel is a base in the service of the imperialists and colonialists in Arab territory.

It has to be realized that the majority of the pilots who bombard our territory and our cities and assassinate the people are from the United States. All the planes, and



among them the Phantoms lately sent to Israel, are of North American construction.

I should like to ask whether the liberation movement can, by diplomatic or peaceful means, resolve its problems with colonialism, headed by the United States. It is a question of a hard and long fight, during which the important thing is that we must be at the level of responsibility necessary to be able to fight against imperialism and defeat it.

Imperialism and colonialism have developed their own methods of aggression against the peoples. I can assure you that it will not be strange to see the United States participating directly with Israel in the future, in aggression against the Arabs.

The BAAS Party has succeeded in simultaneously undertaking the tasks of Syria's economic development and meeting the investments necessary for the defense of our territory in the face of Zionist aggressions and the costs of aid for the struggle of the Palestinians for the recuperation of their occupied lands.

The program for revolution elaborated by our Party after the movement of February 23, 1966, in which the rightist positions of the BAAS Party were corrected, has played a determining role in the fulfillment of these tasks. The fundamental objective of this program is to con-

struct an economic base which will transform the social structure and to establish new relationships in production so that the structure of the regime can support and face a very long struggle.

Economically, we have succeeded in meeting a five-year plan which will be concluded this year. At the same time, the large industries in Syria belong to the state, almost 70% of foreign trade is governmental and the same is true of the great portion of internal commerce. There have also been great advances in the construction of sources of electric energy and state exploitation of oil is successful. Syria is the only Arab state in which the exploitation of the sources of hydrocarbon serve genuine national interests and there is no interference from foreign industries.

In Syria's case, the nationalization of oil has great significance because Arab land is on top of a sea of oil but this fuel is nevertheless exploited by international monopolies.

At the same time, the steps taken in the development of agriculture are important. In our country, the stage of land distribution to the peasants is now concluded and this year collective work in agricultural production has begun. Another outstanding work is the reconstruction of the Syrian armed forces. All these accomplishments have been made within a stable and organized operation and were able to be achieved

through the aid of the friendly progressive countries.

Another aspect we wish to refer to is that of the principles on which our relations with the revolutionary organizations of the African continent and the rest of the world are based. We understand that the liberation movements of the whole world have the same nature, although the objective circumstances can differ one from another. Nevertheless imperialism is always the same and for this reason our enemy is the same.

This point of view guides our relations with the other national liberation movements in Africa and we await the day on which there will exist full coordination among all the liberation movements of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, about which we have no doubt.

On the other hand, the changes that have taken place in Libya, Sudan, and Southern Yemen are seen by the Arab Socialist BAAS Party as a true step toward advancing the Arab liberation movement. The revolution in Libya, for example, has ended the reactionary regime; we know that Southern Yemen was a British colony and is now a free country and that the same thing is occurring in Sudan.

We believe — as I said earlier — that the nature of the liberation movement throughout the world is that of a people's movement and that its development is growing and adapting itself to the revolution. In

this case the objective of every progressive regime is to wage the campaign against imperialism and colonialism and to make the corresponding transformations. These two operations go together and we cannot separate them, because logically, the reactionary regimes cannot confront either imperialism or colonialism.

The situation of the Palestinian commandos in Lebanon cannot be dismissed. The government of that country tried to expel the Palestinian fighters from Lebanese territory, but the people prevented it. In any case we do not believe that the Beirut government is going to abandon its proposal to wipe out the Palestinian armed struggle in Lebanon. The commandos are nevertheless continuing their struggle and maintain close relations with the Lebanese people because both know that one part of the same liberation struggle will develop in Lebanon.

In Jordan, meanwhile, the popular masses are actually at a revolutionary stage which will lead to the application of effective armed struggle. This does not mean that we minimize the position of the Jordanian soldiers and officials, and of the Jordanian people in army ranks, since each day they actually practice this struggle in order to defend themselves against aggression.



## Santo Domingo: the Voice of Rifles

WITH CLEAR memories of its violent past, the Dominican Republic is again living in a turbulent atmosphere prior to the consummation of a new electoral farce in the country.

This excitation is reflected with more eloquent characteristics in the increase of tension in the capital, Santo Domingo, which scarcely five

years ago was a battlefield against a foreign army.

The basis of the dispute now centers on the aspirations of President Joaquin Balaguer, who has the support of a powerful section of the Armed Forces, to succeed himself.

The no less avid cravings of the other right wing groups, have sharpened the simmering political situation to the point where a military solution to the crisis cannot be overlooked.

At the base of this drama which seems to be nearing, is the ominous memory of one of the bloodiest chapters of the last four decades of Dominican history: the Yankee military intervention which, with

its sequel of hundreds of dead, left a positive balance sheet in the political consciousness of the people. The most frequently heard phrase today in the old streets of Santo Domingo which witnessed the heroic action of the constitutionalist commandos, is: "another 24th of April can take place."

### A Bit of History

On April 24, 1965, a people's movement flared up in Santo Domingo which overthrew the regime established by the coup of September 1963. Its principal demand was the restoration of the Constitution promulgated during the government of Juan Bosch, and the latter's return to the country.

For the second time in 41 years, the Yankee imperialists landed their troops in the Dominican capital where, four days later, on April 28, Washington decided it was convenient to its interests to aid the military faction which the people were defeating after expelling the corrupt triumvirate headed by Donald Reid Cabral.

Nevertheless, it can be stated that the 42 000 Yankee Marines armed to the teeth and seconded by puppet soldiers from Brazil, Paraguay, Honduras, Nicaragua, and the nine Costa Rican cops, were incapable of forcing the people's constitutionalist movement to lay down their arms.

The rebellion was snuffed out later, when at the negotiating table, a provisional sell-out government was imposed on the people which opened the way for the neo-Trujilloist regime of Balaguer.

It will be five years since the invasion, and still this tiny country of 4.5 million inhabitants suffers under the boot of intervention exercised by the Balaguer regime, the North American Rangers, the "Peace Corps," the Green Berets

and the agents of the CIA and the FBI.

Balaguer's contribution to the maintenance of this situation has been invaluable to imperialism. Since his installation by means of the fraudulent 1966 elections, there have been systematic assassinations of opponents, torturing in prisons crammed with political prisoners, repression against the independent trade unions and the press, as well as other abuses.

A former loyal Trujilloist functionary (popular ingenuity designates him the "widow" of Trujillo), Balaguer has dedicated these three years of his mandate to lining up the necessary means of maintaining himself in power beyond 1970. The elections are set for next May 16.

In August of 1966, after changing an article which prohibited reelection, Balaguer made surprise electoral visits in various parts of the country, always surrounded by the military as a Praetorian Guard.

With the same aim, he ordered strategic changes in the military command to place his confidence men in key posts, starting a growing ill-will among the displaced officers and former allies. But it was only in the Air Force that Balaguer's maneuvers were unsuccessful.

The years of Balaguer's government have served to permit a reinforcement of North American capital penetration, which controls the principal basic industries of the country, especially sugar and the national resources exploited from Trujillo's time.

Actually, this did not surprise anyone. Everyone knew very well who Balaguer was. And those who did not know him, could refer to the speech he made on June 2, 1961,



at the funeral of the dead dictator Rafael Leónidas Trujillo:

Dear leader, goodbye. Your spiritual sons, veterans of the campaigns that you led for more than thirty years to aggrandize and stabilize the fatherland, will regard your tomb as a high symbol. Never will we permit any man to extinguish the flame that you lit at the altars of the Republic and in the souls of all Dominicans.

As far as internal order is concerned, Balaguer has maintained intact the archaic economic and social structures.

The "spiritual sons" of Trujillo began an agricultural program which official propaganda labeled "agrarian reform." The official organizations say that 50 to 70 families are settled on land weekly. But the opposition forces announced that this figure represents scarcely 17 500 persons a year when the demographic growth is some 200 000. Of course these settlements have been made on arid land in order not to affect the considerable power that the latifundists retain in Dominican society. The press continuously reports the occupation of land by peasants overwhelmed by misery, as well as the consequent repressive actions of the army to dislodge them from the property of the huge landowners.

For their part the other candidates of the right proceed to conduct their electoral campaign within the area left to them by Balaguer, who controls all the sources of power, in order to legalize fraud, coercion, and bribery which will be a part of this new "electoral process."

One of the aspirants, Vice-President Francisco Augusto Lora, has

promoted a split in the Reformist Party (PR) which is in power, after Balaguer betrayed him by failing to fulfill an agreement made in the last electoral farce. Lora, organizer of the PR, feels offended by the uncontrollable appetite of his old comrade-in-agreements, in whose favor he handed over the entire party machinery in 1966, in exchange for the promise that Balaguer would retire and support him in turn, in 1970.

In the internal battle among the "reformists," Balaguer holds the upper hand, indubitably, at least up to now. With purges of certain national and local leaders of the PR who oppose his reelection, he has managed to secure control of the party machinery, an essential factor in consolidating his position. Nevertheless, a dangerous breach within the official party has been opened.

The first party to name a candidate officially was the so-called "Quisqueyano Democrático" (PQD), which is only a symbol and whose actual strength comes from the restless military quartered in the old aerial base of San Isidro, whose titular head was the ultra-rightist ex-general Elías Wessin y Wessin.

In the pages of Wessin y Wessin's service to imperialism his participation in the military uprising that overthrew Bosch in September 1963 stands out, and especially his role as leader of the reactionary troops that confronted the patriotic constitutionalist troops led by Colonel Francisco Caamaño Deñó in the spring of 1965.

When the fight between Balaguer and Lora for the presidential nomination worsened recently, with the exchange of insults and accusations, Wessin did not hesitate to threaten the possibility of a coup d'état if the plans of the current president to

succeed himself are consummated.

Another presidential hopeful is the ex-ambassador to Washington, Héctor García Godoy, true representative of the landowners' oligarchy in Santo Domingo, proposed by the Movement for National Conciliation.

García Godoy lent himself to the North American farce of the "reconstruction" government prior to the spurious elections which, organized by the OAS and counter-revolutionary Cubans, arranged the triumph of Balaguer. During his short period as governor, he began the wave of assassinations of former constitutionalist fighters who, in contrast to the military leaders most in evidence in the April rebellion, were not sent abroad on diplomatic missions.

The official leadership of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) which represents the liberal Dominican petite bourgeoisie favoring a type of national capitalism, for some months now has declared itself opposed to participation in the elections, given the climate of terror unleashed by Balaguer's henchmen.

#### The Position of Bosch

Ex-President Juan Bosch has lived for years exiled in Spain after the failure of his government's reformist trial. There he developed his well-known thesis on dictatorship with popular support.

Bosch said a short while ago that he had definitively broken with so-called representative democracy, and announced that his doctrine sought the construction of a society of managers, the State, and workers, in order to liquidate the power of the oligarchies.

Bosch maintains that the internal enemy of the Latin-American people is made up of the oligarchies allied with imperialism (or with

pentagonismo, according to his definition). The dictatorship with popular support, according to the thesis of its mentor, would nationalize the industries of those members of the national bourgeoisie who opposed its installation or who acted to overthrow it after it was established.

The ex-President hopes to convert his thesis into the platform of the party after its discussion at the base of the party.

The well-known saying goes "'tis ill talking of halts in the house of a man that was hanged," and the Boschists' thesis has had undeniable repercussions. The first to react was Balaguer himself who intensified the systematic repression against the activities of the PRD. In a speech, he stated in a menacing fashion that the government could not any longer postpone reaction to these statements which, he said, favor the implanting of a new dictatorial regime on the country.

#### The Phantom of the Guerrillas

In recent weeks a new and disturbing factor has been added to the tense situation in the country. Mixed patrols of army and police were sent to the mountainous zone of the southwestern province of Barahona, following rumors of the existence of guerrilla groups.

The special troops, trained by the North American military mission, combed the hills of Ciénaga, Paraiso, and Guazara in search of the supposed insurgents. Previously the newspaper *El Popular* reported that large military contingents were patrolling beaches and other possible landing sites, to avoid the entry into the country of arms acquired by the left parties.

Meanwhile, the Dominican econ-



omy, very dependent on foreign capital, continues to decline, in contrast to the optimistic announcement of governmental representatives. They try to confuse public opinion by making fallacious comparisons about what exists today in relation to the period in which the country suffered its major economic and political crisis.

Reality has taken charge of rebutting the arguments of these songbirds of prosperity under Balaguerist control. Day by day long lines of unemployed form in front of the National Palace in the vain hope of work or some state subsistence that never arrives. Recent estimates indicate that the Dominican Republic is one of the Latin-American countries with the highest level of unemployment. The number of unemployment is calculated at 200 000, a figure which represents almost one fifth of the active population. This grave occupational situation is the cause of other more dramatic problems. Close to 90% of the population lives in hunger and misery and some 300 children die annually of malnutrition.

#### The Future

The best of the Dominican population has not remained impassive in the face of this situation. Commando-style actions are taking place consisting basically in attacks against police vehicles or police patrol, attacks against government offices, burning of official automobiles, etc.

The Dominican rebellion is represented fundamentally by the students who, on the occasion of the visit of Nelson Rockefeller to Santo Domingo, took to the streets to express their opposition to the imperial ambassador. With banners

reading "Get out Rockefeller" and "Fight for independence and liberty," hundreds of young people confronted the police forces who ran, arms in hand, through Independence Square after the demonstrators. The result of the repression was four dead, several wounded, and hundreds arrested.

But Balaguer's anger against the student movement did not stop there. Frequently the Dominican police break into secondary schools, beating teachers and students and destroying valuable installations. This has won him the title of "public enemy number one" of national education. The principal center of activity is the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo. In its environs more than one student has fallen dead of bullets fired in the almost routine attacks of the police, who always allege that they go in search of arms and subversive material.

This is the present picture of the Dominican Republic whose people they want to relegate to the option of a Lora, a Wessin, a García Godoy, or a Balaguer. However, it cannot be forgotten that the Dominican population is not the same as that of the sinister Trujillo decades, above all since the Yankee military intervention.

While the military continue deliberating in its barracks, the candidates proceed to insult each other, and Balaguer develops terrorism as a method of reelection, many Dominicans who keep the arms captured from the invader, prepare conditions for the moment in which the people's voice can make itself heard from the mouth of their rifles.

The first shots were fired in midday of April 1965. The last might be heard any evening in Santo Domingo, in Santiago de los Caballeros, or in the mountains.

## On the Death of Antonio Avila

THIS PAST December 28, comrade Antonio Avila Barrios, Venezuelan delegate to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, died in Cuba. Imprisonments, persecution, exile, a constant battle against the enemies of his people, characterized the political life of comrade Avila, who was born 47 years ago, on May 9, 1922, in Puerto Piritu, Anzoátegui, member of a peasant family. From the first years of his youth, Francisco González, as he was known in revolutionary circles, participated in the people's struggles in Venezuela.

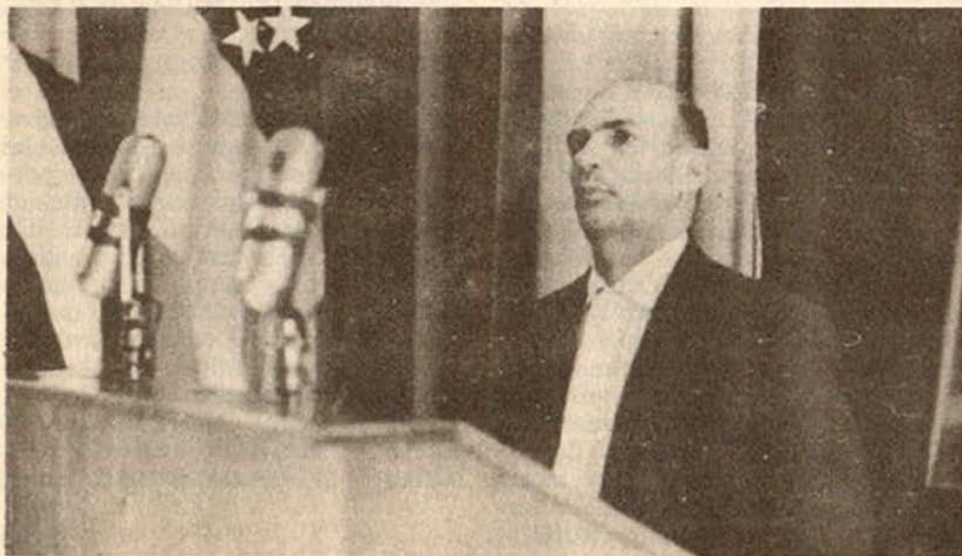
After a hard struggle during which he held various jobs and knew with his own flesh the exploitation of which the Venezuelan workers

are victims, he dedicated a long period of his life to the workers' movement. Among his accomplishments was the founding of the Longshoremen's Union of Guaira, in whose headquarters he was arrested for the first time, during a union assembly. His trade union activity also included the Milling and Construction sectors, as well as the establishment of the sugar workers' syndicate.

Fully incorporated into the Venezuelan trade union movement, he was the object of a tenacious persecution by the repressive bodies of the regime of General Eleazar López Contreras, whose rule was characterized by its complete surrender to the North American oil monopolies. In this period Standard Oil of New York obtained concessions of a million hectares.

In 1941 López Contreras was replaced as head of the regime by his Minister of Defense, General Isaías





Medina Angarita. At this stage, Avila Barrios participated in the founding of the Democratic Action Party (AD), which was then an organization with a strong popular base, and participated in the actions which, in 1945, culminated in the overthrow of General Medina Angarita. Comrades of Avila Barrios relate that he was among the first in the taking of the Palace of Miraflores.

The struggle against the dictatorship of Marcos Pérez Jiménez landed him in jail on several occasions. He was in San Juan de los Muros prison for five years, until 1965, when he was expelled to Havana where he arrived in November of that same year. With the landing of the expeditionary force headed by Fidel Castro from the yacht Granma on December 2, 1956, the Batista authorities arrested him and put him in Tiscornia prison. Later, on December 15 of the same year, he was expelled from Cuba and sent to Costa Rica.

After a long pilgrimage through Central American countries, he returned to Venezuela in January of 1958, following the overthrow of Pérez Jiménez. Once there he again took up his trade union activities: first, as Secretary-General of the Syndicate of Workers of the state of Miranda and later, as President of the United Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CUTV) in Ciudad Bolívar.

With Democratic Action's rise to power in December of 1958, the illusions and hopes of its best elements were shattered. Antonio Avila Barrios was among the militants of the left wing of AD who understood immediately that the government of Rómulo Betancourt, far from representing the interests of the Venezuelan people, was a defender in the pay of North American imperialism.

His ties with AD broken, he became a member of the leadership of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). Persecuted

by the Betancourt regime and later by that of Raúl Leoni, he never for an instant ceased his struggle within the liberation movement. From within the ranks of MIR and especially from within its trade union sector, he continued fighting against imperialism and the Venezuelan oligarchy.

In 1965 a cardiac attack halted his revolutionary activity but only a few months later he rejoined the struggle with the same ardor and militancy as always, although his state of health had been weakened. Three years later, the MIR leadership decided to send him to Cuba, but his exile was never at any moment an excuse to abandon the struggle.

From the time of his arrival on Cuban territory, he dedicated himself — despite his deteriorated health — to the work of liberating his country. Later appointed Venezuelan representative to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL, he carried out extensive activities and, within the Organization, defended and maintained at all times positions consistent with the anti-imperialist struggle.

As a member of the Executive Secretariat of the Tricontinental Organization, he participated in international forums such as the Conference of Solidarity with Vietnam held in Stockholm, and the Seventh World Trade Union Congress which took place in Budapest.

His consistent internationalism led him to participate actively in the construction of socialism in Cuba. It was in the midst of one of these activities that death surprised him. His death from a heart attack occurred while he was participating, along with his OSPAAAL comrades, in the year-end mobilization during which the people of Cuba joined in the cutting of cane to give impetus to the Harvest of the Ten Million Tons of Sugar.



## Chile: the Crisis of Reformism

Marta Melo



Marta Melo has just begun her functions as representative of Chile in the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

One of her first activities in OSPAAAL's headquarters is precisely the present interview in which she answers Tricontinental's questions concerning the current Chilean problem characterized by an institutional crisis of incalculable proportions.

Member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile, Marta Melo expresses her opinions about the failure of the reformist experiment made by Christian

Democracy, the repercussions of the abortive military uprising of last October 21, and the next general elections.

**What is the present political situation in Chile as a result of the failure of President Eduardo Frei's reformist program?**

AT THIS moment, Chile is living in an extraordinary process of institutional, political-social, and economic crisis. Clearly the government of Frei, which is nothing less than a failure in capital letters, has created conditions in which the economic stagnation is driving the Chilean people to desperation. The development of production is paralyzed, salaries are very low, the number of unemployed increases without interruption and, added to this picture, the constant rise in the cost of living is leading the Chilean people into a situation which is going to be reflected in part in the coming elections of 1970 when the Christian-Democratic government faces a sharp defeat.

Nevertheless, the fundamental aspect of the present Chilean political situation is determined by the process of the institutional crisis. This has allowed us to see that the pillars which were the classic support of the system's reaffirmation are shaking. A clear example of this situation is the judicial power. For the first time in Chile, those who mete out justice, those who appeared to be members of one of the institutions most separated from the

general process in which the country lives, had to announce publicly, through a strike, that they favored economic betterment. The protest movement developed in judicial circles has contributed very effectively to the fact that this sector is beginning to think that its problems are not merely economic, but that there are more powerful reasons.

On the other hand, the armed forces were a conglomeration which as yet had not participated in general problems as a decisive organization and, nevertheless, today international opinion has been able to observe the development that the Chilean militarists continue to evidence in their activities. There has also sprung up in the sacred and traditional church, a continuing crisis and a searching for new formulas, which also signify a change in the system through which it has worked up to now and which represent a new solution for the Chilean social process. We also have the fact that in the Chilean universities an active process of renovation is taking place.

In summary, we have cited the examples of these four Chilean institutions because, although they represent the genuine expression of the traditional structure of the system, they are evolving at the present time. This means that in Chile large sections of the population are thinking that problems have their roots in the crisis of the system and are not resolved by simple changes of government.

**How does the abortive military uprising of last October 21 affect the present Chilean problem?**

In general, public opinion in Chile was surprised by the demonstration the military made. The problem in Chilean military circles did not arise last October 21. Before that, in 1968, there had been a meeting, but with all the formalities, during which they drew up in the presence of the Minister of Defense, a series of demands of an economic nature and for technical improvement. The government, through its interme-

diary, the head of defense, promised on its word of honor to improve the situation of the Chilean military.

But time passed, another year came, and the military saw none of their hopes realized. At first they began to worry and from that came the first demonstration which took place on September 19, the occasion on which the troops of all the regiments of the country gather in the capital to participate in a great military march attended by the president of the Republic.

On the following day, the citizens learned that the failure of that military parade, in which certain regiments were denied participation, was due to the fact that the officers had gathered to express their discontent. The demonstration did not provoke major difficulties for the Frei government, but the movement of October 21 was now on the march. In previous declarations the military had lacked a leader, because they had the idea, more or less the plan, of what they wanted, but they needed the person who, in the name of the army, would confront the government and make all the demands directly. This is where the movement of October 21 originated, led by General Roberto Viaux Marambio.

Chilean public opinion knew of General Viaux Marambio and the movement, which previously had no leader. The political parties, the mass organizations in general saw this as an attempt at a military coup, like those which traditionally take place in Latin America, a right wing coup to seize power.

The government itself, through its control of the press, radio, and television, which were obliged to present the official news, undertook to create the impression that the military was trying to seize power. We, the socialists, drew up a document in which we interpreted the action of the military as the exist-



ence of a movement within the armed forces. For this reason, we did not respond to President Frei's call, when he dramatically sought the support of the masses and requested the political parties to appear at the Palacio de la Moneda to help defend the establishment.

We did not go to the governor's house because, in the first place, we consider that we have no reason to defend a government which is the mainstay of the system and of the capitalist structure in Chile, and on the other hand because the assassination of numerous peasants and workers during various protest movements obliges us not to appear before a repressive government like that of Mr. Frei's. And that is why the document of the Socialist Party argues that the armed forces are a reflection of economic afflictions, of the paralysis of the productive growth of the country and the incapacity of these social structures to promote development and progress.

The armed forces reflect the antagonism and the tension of those who basically want to use them as a repressive political body designed to stop by force the legitimate discontent of the national majority in any given situation.

We believe, therefore, that this first demonstration by the military is a product of the Chilean economic crisis, but we have also told them that they have a role to play. If in reality, as has been proven, they are not a group isolated and separated from the rest of the country, if they have the same grievances as the people, they, along with the masses, must play an honorable role in the struggle for Chilean emancipation. Do you consider that the recent changes and replacements of military leaders are an indication that President Frei foresees the possibility of a coup d'etat?

Of course! President Frei is without any doubt alarmed at the possibility of not being able to reach

the end of his mandate on September 4, because if on October 21, the military had really wished to take power they would now have it in their hands. General Viaux Marambio knew very well the strategic points in the country where his movement could evolve with perfection and he was entrenched precisely in the key regiments.

Consequently we do not agree with the interpretation of events that some political groups gave, in the sense that they had made it possible to check the "coup." We would like to say to these groups that if the political organizations and trade unions were truly capable of preventing the coup, we would have been in power in Chile a long time ago.

On the one hand Mr. Frei is afraid of a coup d'etat but on the other hand he is not giving up the possibility of making his own coup in the face of the possibility that his party will lose the elections of 1970.

The electoral platform of the Christian Democratic Party is founded on a supposed left base: nationalization of copper, extension of agrarian reform, etc. Do you believe that this political campaign has been able to make an impact on the masses?

It is true, Christian Democracy bases its electoral program on a semileft position. With the development of this same Christian-Democratic government there has arisen at this time in our country a process of crisis and total disenchantment. The people know that what they could have believed to be possible through the government of Mr. Frei, will not be realized with Christian Democracy.

As far as the famous nationalization, or "Chileanization" of copper as the Frei government calls it, is concerned, it can be said that from the beginning it was perfectly clear in Chile that this was a deception by which imperialism succeeded in obtaining higher copper prices for its own benefit. The payments and

the terms arranged for the nationalization mean that a higher price was obtained for copper and fabulous profits for imperialism which will leave us only the mining hole when we finally nationalize the deposits.

Agrarian reform influenced the awakening of the peasant, the formation of certain of his organizations and raising his consciousness, but then came the complications. The land was not really distributed and the means and the aid for the peasants to work were lacking.

The failure to fulfill the promises of agrarian reform caused the split of one wing of Christian Democracy, headed by Jacques Chonchol, who was, specifically, director of the Institute of Agricultural and Livestock Development (INDAP). Its hopes within the Christian Democratic Party frustrated, this political group is now working within the People's Unity, after learning that it is impossible to have a true agrarian reform and a plan for Chile's general economic development through a government which has nothing left wing about it.

The result is that the electoral platform of the official party for the 1970 elections can have no impact on the masses who have not seen their aspirations realized. As a part of his propaganda with a view to the coming elections, Frei's first promise has been the nationalization of copper. Here it would be a good idea to ask whether or not Frei nationalized copper. The Chilean mandatory has also promised authentic agrarian reform as one of the points in his political platform. And we ask whether or not he has carried out agrarian reform.

What are the perspectives of the Chilean left in the next general elections?

On the eve of the 1970 elections the People's Committee for Unity, formed by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Radical Party, the Social Democratic Par-

ty, the United Movement of People's Action (MAPU), and the Independent Union (UI), has drawn up a program with a view to the people's government and has structured the form in which it will develop its political campaign.

In recent days People's Unity designated the Socialist Senator Salvador Allende as its Presidential candidate in the next elections.

We believe that there is actually some perspective for success in the next elections, but this does not mean that we rely on the results of these elections as the only way out, as the only task — especially the Socialists, since we project a stage of combined struggle. We understand that it is not the legal forms of struggle, such as ideological, electoral, and reclaiming of rights which finally will make possible the power of the popular masses, but rather that in the end the process will have to be determined in a much more direct confrontation with North American imperialism.

Where does Chile stand in the general context of the struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for their national liberation?

Chile is presently at a stage of growing development of awareness. The knowledge of the liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and especially the triumph of the Cuban Revolution and the legacy of Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara, caused all the centers of expression, of action — the youth, and other groups — to search for a higher definition and a higher confrontation.

At the same time, in the midst of the present general crisis in which the country is living, the peoples' parties, the revolutionary forces, are carrying out the task of raising the consciousness of the masses more each day. I believe that this consciousness will later be the generator of the action consistent with this process.



now behind  
the news

□ In the first days of this year, the people of Bolivia learned that the National Liberation Army (ELN) had a new leader: Osvaldo (Chato) Peredo, a young medical surgeon 29 years old, who up until recently was living in Chile.

Chato Peredo is the youngest brother of Roberto (Coco) and Guido (Inti) Peredo, the heroic and now legendary Bolivian fighters who fought with Comandante Che Guevara, military and political chief of the ELN.

The assault on a branch of the Bank of America last December 30 revealed that the ELN, contrary to what the armed forces of Bolivia supposed, had returned to action following the death of Inti four months earlier. The revolutionary organization announced its responsibility for the seizure of bank funds in a communication issued January 8. It also noted that after the action, when the police attacked a residence in search of the bank raiders, David Adriaola (Darío)

— last Bolivian survivor of the Quebrada del Yuro combat in which Comandante Guevara was wounded — was killed.

Chato Peredo signed the communiqué in which the ELN termed as pseudorevolutionary the military regime of General Ovando.

Finally, the communication stated:

We reaffirm the decision never to lower our flags which are those of the people. Our army is small, but it has the ideal and the example of Che and the other heroes, and the determination and discipline that Inti gave it. For these reasons the ELN is immortal, as Che and Inti are immortal. Victory or Death. We will return to the mountains!

□ At the beginning, the Zionist State tried, for chiefly economic and propagandistic considerations, to assimilate the remaining Palestinians who were trapped in the widening Israeli territory.

In these past 21 years, regular eruptions of violence have thrown more than a million and a half Palestinians off their lands.

But Israel, eager for a working force — its inhabitants scarcely reach three million — reserved for those Palestinians who were not able to escape occupation or who persisted in remaining on native soil, the hardest essential jobs, the worst and least remunerative work.

They thought they could control this reduced Palestinian community which stayed behind — it is estimated at some 300 000 — as a cheap work force at the same time that they played a demagogic game of humanitarianism with them, pretending that "not all the Palestinians abandoned Israel."

With more or less frequent highs and lows, this astute political line gave results up until the so-called June war, when the Palestinian movement, with the removal of Shukeiry, made itself



independent of the interests and conveniences of the neighboring Arab states, and began armed struggle to liberate itself; with the hope of bringing the displaced Palestinians into the struggle, and very especially the Palestinian community imprisoned within Israel.

The revival of this patriotic Palestinian drive is projected by Yasser Arafat, who declares that the liberation movement currently has permanent bases in the zones occupied before the war of 1967.

The truth of this declaration has been irrefutably established. The State of Israel is quite disposed to renounce the economic advantages represented by a badly paid national minority, deprived of political rights, socially circumscribed, and religiously despised, as well as the "apparent humanitarianism," for the alleged security of her rear-guard, hastening the emigration of the greatest possible number

of Palestinians.

By this method the Israelis try to conspire against the internal Palestinian radicalization process. Day by day, more and more Palestinians join or collaborate in clandestine guerrilla operations such as political assassinations, sabotage, and sending provisions to the centers of resistance. A few weeks ago, seven Arabs of Israeli nationality were arrested for attempting to kill the Vice-Prime Minister Yigal Allon.

The most ingenious method of removal that they have been able to conceive, utilizing the complicity of the Brazilian embassy in Tel Aviv, is the founding of a society called Patra which is in charge of all the emigration movements of the "volunteers," including free passage.

A communication from the Arab League points out that more than 9000 Palestinians, hounded by the repressive regime, have given up and left.

In another document, signed

by the Arab embassies in Latin America, it is pointed out that once in Brazil, they are sent to inhospitable regions near the Amazon where they, as well as the promises of aid and financing, are forgotten.

The danger that the Palestinians represent is making itself felt to such an extent in the territories occupied by the war of 1948 and considered "pacified" for years, that the solution has ceased to be allowing them to escape to neighboring Arab countries (where they become fedayees) but rather their exile from the continent.

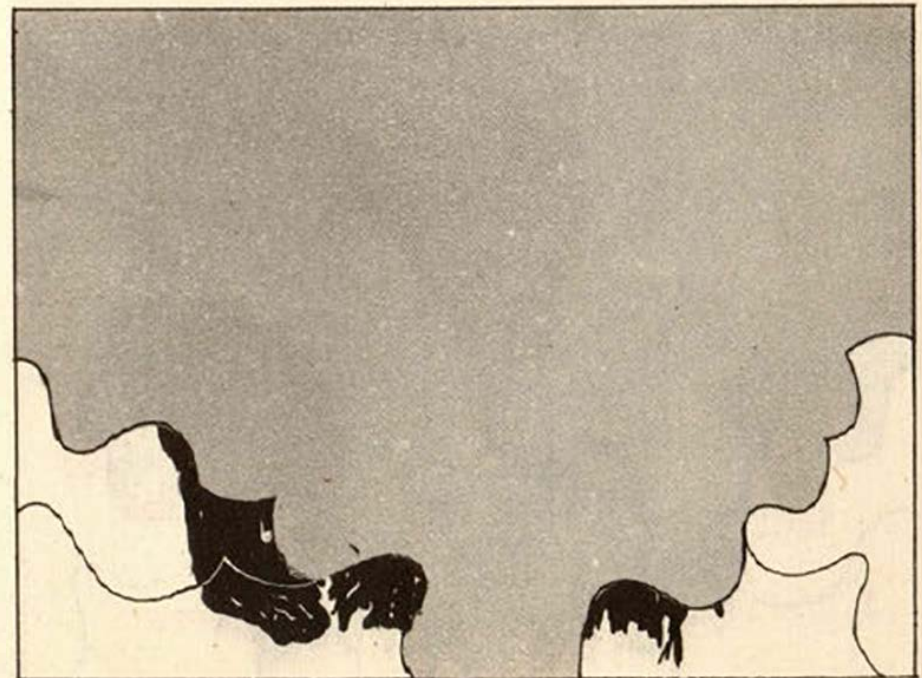
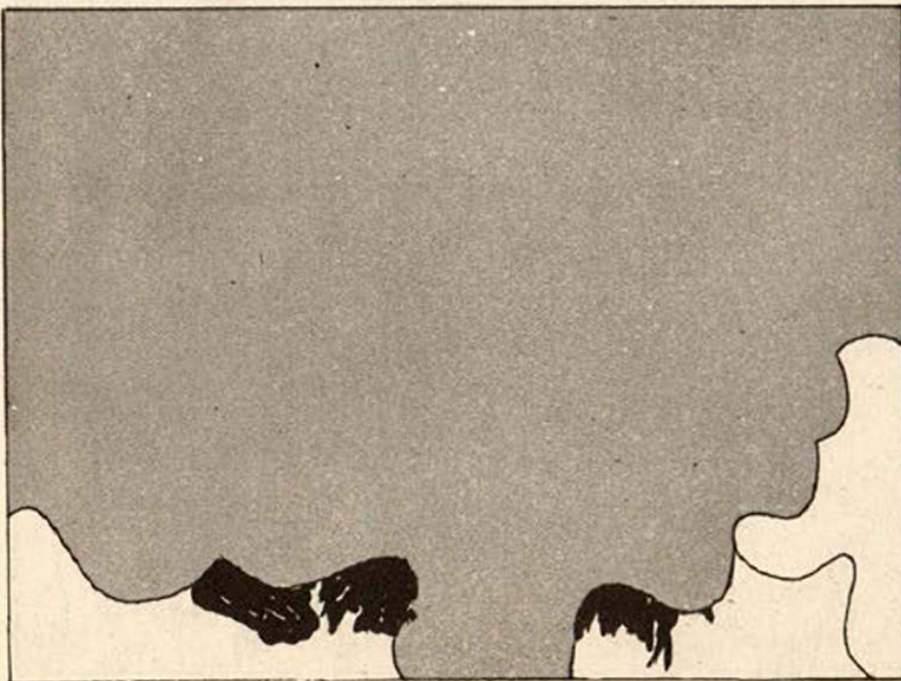
□ At the beginning of this year, the news circulated continuously through the capital of Uruguay. In tune with the fierce repression unleashed throughout the country by the police organs of the regime of Jorge Pacheco Areco, thousands of flyers announced the appearance of the Death Squadron, whose long history of

crimes in Brazil gives it a sad notoriety.

Identified with the sordid interests of ultrareaction, the founders of the Death Squadron in Uruguay warned in leaflets that the principal objective of the new fascist organization is "to combat and exterminate the Tupamaros National Liberation Movement."

Perhaps at first glance the event could be considered an isolated fact. However, within the context of present-day Latin America, it is easy to see that it goes considerably beyond Uruguayan or Brazilian frontiers.

In Brazil, for example, the facts are convincing. An agitated and convulsive political situation over the past decade, an ultraright determined on power and thirsting for vengeance, along with a US mission and its agents of the Central Intelligence Agency with a great deal of experience in how to kill, were enough to permit the advent of





the Death Squadron which counts to its credit more than a thousand assassinations.

Something similar is taking place in Uruguay. But along with these events on Brazilian and Uruguayan soil, a question of extreme importance is the accord recently signed by Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina to repress the revolutionary movement in these three Latin-American countries without respect to frontiers or nationalities. From now on the revolutionaries arrested in any of these countries will be returned to their country of origin. This agreement and the advent of the Death Squadron in Uruguay confirm the growing preoccupation of the ruling classes of the area with the mounting activities of the revolutionary movement.

□ The Brazilian military dictatorship has put into practice with refined cruelty, methods of repression and torture compa-

rable only to those used by Nazi Germany.

A torture room and the presence of a group of torture specialists is a frequent spectacle in the department of investigation, the prisons, and police stations of the Brazilian regime. The prisoner will come out of these torture chambers morally and physically destroyed, with injuries that will affect him for the rest of his days and he will be considered "lucky" to have escaped with his life at least.

The survivors will return to the bosom of their families after having signed a document in which they assert that they have never been tortured. Their jailers will immediately warn them that the threat of a new arrest hangs over them, with an ending less fortunate than that of the former arrest, should they dare to denounce the tortures they suffered or the horrible scenes they witnessed.

Some of the political prisoners

decided not to pay any attention to the "recommendations" and to offer for publication a first-hand account of the barbarous regime installed in Brazil by a clique of fascist militarists.

Tricontinental brings together substantial sections of the accounts offered by these exceptional witnesses as an addition to the information published in the preceding issue concerning the savage repression unleashed by the Brazilian police and military investigation corps.

At the beginning of "Operation Bandeirante," said to be one of the most brutal forms of repression used at the end of last year in the state of São Paulo, the head of the military regime, General Emilio Garrastazu, declared hastily that he was opposed to the cruel and arbitrary methods and would try to see that the accusations transmitted to him were verified.

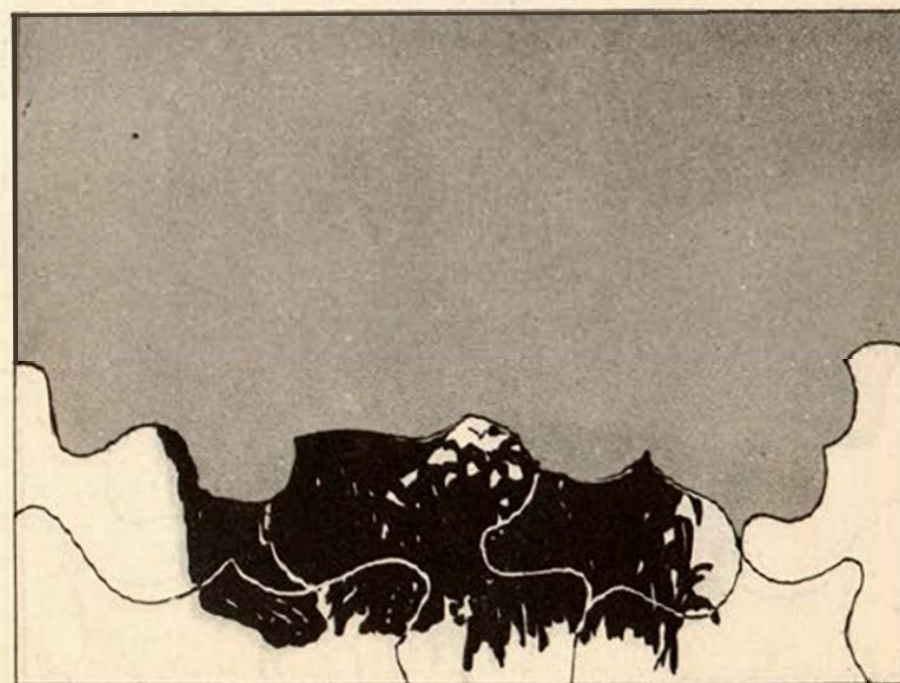
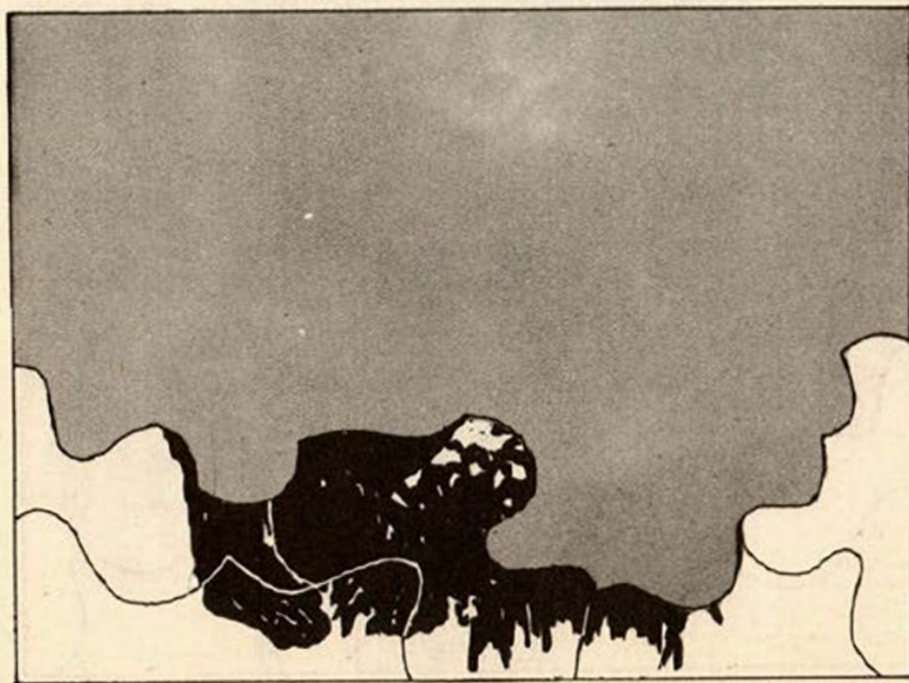
Nevertheless, General Garrastazu had intentionally given an

exceptional character to practices that have become common in military stations and police offices. Contrary to his statements, political prisoners continue being tortured and assassinated.

The torture sessions take place at any hour of the day or night and the torture methods consist basically of the regular application of doses of unbearable pain according to the resistance of each prisoner, scientifically evaluated by a doctor. This medical service to the dictatorship prevents as far as possible the visible traces of torture which can become accusing proof.

At the same time, under an obligatory medical control, the torturers use injections that raise the physical resistance of their victims. They try by every method at their command to undermine and destroy not only the physical resistance of the prisoner but his moral resistance as well.

Once a climate of terror





through torture is created, a group of officials comes to the prisoner and speaks to him kindly as if nothing had occurred. The officials even accuse the investigators of having permitted torturing and promise their arrest if the prisoner will make certain confessions. Then they disappear and the prisoner is tortured again. Later these same officials reappear with new promises in exchange for confessions.

The intensity and savagery of the tortures also psychologically affects those prisoners who for one reason or another are not subjected to violence. A lawyer arbitrarily detained in his office wrote the newspaper in a letter that was not published: "I was not tortured except psychologically. But what I suffered has no importance whatsoever compared to what others suffered."

#### Methods of Torture

a) **Beatings in a dark room.** The

prisoner is thrown onto the floor in the middle of a room plunged in darkness where he is beaten from all sides without being able to see his aggressors. The torturers create the same conditions by covering the prisoner with a hood.

b) **Canes.** They are made of wood, in the form of a flat brush with a long handle. The interrogators use them to hit the palms of the hands, the soles of the feet and, occasionally, women's breasts.

c) **Solitary.** It is a place approximately 1.20 by 2 meters. It is usually painted red or illuminated with a very bright light. The prisoner is left there for ten days or more, without food and with a very small amount of water. Sometimes the prisoner receives a plate of spoiled food. The hygienic conditions are absolutely nonexistent and the prisoner is obliged to sleep in his own excrement.

d) **The "parrot perch" or "pau**

**de arara."** The hands and feet of the prisoner are tied and he is then suspended in the air by a stick previously fastened under his bent knees and along his arms. After remaining suspended in this position for a long time, the blood circulation is stopped in his arms and legs and intense pain causes him to lose consciousness for an hour at least. This position also allows the agents to effect other tortures: the application of electric shocks, beatings of various kinds, immersion, and the introduction of bludgeons into the rectum.

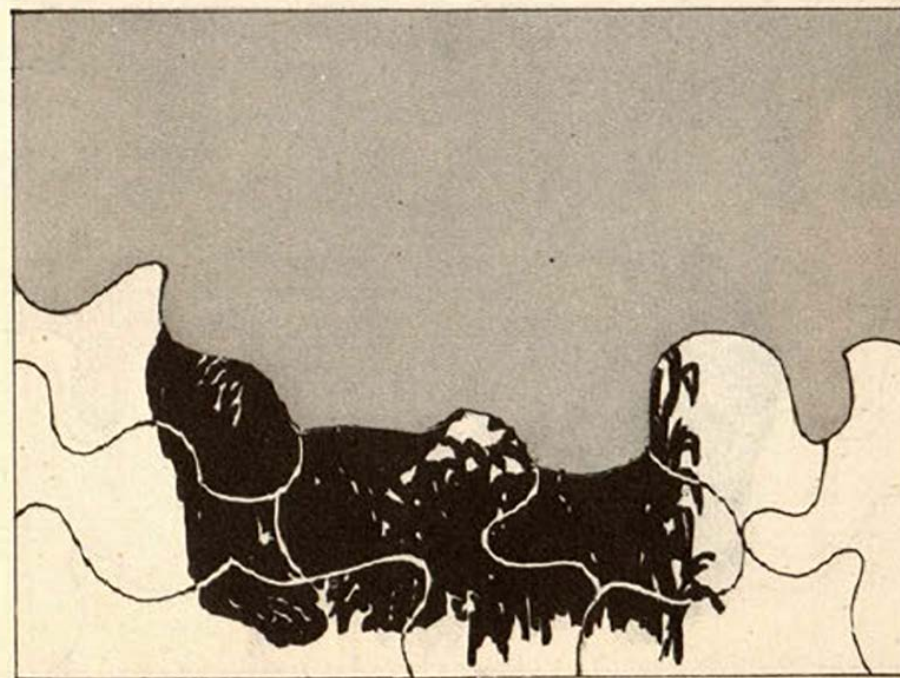
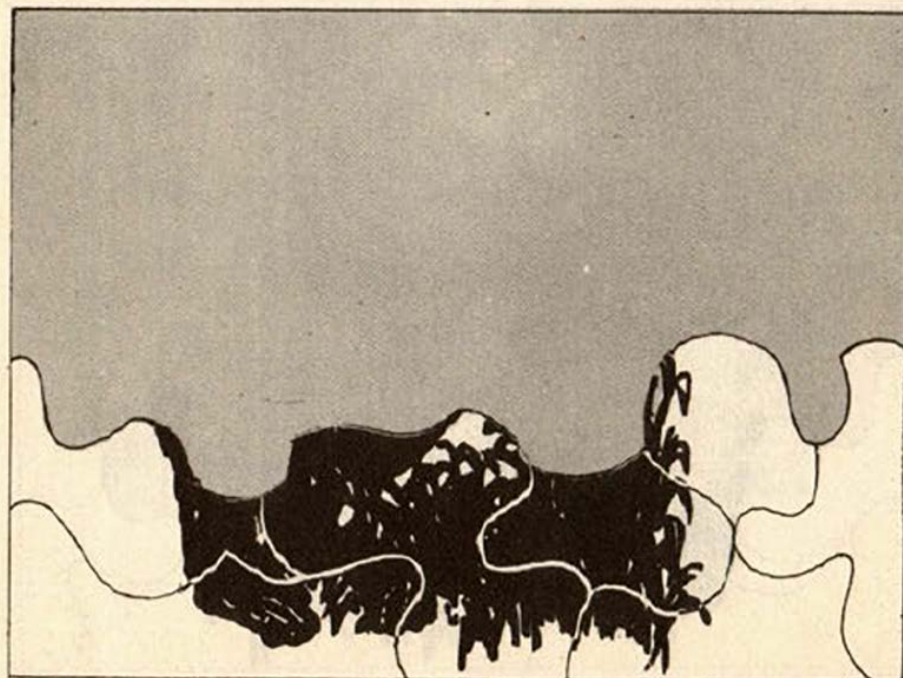
e) **Electric shock.** The torturers very often use a simple telephonic magnet. But some prisons have chairs with metal plates where the prisoners are seated nude and sprayed continuously with salt water to facilitate the electronic contacts. Muscular reactions are violent and uncontrollable: contortions, jumps, falls, and terrible screeches.

Although the cops of the Brazilian regime prefer to apply electrodes to the prisoner's nape, they occasionally utilize other parts of the body to provoke shocks. Thus we find that the sadistic agents sometimes close the circuits, applying electrodes as follows:

- one on the foot and the other on a hand
- one on each hand
- one on the testicles and the other on the tongue
- one in the anus and the other on the hand.

The electric shocks leave no trace on the body but profoundly upset the psyche of the victims.

f) **Immersion or drownings.** There are different methods: throwing buckets of water over the head of the victim all at once or running a constant stream of water through his nasal passages. The other system is to cover the head with a plastic bag and submerge it in





water.

g) The telephone. This is a method of simultaneously slapping both the prisoner's ears with the palms of the hands in a slightly concave position. These slaps cause intense pain and hallucinations and can induce loss of consciousness.

**h) Other forms of torture:**

- applying a soldering rod to the testicles, sometimes causing the victim's castration
- "Ringo," the police dog, especially trained to bite the testicles of the prisoners
- cutting the soles of the feet with a razor blade
- introducing bludgeons covered with broken glass into the anus or vagina
- burning with cigarettes
- sexual violations of the women
- simulated execution
- placing stilettos under the fingernails
- pulling out the fingernails and even pieces of flesh— es-

pecially the tips of the breasts

— with pliers.

**The Torturers**

Those responsible for torturing on the Isla de las Flores belong to the First Naval District and work for the sinister maritime secret service (CENIMAR). Their names are the following:

- Captain Clemente José Monteiro Filho, commander of the island
- Captain Frigate Jöder de Jesús Coutinho
- Medical Lieutenant José Luís Coutinho
- Commander Marinho
- Captain Frigate Alfredo Poeck
- Commander Miguel Laginestra
- Captain João Batista Torres Gomes Pereira
- Captain Artur Xavier Moreira
- Commander Claude
- Lieutenant Saboia
- Inspector Boneschi
- Sergeant Martinho

—Detective Solimar

—Soldier Sergio.

Continuing, we list the names of the torturers in the Military Center in Deodoro, a section of Rio de Janeiro:

- General Fritz de Azevedo Manso
- Captain Ronaldo de Carvalho Cruz
- Commander Podestá
- Colonel José Nei Fernandes Antunes
- Commander José Ribamar Zanith
- Captain Vieira
- Commander Lacerda
- Captain José Luis
- Sergeant Valdemir de Souza Alves
- Sergeant Claudio de Araujo Cardoso
- Sergeant Nei da Rocha Miranda
- Sergeant Adilson Cardoso Guimarães
- Sergeant Povoleri.

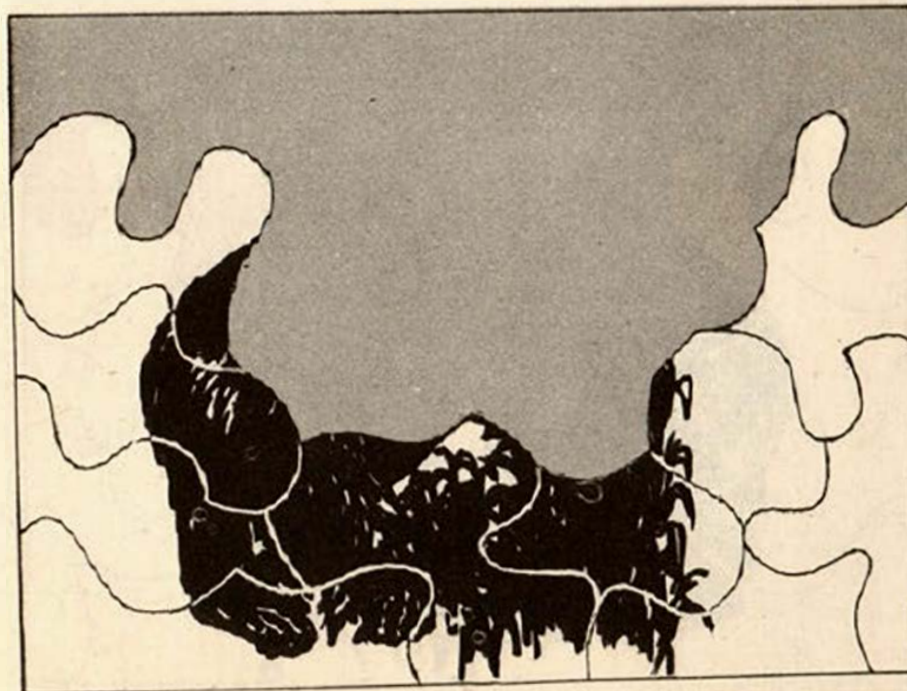
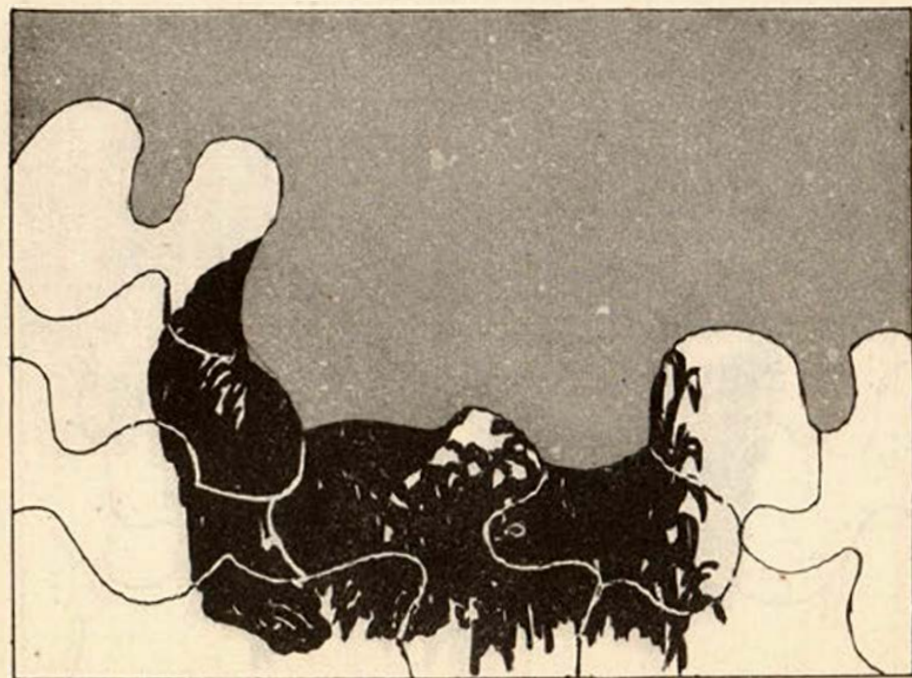
In the military police station in the Tijuca section of Rio de

Janeiro are the following:

- Colonel José Nei Fernandes Antunes (acts as chief of the torture teams in the Military Center and Military Police of Rio de Janeiro)
- Commander Manhães
- Captain Leão
- Lieutenant Bastos
- Sergeant Antunes.

In the Federal Department of Public Security of the State of Guanabara, those responsible for torturing are:

- General Luís Carlos Reis, Director of the Department
- General Luís da França Oliveira, Secretary of Public Security
- General Paulo Teixeira da Silva
- Inspector José Paulo Boneschi
- Inspector Mário Campos
- Inspector Valdomiro Francisco de Souza
- Manuel Vilarinho
- Commissioner Rangel
- Agent Paulo Monteiro





—Inspector Mário Borges.

The henchmen in the Federal Department of Public Security for the State of São Paulo are, among others:

—General Silvio Correa de Andrade, Director of the Department

—General Olavo Viana Moog, Secretary of Public Security

—Commissioner Sergio Paranhos Fleury, founder of the Squadron of Death

—Commissioner Rubens Cardoso de Mello Tungundava

—Commissioner Sidney Nascimento

—Commissioner Benedito Nunes

—Commissioner Walter Fernandes

—Agent Benedito Caetano

—Agent Orlando Rosante

—Agent Antônio Mangine

—Agent Alcides Cintra Bueno.

The torturers in the Federal Department of Public Security for the State of Minas Gerais are the following:

—Commissioner Emilio Romano, Director of the Department

—General Alvaro Cardoso, Chief of the 3rd Infantry Company of Juiz de Fora

—Joaquim Ferreira Gonçalves, Secretary of Public Security

—Colonel Euclides de Figueiredo Filho

—Policeman Haylin Bates Saraiva

—Policeman José Ferreira Gonçalves.

In the Department of Public Security for the State of Rio Grande do Sul there are, among others:

—Commissioner Itamar Fernandes de Souza

—Commissioner José Morsh

—Commissioner Renato

—Commissioner Carbone

—Inspector Osvaldo

—Inspector Ivan

—Inspector Ribeiro

—Inspector Correia Lima.

In the State of Pará:

—Commissioner Antonio Car-

los.

In the State of Ceará:

—Commissioner Laudelino Coelho.

In the State of Pernambuco:

—Commissioner Moacir Sales

—Alvaro de Costa Lima, of the Commandos for Hunting Communists (CCC)

—Inspector Miranda.

#### The Victims

In the course of the barbarous police repression instituted in Brazil, many people have died in the streets and in the prisons of the military dictatorship. On this occasion we will mention certain names which are a partial addition to our earlier list.

—Antônio Raimundo Lucena, metallurgical worker from São Paulo, founder and leader of People's Revolutionary Vanguard

—Antônio Henrique Pereira Neto, priest

—Bernardino Saraiva, sergeant

—Carlos Roberto Zanirato, corporal

—Carlos Schener, commercial employee

—José de Souza, railroad employee

—José Guimarães, student

—Luís Carlos, student

—Luís Claudio, student

—Manuel Alves de Oliveira, sergeant

—Geraldo Severino, peasant

—Pedro Domiense, civil servant

—Pedro Ignacio de Araujo, peasant

—Friedrich Rohmann, 54 years old, dentist, of São Paulo

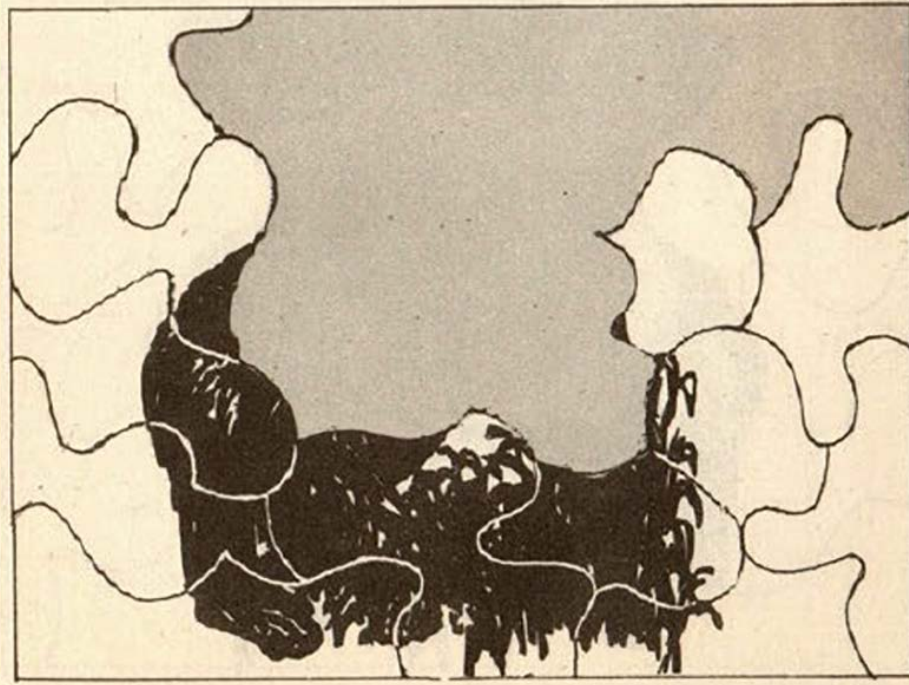
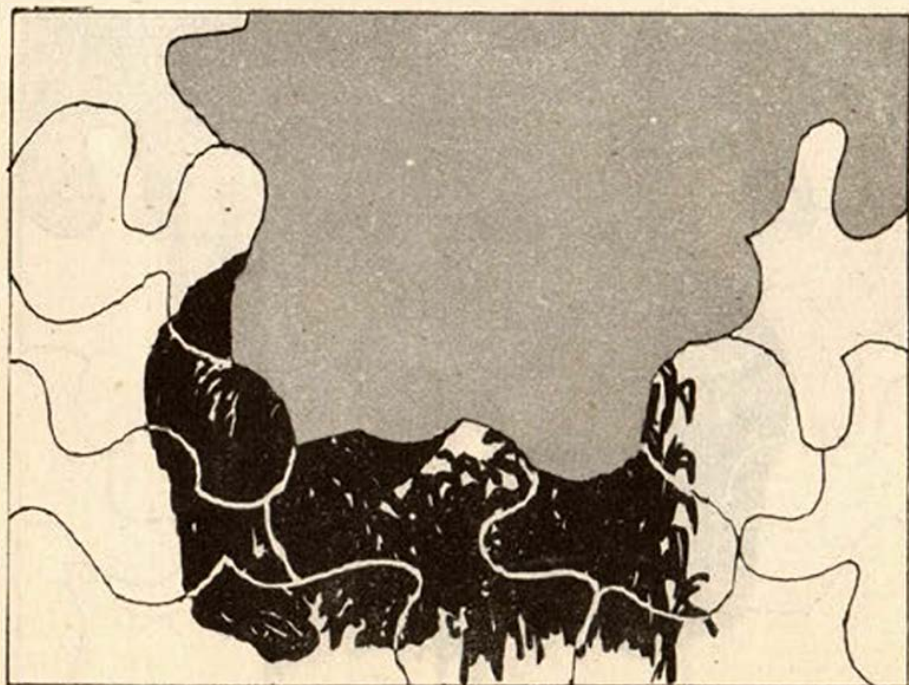
—Juan R. Borges de Souza, Paraíba student

—Chael Charles Schreyer, student killed under his clandestine name, Joaquim

—Guilherme de Mendonça, journalist

—João Domingues da Silva, worker.

The following are citizens who have been tortured in jails and investigation departments of Brazil:





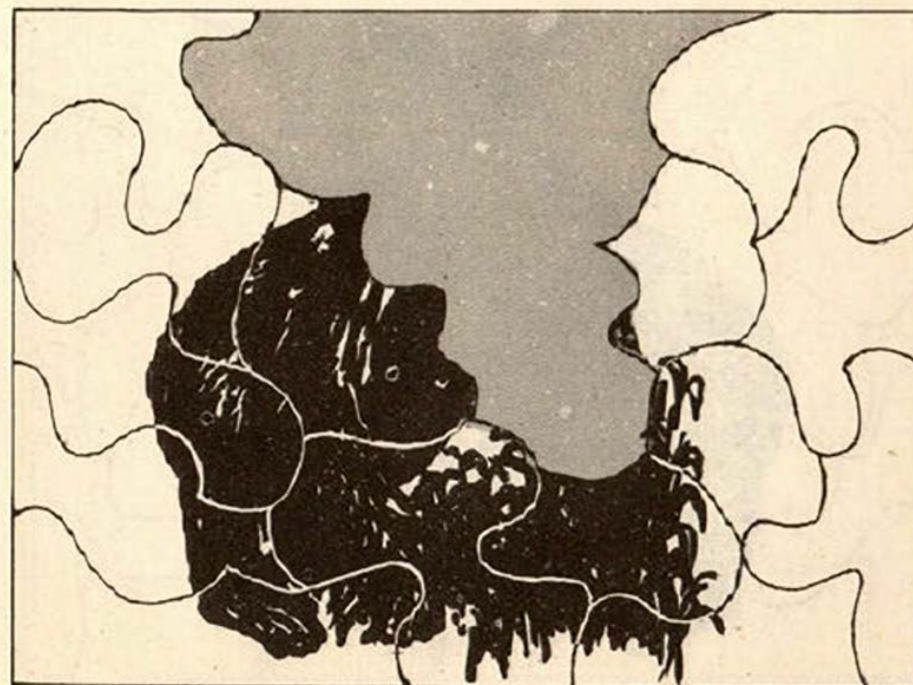
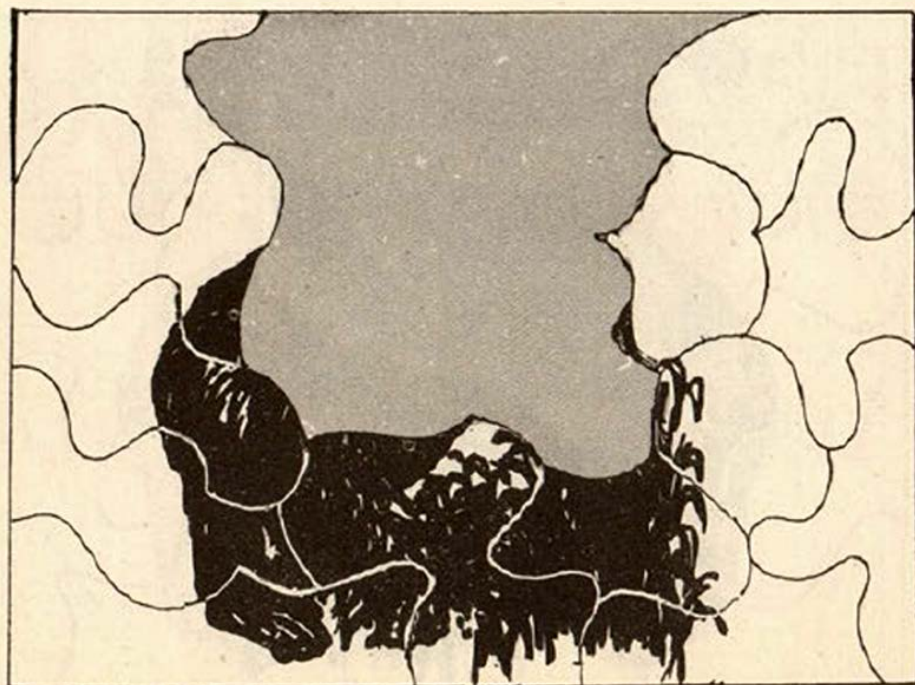
### Isla de las Flores

- Solange Maria Santana, 21 years old, sociology student in Bahia
- Marijane Vieira Lisboa, 22 years old, university student from Rio de Janeiro
- Victor Hugo Glasburn, 23 years old, university student from Rio de Janeiro
- Marta Saavedra Glasburn, 22 years old
- Marcia Savaget, 22 years old, official in the Ministry of Foreign Relations
- Maria Luisa Garcia Rosa, 18 years old, student
- Rodrigo José de Faria Lima, lawyer in the courts of Rio de Janeiro
- Jorge Medeiros do Valle, assistant director of a bank in Rio de Janeiro
- Gerardo Galiza Rodrigues, 20 years old, philosophy student
- Antônio Soriano, 21 years old, economy student
- Sergio Teixeira Rollins, 20 years old

- Dorma Tereza de Oliveira
- Luís Carlos Souza Santos, detained for several months
- Tânia Bicalho, student of national history
- José Ribamar, psychiatrist
- Aluizio Ferreira Palmares
- Antônio Callegari
- Antônio Rogerio Garcia da Silva
- Avelino Leoncio
- César Cabral
- Dulcívio Coelho Junior, student in the Institute of Psychology
- Francisco das Chagas Cordeiro Santos
- Fernando Sá
- Humberto Trigueiro Lima
- Egberto João Gonçalves Tavares, psychology student
- Iná de Souza Medeiros
- João Manuel Fernandes
- Ivanildo Savastana
- Marco Antônio Farias de Medeiros
- Mário Queiroz
- Mauro Fernandes de Souza
- Milton Gaia Leite

- Paulo Geraldo Pereira
- Ronaldo Ferreira Martins Pinheiro
- Rosane Resnik
- Renato Mascarenhas de Souza
- Sebastião Medeiros Filho
- Tiago Andrade de Almeida
- Ziléa Resnik
- Aluizio Teixeira, student, son of a former brigadier of the Air Forces
- Carlos Frederico Frascari Morena
- José Soares Botelho
- José Gonçalves Alves
- Manuel Antônio dos Santos
- Mário dos Santos
- Newton Matos de Lima
- Nivaldo Cavalcanti Nascimento
- Pedro da Silva Guerra
- Sebastião Cardoso
- Hilda Almeida
- Jamila Oliveira
- Ana Maria Santos
- Roberto da Silva Costa
- Wilton Montenegro
- Sérgio Lúcio de Oliveira Cruz, assistant judge

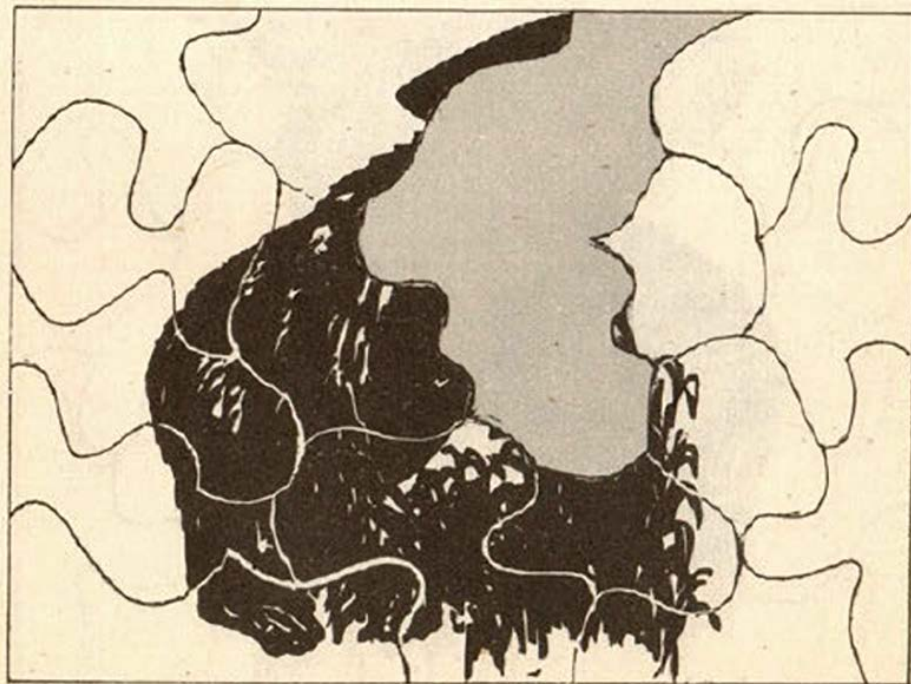
- Ubiratan Vatutin
  - Lêda Montenegro
  - Plínio Montenegro
  - Antônio Queiroz
  - José Duarte dos Santos, sailor
  - Pedro França Viegas, sailor
  - Lêda Viegas
  - Paulo Sérgio Granados Paranhos, 27 years old, university student
  - Edson Soares, former Vice-President of the National Students Union
  - Wilson Barbosa do Nascimento, professor.
- State of Guanabara
- Jorge Gouveia Bastos, student
  - Claudio Torres da Silva, agronomist at the Brazilian Institute of Agrarian Reform
  - Wellington Rocha Cantal, leader of lawyers in Caxias district
  - Reinaldo José de Melo, student
  - Anton Filho
  - Linda Tayah





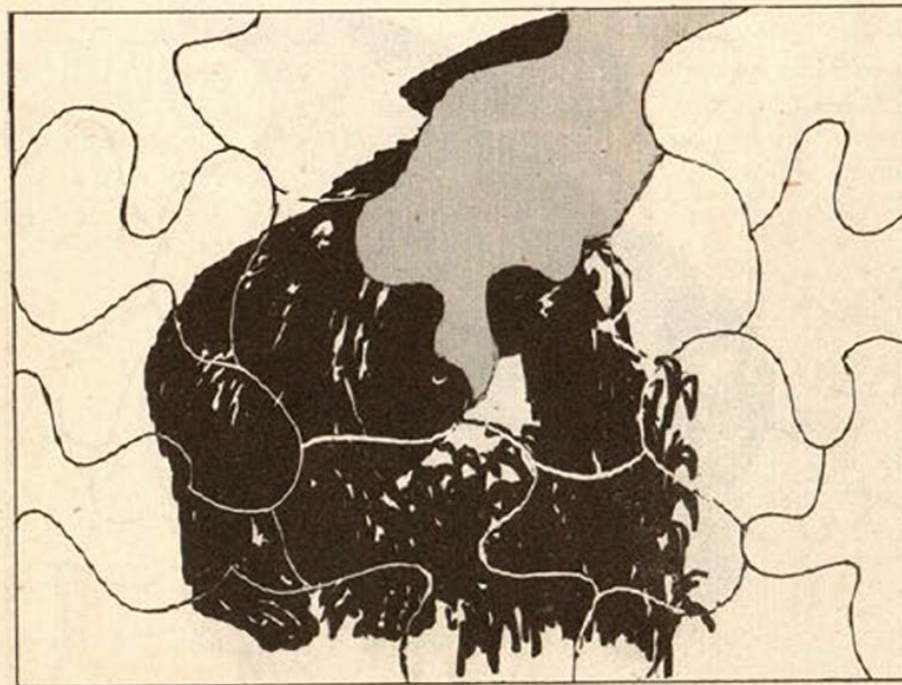
—Ubiratan Valentin Borges Kertzicher  
 —Marcos de Aquino Avelar, student  
 —Orlando Diógenes Lima da Silva, student  
 —Alberto Gentil Filho, journalist  
 —Edilson Marques dos Santos, bank employee  
 —Antônio Padilha Gomes, 18 years old, student  
 —Severino Beatriz da Silva, 56 years old, taxi driver  
 —Maria Auxiliadora Montenegro  
 —Antônio Roberto Spinoza  
 —Marcos Aurélio Mendes Cardoso, student  
 —Carlos Augusto Carvalho, taxi driver  
 —Agrícola Pais de Barros Filho, economist  
 —José Toledo, official in the Royal Bank of Credit of Minas Gerais  
 —Roberto Persinoto, a leader of bank workers  
 —José Marques dos Santos,

banking employee  
 —Pedro Spinola, university student  
 —Ney Frentas Quadros, engineer  
 —Maria Teodósio Quadros, medical student  
 —Yara Matós, student from Pernambuco  
 —Celso Mascarenhas, former Vice-President of the National Students Union of Guanabara  
 —Priscila Mascarenhas, wife of Celso  
 —Vânia, friend of Priscila and Celso  
 —Pérola Magalhães, Priscila's mother  
 —Eduardo Américo Homem, student  
 —Almir Pinho, World War II veteran  
 —Paulo Francisco de Oliveira, pharmacist  
 —Rogério Duarte, artist  
 —Ronaldo Duarte, artist.  
**State of São Paulo**  
 —Ana Vilma Oliveira Morais e Vasconcelos, journalist



—Carlos Guilherme de Mendoga Penafiel, journalist, husband of Ana Vilma  
 —Giorgio Calegari, Dominican monk  
 —Luiz Roberto Clauset, journalist  
 —Rosemary Nogueira Clauset, journalist, wife of Luiz Roberto  
 —Sebastiana Correia Bittencourt Guimarães  
 —Luiz Roberto Alves Ferreira, employee in the São Paulo Federal Savings Bank  
 —João Antônio Caldas Valença, Dominican monk  
 —Francisco Augusto Carmil Catão, seminarian  
 —Sinval Itacarambi Leão, former Dominican monk  
 —Joaquim Alfredo Domingues dos Santos, professor  
 —Célia Luiza Salvador Santos, professor, wife of Joaquim  
 —Luiz Felipe Raton, Dominican monk  
 —Nestor Pereira da Mota, professor

—Manoel Vasconcelos Valiente, Dominican monk  
 —Paulo de Tarso Vasconcelos, student  
 —José Francisco Maciério Homem, student  
 —José Luiz de Andrade Maciel, dentist  
 —Vicente Eduardo Gomes Noig  
 —Renato de Carvalho Tapajós  
 —Wilson Palbares  
 —Luiz Antônio Maciel  
 —Creusa de Barrós  
 —Alipio Raimundo Vianna Freire  
 —Sérgio Massaro  
 —Joel Jesé de Carvalho  
 —Jairo José de Carvalho  
 —Genésio Borges de Melo  
 —José Anselmo da Silva  
 —Israel Pereira dos Santos  
 —Diógenes de Arruda Câmara, former federal deputy  
 —Maurina Borges Silveira, nun.  
**State of Minas Gerais**  
 —Túlio Quintiliano, student from Belo Horizonte  
 —Jorge Raimundo Nahas  
 —Maria José Carvalho Nahas,



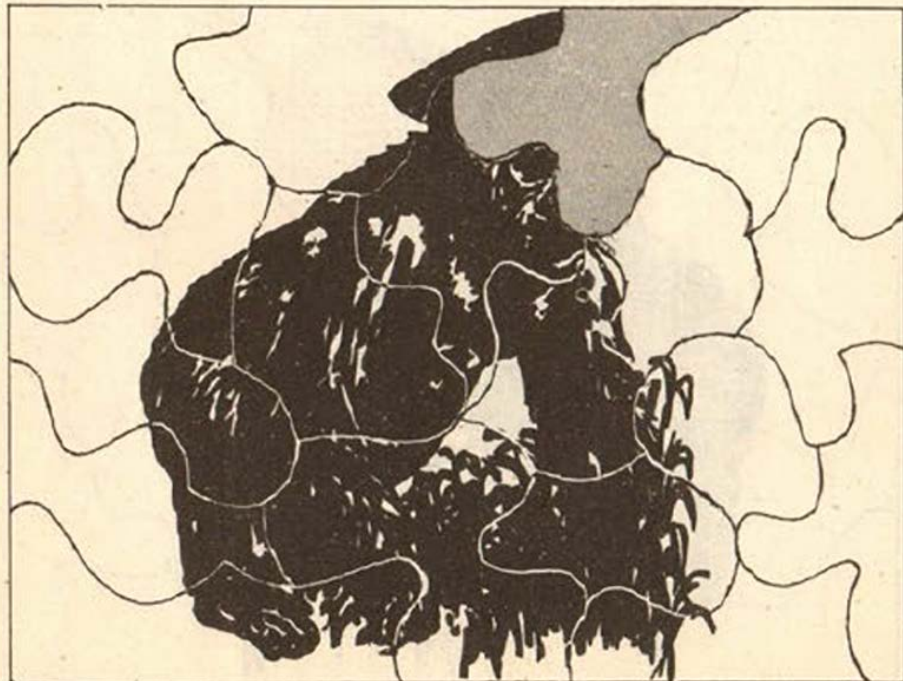


student, wife of Jorge Raimundo  
 —Antônio Carlos Melgaço, medical student  
 —Imaculada Conceição de Oliveira, metallurgical leader from Belo Horizonte  
 —Afonso Celso Lana Leite, student  
 —Julio Antônio Bittencourt de Almeida, student  
 —Murilo Pinto da Silva, student  
 —Nilo Sérgio Menezes Macedo, student  
 —Maurício Vieira de Paiva, student  
 —Pedro Paulo Bretas, student  
 —Augusto Pesuti, student  
 —Erwin Resende Duarte, student  
 —José Raimundo de Oliveira, soldier  
 —Antônio Pereira de Matos, transport worker  
 —Antônio Resende Guedes, physics student  
 —Rogélio, university student from Rio de Janeiro

—Paulo Henrique de Oliveira Lins  
 —Flávio de Carvalho Molina  
 —Nestor Leão Duarte  
 —Jorge Raimundo Junior  
 —Frederico Eduardo.  
**State of Goiás**  
 —Raimundo Nonato dos Santos  
 —Luiz Werneck de Castro Filho, student  
 —Geraido Campos, student  
 —Francisco Gonçalves Vieira, student  
 —Akiko Yoma, student  
 —Paulo Wagner Macedo, student  
 —Clovis Bezerra de Almeida, student  
**State of Rio Grande do Sul**  
 —Luis Goulart, student  
 —Carlos Tezera da Ré, student  
 —Laudo Risquet Goulart, worker  
 —Setembrino Estádio Pereira, worker.  
**State of Pará**  
 —Claudio Moreira Firmo, mem-

ber of the Oarsmen's Club in Belem, left blind and deaf.  
**State of Maranhão**  
 —Manuel da Conceição, agricultural director in Pindaré Mirim.  
**State of Ceará**  
 —Miguel da Cunha, engineer  
 —Antônio Barros Braga, farmer  
 —Juraci Mendes, student  
 —José Ferreira, carpenter.  
**State of Pernambuco**  
 —Cândido, President of the UNE of Pernambuco  
 —João Batista Franco Drummond, farmer  
 —Amaro Luis de Carvalho, known as Capivara  
 —João Victor, peasant.  
**State of Paraíba**  
 —Rômulo de Araujo Lima, student  
 —Eric Jenner Rosas, student  
 —Eraldo Fernandes dos Santos, student  
 —Eduardo Ferreira Lima, student  
 —José Enilson Riveiro da Sil-

va, student  
 —Newton Veloso Pimentel, student  
 —Ronaldo Dutra Machado, student  
 —Juliano Homero de Siqueira, student  
 —Antônio Soares de Lima Filho, student  
 —Marcos Guilherme de Miranda Batista, student  
 —José Maria Gomes da Silva, student  
 —Adauto Trigueiro Bezerra, student  
 —Eduardo Jorge Martins Alves Sobrinho, student  
 —Alberto Magno Gondin Vasconcelos, student  
 —João Baltar, student  
 —Mário Alves, student  
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