

third world 3

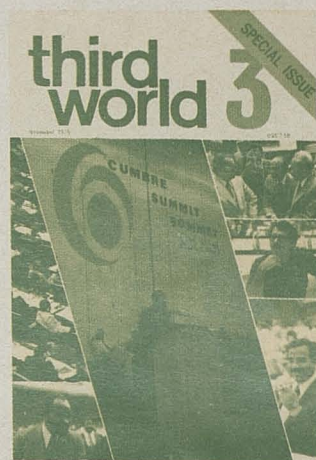
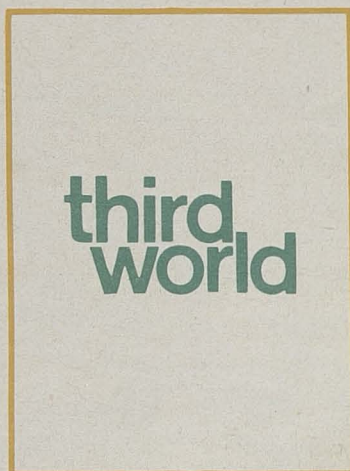
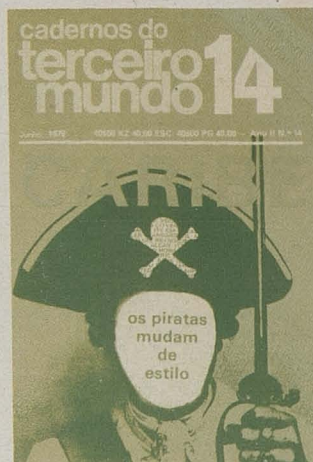
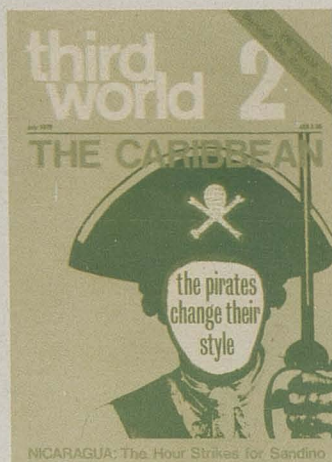
SPECIAL ISSUE

November 1979

US\$ 2.50



Now we speak three languages!



ALTERNATIVE INFORMATION ON THE THIRD WORLD
BY THIRD WORLD JOURNALISTS

Subscribe now. We need your support!

In this issue...

Editorial: The 6th Summit of Nonaligned Countries 4

SPECIAL REPORT

The Nonaligned Movement	6
The 6th Summit.	8
Fidel: Peace and a New Economic Order.	18
Latin America: Strong Presence at the Summit.	20
The New Caribbean Speaks	25
Nonaligned Nicaragua	28
Saddam Hussein: "Arab Unity Will be Achieved".	32
Tarik Aziz: "We're Optimists"	34
Samora Machel: "We Must Create Our Own Future".	36
Liberation Movements	39
Julius Nyerere: A Definition of Nonalignment	42
Pham Van Dong: "The Revolutionary Flood Sweeps On".	44
Indian Ocean Countries: General Demand for Demilitarization	49
"Our Movement is More United than Ever!"	51
The Final Declaration	53
Freedom of the Press and Other Stories	61

LATIN AMERICA

Panama: Building Crisis?	62
Mexico: More than a Walk-On Role.	64

THE EMPIRE

What's the CIA Up to Now?	71
-------------------------------------	----

MIDDLE EAST

What if the Wells Burn?	79
Lebanon: A Powderkeg Ready to Explode	83

ASIA

China: Open the Gates!	85
----------------------------------	----

AFRICA

The Legacy of Agostinho Neto	87
Libya: The Revolution Ten Years After	89
Equatorial Guinea: The End of Another Dictator.	94
Central African Republic: The Emperor is Dead - Long Live the Emperor!	98

THE FOURTH REICH.	100
---------------------------	-----

TRICONTINENTAL PANORAMA.	102
----------------------------------	-----

MEDIA

Vietnam: "Making Revolution Through the Radio"	105
Tanzania: Africa and the NIIO	108
Chile: Alternative Voices.	109

third world 3



Director: Pablo Piacentini
International Editor: Neiva Moreira
Associate Editor: Beatriz Bissio
Editor-in-Chief: Roberto Remo

ENGLISH EDITION

Editor: Fernando Molina
Consulting Editor: Cedric Belfrage
Design and Layout: Enrique Mañón,
Graciela Jiménez, Fernando Flores
Typesetting: Hattie Ortega

SPANISH EDITION

General Manager: Gerónimo Cardoso

PORTUGUESE EDITION

Editor: Altair L. Campos

Mexico City Headquarters: San Lorenzo 153-406,
México 12, D.F. Telephone: 559-3013
Mailing Address: Apartado 20-572, México 20, D.F.
Lisbon Office: Rua Pinheiro Chagas 41-2, Lisbon,
Portugal.

third world uses the services of the following agencies:
ANGOP (Angola), AIM (Mozambique), INA (Iraq),
Inter Press Service (IPS), NAN (Japan), SHIHATA (Tan-
zania), and Prensa Latina (Cuba). It has an editorial ex-
change with *Nueva* (Ecuador), *Novembro* (Angola), and
Tempo (Mozambique).

Printed at: Editorial Bodoni, S.A., Miguel Angel 97,
México 19, D.F.

No. 3, November 1979

third world is part of a global project which aims to:

- provide alternative information on the Third World;
- promote awareness on the causes of underdevelop-
ment and means to overcome it;
- support cooperation among progressive sectors
throughout the world.

third world is the English edition of **cuadernos del ter-
cer mundo**. Based in Mexico City, it is published by
Third World Journalists, an independent, nonprofit
association of militant professional journalists from
over 40 countries.

cuadernos del tercer mundo es una publicación mensual
de **Periodistas del Tercer Mundo**, asociación civil sin fi-
nes de lucro, dedicada a la producción y difusión de in-
formación alternativa sobre la realidad y las aspiraciones
de los países emergentes. Título registrado en la Direc-
ción General de Derechos de Autor, mediante certifica-
do expedido el 11 de diciembre de 1978, inscrito con el
número 476-78 en los libros de aquella dirección de la
Secretaría de Educación Pública. Permiso provisional co-
mo correspondencia de segunda clase concedido por la
Dirección General de Correos según oficio 21212 de
fecha 21 de febrero de 1979.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES (including air mail):

10 issues: US\$ 22.00 5 issues: US\$ 12.00 single issue: US\$ 2.50 back issues: US\$ 3.00

Just send a cheque or money order, with your name and address, to: **Periodistas del Tercer Mundo**, Apartado 20-572,
México 20, D.F.

Distributed by:

ANGOLA: Empresa Nacional de Apoio Técnico do DOR/MPLA/PT, Praceta Farinha Letiá 27, Luanda. **BELICE:** Cathedral Book Center,
Belize City. **BOLIVIA:** Tecnolibros S.R.L., Casilla de Correo 20288, La Paz. **CANADA:** Third World Books and Crafts, 748 Bay St., Toronto,
Ontario. **COLOMBIA:** Ediciones Suramérica Ltda., Carrera 30 No. 23-13, Bogotá. **COSTA RICA:** Semanario Nuevo Pueblo, Av. 8 Calles 11 y
13 No. 1157, San José. **DOMINICAN REPUBLIC:** Centro de Estudios de la Educación, Juan Sánchez Ramírez 41, Santo Domingo — Desvigne,
S.A. Ave. Bolívar 354, Santo Domingo. **ECUADOR:** Ediciones sociales, Córdova 601 y Mendiburo, Guayaquil, Ecuador — RAYD de Publi-
caciones, Librería Pomare, Ave. Amazonas 863, Quito. **EL SALVADOR:** Librería Tercer Mundo, Primera Calle Poniente No. 1030, San Salva-
dor. **FRANCE:** Centre des Pays de Langue Espagnole et Portugaise, 16 Rue des Ecoles, 15005 Paris. **GREAT BRITAIN:** Latin American Book
Shop, 29 Islington Park Street, London. **GUINEA-BISSAU:** Departamento de Edición-Difusão do Livro e do Disco, Conselho Nacional da Cul-
tura. **HONDURAS:** Librería Universitaria "José Trinidad Reyes", Universidad Autónoma de Honduras, Tegucigalpa. **ITALY:** Paesi Nuovi,
Piazza de Montecitorio 59/60, Roma — Feltrinelli, via de Babuino, 41 Roma — Alma Roma, Piazza P. Paoli, 4-A Roma — Spagnola, via Mon-
serrato, 35/6 Roma — Uscita, Banchi Vecchi, 45 Roma. **MEXICO:** Unión de Expendedores y Vocadores de Periódicos, Humbolt No. 47,
México 1, D.F. — Distribuidora Sayrols de Publicaciones, S.A., Mier y Pesado No. 130, México 12, D.F. — Metropolitana de Publicaciones,
Librerías de Cristal, and 100 bookstores throughout the country. **MOZAMBIQUE:** Instituto do Livro e do Disco, Avda. Ho Chi Minh 103,
Maputo. **NETHERLANDS:** Athenaeum Boekhandel, Spui 14-16, Amsterdam. **PANAMA:** Librería Cultural Panameña, S.A., Avda. España 16,
Panamá. **PERU:** Distribuidora Runamarka, Camaná 878, Lima 1. **PORTUGAL:** DiJornal, Rua Joaquim António de Aguiar 66, Lisboa. **PUER-
TO RICO:** Librería La Tertulia, Amalia Marín esq. Av. González, Río Piedras — Pensamiento Crítico, P.O. Box 29918, 65th Inf. Station,
Río Piedras, P.R. 00929. **S. TOME E PRINCIPE:** Ministério de Informação Cultura Popular. **SWEDEN:** Wennergren-Williams AB, S-10425,
Stockholm. **UNITED STATES:** Guild News Agency, 1118 W. Armitage Ave., Chicago, Illinois — New World Resource Center, 1476 W. Irving
Pl., Chicago, Illinois — Librería del Pueblo, 2126 Magazine St., New Orleans, Louisiana — Third World Books, 100 Worcester St., Boston,
Massachusetts. **VENEZUELA:** Publicaciones Españolas, S.A., Av. México Lechoso a Pte. Brion, Caracas.



Our cover:

Center: President Fidel Castro. Clockwise from top right: President Tito of Yugoslavia with Premier Pham Van Dong of Vietnam; Comandante Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; President Samora Machel of Mozambique; an overview of the Conference.

TO THE READER

In this issue we present a special report on the recent 6th Nonaligned Summit, in which we try to provide the widest coverage possible of such an important event. Our editors Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bissio went to Havana and, as you will see, they really worked their heads off. Beatriz is to be credited for most of the photographs. We hope this report will contribute to the understanding of many burning issues and may make up for the omissions and distortions of the capitalist media.

Our section on Latin America includes articles on Panama and Mexico. Our colleague Gregorio Selser, an Argentine journalist who has written various books on the CIA, analyzes its adjustment to new realities and recalls some of its famous past operations. On the Middle East we have an article about that region's explosive situation and the likely consequences of a military occupation in Arab oil-producing countries, as well as an interview with a prominent Lebanese leader. The African section includes an evaluation of Libya's ten-year-old revolution, a report on the downfall of dictator Macías, and an analysis of Bokassa's dethronement. You will also find our regular sections.

We appreciate the generous help provided by Asa Zatz and Mark Fried in the preparation of this issue.

Congratulations on your excellent publication. It helps to break through the information barriers surrounding events in developing countries and is a "great help to anyone interested in progress in those countries. I hope that your publication will help further the cause of the emancipation of Third World peoples.

I believe it is vital not only to report on what the progressive forces are doing but also to inform your readers about the maneuvers of the opposition. Surely you do not want to be just the cheerleaders of change, so therefore it is important to contribute to the struggle against reaction. I wish you success.

James F. Sattler
Rockville, Maryland, USA

Congratulations on your excellent publication.

Jim Cason
Southern Africa Magazine

I would like to express my enthusiasm for the English edition of **third world**.

Ronald Chilcote
Managing Editor
Latin American Perspectives

Congratulations on your English edition of **third world**.

Herbert Schiller
Professor of Communication
San Diego, California, USA

Congratulations on your excellent magazine.

F.W. Stover
US Farmers Association



The 6th Summit of Nonaligned Countries

Few international gatherings have inspired such a confuse-and-divide campaign as did the 6th Summit of Nonaligned Countries, and this is of course a tribute to the Movement's importance: the 138 countries present in Havana represented most of the human species. With no less than 60 heads of state or government participating, the conference topped in significance any that has ever been held. This could hardly be concealed, but the campaign was an attempt to show that the Movement is deeply and critically divided.

The Western press portrayed the whole Nonaligned question as revolving around a real fact: that there are two positions on relations with the socialist countries, one symbolized by Cuba and one by Yugoslavia, and hence the Movement is split in half. Such was the insistent leitmotif before the conference, and during the sessions the differences on this and on Kampuchea and Egypt were methodically magnified. But there turned out to be a compromise on Kampuchea and Egypt, and resolutions conciliating the two sides were arrived at.

The campaign was exposed as well off the beam. An examination of the speeches and resolutions shows that the question of relations with socialist countries, impor-

tant as it is, was only one among many that were discussed, and that the Movement had a broad consensus on main aspects of the world situation.

The synthetic confusion smokescreened a tremendous fact: that the Havana agreements bear within them an indictment of an existing economic system which generates deep inequalities between North and South, and that the Nonaligned hold the capitalist powers and transnational companies responsible for it. Conference resolutions bitterly condemn those powers, especially the US for its support of racism and its neocolonial policies. Yet the absence of any criticism of socialist countries suggests how far the Nonaligned are from considering the two blocs on an equal level.

Thus on balance the conference tells us that the Movement is united, that it is constantly growing in strength and size, and that it projects a perfectly clear perspective of the changes needed in the international order. These changes will no doubt substantially affect the central countries of the capitalist system. Of course the Movement doesn't yet have the force to impose its aspirations. But its success deepens the isolation of the US and its allies, as has become evident in international forums. Only yesterday —af-



ter World War II - Washington controlled the United Nations and won every thing it wanted there.

Today, in contrast, the Nonaligned have an assured majority. The capitalist powers' response has been to block international debates, thus avoiding any concessions to the Third World. This happened with the North-South dialogue, with the 5th UNCTAD meeting at Manila, and on each occasion that called for facing up to the underdeveloped countries' basic goal: a New International Economic Order guaranteeing equitable relations everywhere between rich countries and poor.

Resistance by central capitalism to the slightest modification of the rules of unequal exchange has seriously aggravated the situation of non-oil-producing underdeveloped nations. Hence the Nonaligned's judgment of such conduct was severe. These countries' external debts have rocketed to an astronomical and asphyxiating \$300 billion. And meanwhile, as the final Havana document points out, conditions for extending credit become daily harder.

Yet the resolutions do not spell out sufficiently the need, along with the re-ordering of North-South relations, to proceed by another route toward correcting underdeveloped countries' problems. We mean

greater cooperation and economic exchange between those countries - the South-South relationship which could gradually lessen dependence on the North and derive more benefit from exchange between equals.

Nevertheless the resolutions show a new advance within the Movement; and this now needs translating into effective measures. Only by activating the resolutions through coordination of the member states' political and economic performance can they turn the capitalist powers' diplomatic isolation to practical Third World advantage and force concessions from those powers. Achieving unity on the heads-of-state level is not enough if the resolutions are not coherently followed up in practice.

The existence of the Nonaligned Movement as an alternative force on the world stage, an increasingly representative one with its own doctrine, is a victory in itself and a factor of extraordinary international weight. But it will not win its battle until it creates its own system of relations - economic, diplomatic, whatever - as a center of power, and succeeds in restructuring the international order. A long, hard road indeed, but the only one the Movement can travel.



The Nonaligned Movement





THE GREAT LEADERS. The Summit paid homage at various times to the Movement's "founding fathers"—Nasser, Nehru, N'Krumah, Sukarno and Tito, of whom only the latter is alive—as well as to other leaders, such as the late Huari Boumedienne of Algeria. The prophetic vision of these Third World fighters surely changed the course of history and opened perspectives for unity, struggle and liberation.

The 6th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries was held in Havana, Cuba, from August 28 to September 9, 1979.

The meeting of ambassadors and experts was held on August 28 and 29. It was followed by the preparatory conference of foreign ministers (August 30-September 2). The Summit of Heads of State or Government began on Monday the 3rd and concluded Sunday the 9th.

This Summit meeting brought together more delegations, and more heads of state or government, than any previous conference. Nearly two thirds of humanity were represented. In the first Summit (Belgrade, 1961), 25 states were represented; in the second (Cairo, October 1964), 47; in the third (Lusaka, Zambia, September 1970), 54. At the fourth (Algiers, September 1973) 75 states were present, and at the fifth (Colombo, Sri Lanka, August 1976), 88.

At the Havana Summit there were 96 member delegations. The following states were admitted as full members: Bolivia, Grenada, Iran, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Surinam and Zimbabwe (Patriotic Front). Costa Rica, Dominica, the Philippines and Santa Lucia were admitted as observers.

The present membership of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries is as follows: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burma, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Democratic Korea, Democratic Yemen, Djibuti,

Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Grenada, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kampuchea, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Morocco, Mauritius, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine Liberation Organization, Panama, Peru, Qatar, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Surinam, SWAPO (Namibia), Swaziland, Syria, Tanzania, Togo, Trinidad-Tobago, Tunis, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Upper Volta, Vietnam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe).

Membership of the Coordinating Bureau was increased from 25 to 32 with the following distribution: Africa (12): Benin, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nigeria, Somalia, Togo, Uganda and Zambia. Asia (12): Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Democratic Korea, Democratic Yemen, India, Iran-Bhutan, Iraq, Palestine Liberation Organization, Singapore-Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Syria and Vietnam-Laos. Latin America (5): Cuba, Guyana, Jamaica, Panama and Peru-Grenada. Europe (2): Yugoslavia and Cyprus. The 32nd seat will be shared between Africa and Europe; it will be occupied for one year and a half by each of the selected countries. □



The Nonaligned Summit

Gathering together nearly one hundred countries and liberation movements, which represent two thirds of humanity, the Nonaligned Movement reaffirms its vocation for unity to meet the challenges of our time.

Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bissio

Every Nonaligned Summit conference is preceded by diplomatic scurrings and by volleys of information and counter-information from those who wish it success and those who don't. The 4th (Algeria, 1973) inspired a systematic distortion campaign; the 5th (Sri Lanka, 1976) an attempt to bury it in oblivion. One could hardly perceive from the reports that more than half of the human race was gathering to discuss problems affecting all of it.

For various reasons the Havana Summit (September 1979) got a special shock treatment from Washington's diplomatic and intelligence services. Weaker and more dependent governments were pressured not to attend or, if they did, to try to torpedo the work or split the participants. Delegations landed at José Martí airport ready for battle, but by the final pre-conference ministers' meeting the omens looked positive. With 94 voting delegations, several new members, a record concentration of heads of state, and representatives of a dozen liberation movements and prestigious international organizations, the campaign to discredit the conference seemed to have laid an egg. As chairman Fidel Castro said in his opening speech:

"The Yankee imperialists and their old and new allies—I refer to the Chinese government—didn't want this conference in Cuba, and spread the unsavory notion that Cuba could convert the Nonaligned Movement into an instrument of Soviet policy."

David and Frederick

On conference eve the weather seemed to be conspiring with the CIA. First Hurricane David roared through the Caribbean, doing much less damage in Cuba than in Dominica and the Dominican Republic but disturbing for foreigners unused to sleeping with typhoons. Then in the conference's last hours came Frederick, one of this century's most violent hurricanes, causing havoc especially to electric, communications, gas and water services. The Guinea-Conakry, Democratic Yemen, Nicaragua, Vietnam and other delegations had to be evacuated from their lodgings. The airport's main landing strip was flooded. The joke went around that a small Guyana Airways plane had disappeared in the resulting lake and been located and salvaged by Cuban naval divers. Actually, if Frederick had arrived two or three days earlier, it would have been tough to keep the conference going.

Anyhow, CIA "astrologers" operating beside the Potomac and—often with little effort at concealment—within the conference made the most of the hurricanes to foment chaos with false rumors and scary predictions. Being less than infallible, they were premature in David's case and missed the boat with their alarms about Frederick.

Tito and Castro

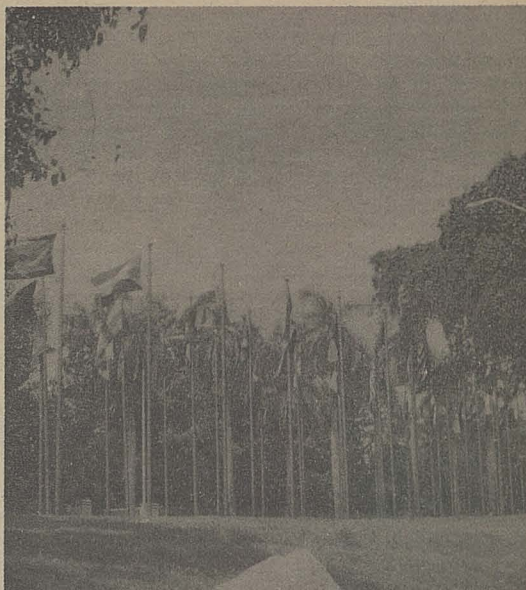
The main dish on the disruption menu wasn't hurricanes, but differences between Tito and Cas-



tro. Tito —so the story went— had been on a touring crusade in Africa and the Middle East to rescue the Movement from “Sovietization.” Caricaturists depicted “founding father” Tito griping against a wanton Fidel who sought to plant the “wolf of the steppes” among the unsuspecting lambs.

Such problems, stemming in part from the heterogeneity of this underdeveloped-nations conglomerate, are not new; nor is the distorting propaganda about the Movement’s internal contradictions. In Algeria in 1973 it looked as if Kadhafi and Fidel might break Nonaligned unity by creating tensions around the theme still so much played upon: the ideological definition of nonalignment and its relation with the socialist camp. At that time the two leaders’ views on this diverged considerably, but points of agreement far surpassed contradictions. And in fact relations between Cuba and Libya, and between Libya and the socialist camp, have greatly improved since then with dividends for the Movement’s unity.

In Havana, talks between Tito and Castro, officially described as “prolonged discussions in an atmosphere of cordial friendship,” showed that



Flags of 95 countries

EGYPT: UNDER SURVEILLANCE

“Considering that the Camp David Agreements and the Egypt-Israel Treaty of March 26, 1979, constitute a partial agreement and a separate treaty which means total abandonment of the cause of Arab countries and an act of complicity with the continued occupation of Arab territories, and that they violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the Conference condemns the Camp David Agreements and the Egypt-Israel Treaty.

“In this context, the Heads of State or Government considered the proposal to suspend the Government of Egypt as a member of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries for having betrayed its principles and resolutions. The Conference decided to charge the Coordinating Bureau, acting as ad hoc committee, with examining the harm done to Arab countries, particularly the Palestine people, by the conduct of the Egyptian Government in signing the Camp David Agreements and the separate Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty. The ad hoc committee will report on this issue to the ministerial conference to be held in New Delhi, which will decide on the status of Egypt in the Movement.”

(From the Final Declaration of the 6th Summit.)



Boutros Ghali. Isolated and unconvincing.



the road to understanding was open. In ensuing hours the pressure with which certain more-royalist-than-the-king Yugoslav colleagues "administered" the discrepancies was substantially reduced. And the climate of unity improved when it came to the problem of Kampuchea's representation, a source of discord between the conference majority and a group of nations led by Yugoslavia. Yet the campaign manipulated by the transnational information system had to find something to draw attention from the success of the conference.

Soviet Plot Unmasked

All of a sudden the *Voice of the Americas*, as easily heard in Cuba as local stations, switched themes. Almost every minute of its news pro-

grams was devoted to the "bombshell flash" that US satellites had detected 3,000 Soviet troops in Cuba: not instructors, but a brigade primed for combat.

The bombshell was designed to implicate the USSR with Cuba and both with the conference, and hence discredit Fidel Castro's chairmanship. But it had another aim, preceding as it did a debate on the presence of US troops in Latin America and the Caribbean —no less than 14,900 in Puerto Rico, Panama and the Guantánamo base in Cuba. It was furthermore known that some 20 Third World countries, including Antigua, Trinidad-Tobago and Barbados in the Caribbean, face the presence of US troops on their territory. An embarrassing topic indeed, especially since none does more to unite the Movement, being one of the causes of its existence.

Torpedoes vs. Aseptic Handouts

A word here about why this sort of "counter-information" prospers. Not merely because the transnational news system is so efficient, but because many participating governments fail to understand that information is a basic element of political work.

Various journalists complained of too rigorous "segregation" from the delegations, although the security measures were of a normal kind for such gatherings. The fault did not lie there but in the fact that progressive countries' delegations, including Cuba's, lacked any mechanism to confront this downpour of false and mis-information. Whether in briefings among friends, or in the abundance of small but effective "leaks", the media concerned to torpedo the conference were always well supplied with ammunition. Non-torpedo-minded journalists were left to interpret as best they could the aseptic handouts of conference spokesmen and somehow contrive a fair and positive image of episodes kept under seven padlocks.

Fighting the Poison

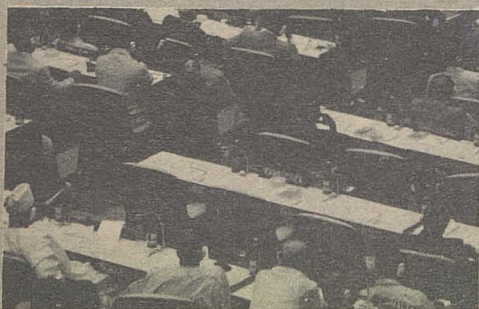
Certainly some delegations were aware of the communications problem. The leader of Ghana's, Lieut. Jerry Rowlings, who had just pulled off a revolution and was preparing democratic transfer of power to civilians, brought it up in his speech. The Movement, he said, must "fight the imperialist information monopolies that do so much damage to revolutionary processes with the poison they spread through the world." Yet even Rowlings failed to move out of theory into practice, never finding a moment to give journalists the real lowdown on matters he knew the international press was distorting. Nor can some well-intentioned but inexperienced journalists be

KAMPUCHEA: AN EMPTY SEAT

"The Summit Conference... examined the issue of Kampuchea's representation... The conference has been aware that there are three positions within the Movement concerning this problem: 1) Those defending the right to representation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea; 2) Those defending the right to representation of the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea; and 3) Those who propose that the seat not be occupied by either party.

The Conference decides to appoint an ad hoc commission to continue studying this issue and present its report to the next ministerial conference. Until a decision is made as to which of the parties is entitled to the vacant seat, neither party may claim its alleged rights in any organ of the Movement."

(From the Final Declaration of the 6th Summit.)



Kampuchea's seat

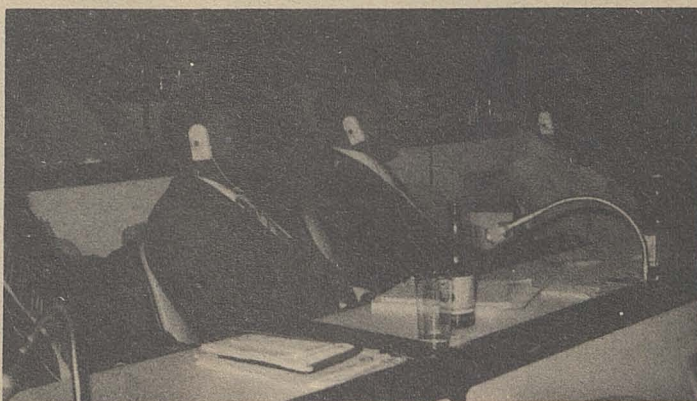


Young Lieut. Jerry Rawlings, who overthrew the dictatorship that ruled in his country, had a clear anti-imperialist position. He presides over the Revolutionary Council which called for general elections leading to the victory of the candidate of the party founded by N'Krumah, one of the founding fathers of the Nonaligned. Rawlings stressed the importance of facing the transnationals of communications.



Nigeria's foreign minister, H.E. Adefop, announced that his country's military government would soon transfer power to a legally elected civilian. He spoke hard against neocolonialism and apartheid, denouncing the maneuvers aimed to keep Zimbabwe's Muzorewa in power. He demanded concrete measures against Israel and supported the Arab Saharan Democratic Republic. He also urged the Nonaligned to concentrate on economic cooperation.

The President of the People's Republic of Congo, Denis Sassou Nguesso, reaffirmed in Havana his wellknown positions. He condemned the racist governments of southern Africa, of which "we have no doubt will be defeated." He paid homage to the late President of Congo, M. N'gouabi, and congratulated Mauritania for its withdrawal from Western Sahara, while denouncing international economic injustice imposed by the capitalist system.





Ghana's foreign minister, Gloria Makoi

absolved of fault. Not a few fell for the "reliable source" line, accepting without check what they were told by colleagues of dubious "objectivity."

One of many examples of news manipulation had to do with Peruvian President (General) Morales Bermúdez. The story was spread that he had walked out in a huff because he didn't get the slot he wanted for his speech. This made headlines until Peruvian ambassador Felipe Valdivieso told the press it wasn't so, but of course few papers published that. Incidentally neither UPI nor AP, so addicted to such imaginative flights, was responsible for the rumor, but France Presse, considered one of the less poisonous capitalist news agencies.

A survey made by a New International Information Order enthusiast was discouraging. Apart from a predisposition to swallow anything, very few Third World journalists had a clear view of why the present system needs changing.

Windy Speeches

The delay in reaching decisions was a rumor breeder, but the complexity of conference topics and long-winded treatment of each one made that inevitable. At one time the conference seemed to be foundering in oratory about the 394 amendments to the final document. The chair, showing

A HOST WITH THE MOST

To be a worthy host of the Nonaligned Summit, Cuba spent some \$130,000 million before the curtain rose, of which \$8,000 million went for media installations. The Palace of Conventions and a new 23-story, 274-room hotel, the Tritón, had to be built and 194 mansions of the extinct Cuban bourgeoisie remodeled to house delegations. The National Theatre was completed and dedicated for the occasion, and 2,000 Cubans received special training courses for tasks connected with the Summit.

The Convention Palace, occupying with its grounds about 17 acres, has five simultaneous-translation booths and worldwide telex and telephone communications, with a 120-circuit international phone exchange which was directly linked to all the delegation residences. An "Intersputnik" phone-teletype-radio-TV hookup system was installed in conjunction with socialist countries using that system, with European countries such as Italy and France, with the US and with such Caribbean countries as Jamaica.

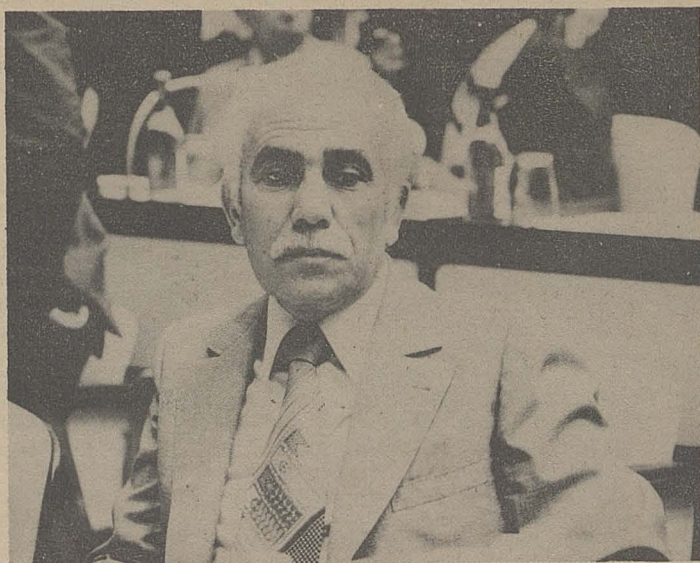
Foreign and communications ministry officials got advance courses in languages, procedures and Nonaligned Movement background. Preparatory committee chairman Comandante Juan Almeida said: "Only one thing couldn't be prepared because it was already there: the Cuban people's hospitality and fraternal international spirit."

For the press's benefit there were four color-TV lobbies where all the plenary proceedings could be followed—one for each of the official languages (Spanish, English, French, Arabic). With their own bus service to and from the hall, the 1,300 accredited journalists were lodged in the Vedado, Saint John and National hotels, the latter having an extra telex—and telephone—equipped press-room. Delegates and journalists praised the host country for its mighty effort at a time when the sugar market is depressed and aid to African, Latin American and Middle Eastern countries is straining Cuba's economic and human resources.



Arab delegations showed great unity during the 6th Summit, especially in their approach to major international issues. Progressive and conservative countries had a common voice on the Middle East problems.

In the photos, clockwise from top right: Algeria's President Benjedid Chadli; Jordan's King Hussein; the Kuwait delegation, headed by Sabah Al Ahmed Al Jaba, vice premier and foreign minister; the secretary-general of the Arab League, Hedli Kibli.





signs of restlessness, drew attention to the fact that with four times as many delegations as in the past the timetable hadn't changed. Fidel suggested either stretching the sessions or limiting speech-time in future summits. In effect, he was also criticizing himself.

Most speakers contributed helpfully to international and domestic problems, but some generated headaches: for example, Ethiopia's Menghistu Haile Mariam read his speech in Amharic, bewildering the interpreters. Stirring oratory came from Fidel, from Jamaica's Manley and from Grenada's Bishop, among others. When Samora Machel of Mozambique spoke, a pin could have been heard dropping in the hall. He disclosed that it was Sadat, now enamored of Begin, who asked him to break his country's relations with Israel. Loud laughter greeted Machel's crack that all that was missing was Sadat's request to admit Israel to the Movement. Not even Egypt's delegate could keep a straight face. "That laugh," remarked a Kuwaiti journalist, "could cost him his job."

A Palestinian delegate sought to explain the lengthy speeches in terms of a space-time theory. By his "mathematical formula" the size of a speech was in inverse proportion to that of the country. "And since we Palestinians don't even have a country," he added, "Arafat's was the longest."

Empty Seats

Kampuchea tied with Egypt as the biggest consumer of time and creator of tensions: an ethical-political problem lending itself, however, to juridical elucidations by the friends of Pol Pot. An overwhelming majority voted to condemn the regime of this "butcher of the century", as he was called in the plenary session. No speaker felt like defending his massive crimes. Those who wanted Pol Pot's delegate to occupy Kampuchea's seat favored procedural arguments. Much was made of the fact that only nine countries—and not even the majority of socialist countries—had recognized Heng Samrin's revolutionary government. "That won't wash," Vietnam Prime Minister Pham Van Dong commented to us. "Revolutionary governments never get quick recognition. If nine governments had recognized ours within a year, as they have Kampuchea's, we'd have thought it a triumph. We're patient, we know how to wait."

The main clash on Kampuchea was at the foreign ministers' pre-Summit meeting: since agreement couldn't be reached, Cuban foreign minister Isidoro Malmierca, who chaired the meeting, decided to put the thorny issue before the heads of state. Sixteen countries—Yugoslavia, Senegal,

Zaire, Singapore, Malaysia, Niger, Indonesia, North Korea, Gabon, Bangladesh, Comoros, Nepal, Butan, Pakistan, Zambia and Somalia—thought that "consultations should continue to reach agreement on the text." Those countries' representatives addressed a note to Malmierca: "Despite the objections of these 16 delegations, you determined that there was a consensus in favor of your text and that it should be passed to the heads of state for consideration. We energetically protest your arbitrary decision and ask that the said text should not be passed to our heads of state or government."

Except for some signers of this letter whose concern was procedural, the 16 included the *crème de la crème* of the Nonaligned right wing. Malmierca could hardly rule otherwise than that there was a very large majority for Kampuchea's seat remaining empty: of 94 voting delegations, 78 did not go along with the 16. The conference endorsed his position by resolving to continue studying the case and to recognize no Kampuchean representative pending a solution by a special commission. The only public protest came from Burma's U Myint Maungun, who made it so tempestuously that many inside and outside the hall couldn't decipher what he was saying.

U Myint proposed no less than dissolution of the Movement and that, after a vote on new admission rules, it be redefined by a committee. Apparently not feeling this called for any action on his part, he stayed put and that was that. Kampuchea's seat remained vacant as nearly two thirds of the delegations wanted. "What would happen," asked Jamaican Prime Minister Manley, conjecturing the effect of admitting Pol Pot's delegate, "if Idi Amin sent a delegation to this conference? Wouldn't it be ridiculous?"

The Case of Egypt

The problem arising from the proposal to oust Egypt, made in the name of the Arab bloc by Iraqi President Hussein, was equally thorny though dissimilar to Kampuchea's case. Sadat was the orphan of the conference. His foreign minister Galil Brutus must have listened to 100 speeches denouncing his President and mostly calling him a traitor. Brutus just sat taking notes.

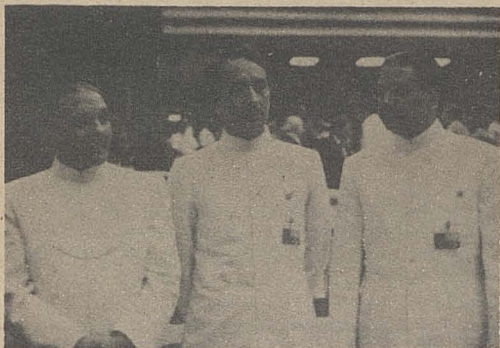
Support of the Palestinian cause was broader and more emphatic than in any previous conference, and this complicated Egypt's position. The few who dared speak up for Sadat did so with great timidity. One was Birenda Bir Bikram Shah Deva, king of Nepal, who stopped at calling the Camp David agreements "an intermediate step." Senegal's foreign minister Mustafa Riasse was hesitant and confused: "The problem of Jerusalem and of liberating all occupied Arab



The King of Bhutan, Jigme Singye Wangchuck (center), regularly attends Summit meetings. His country joined the Nonaligned Movement at the Algiers Summit of 1973. Coming from the Himalayas, he probably felt ill at ease in Havana at sea level.



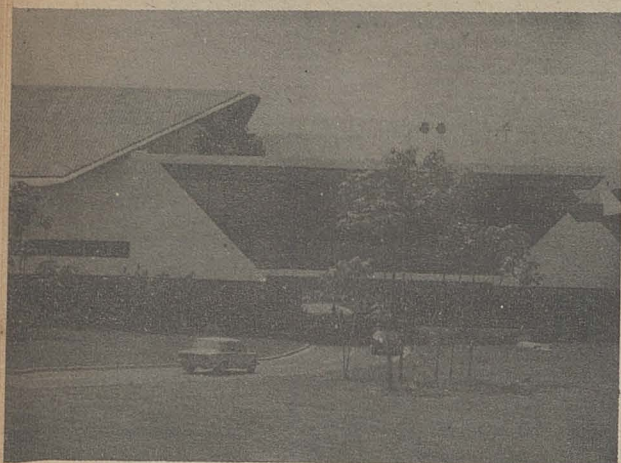
Gen. Zia ul Haq, ruler of Pakistan (left). He was very isolated during the conference. The shadow of the late Premier Ali Bhutto, whom ul Haq ordered killed against the will of most of his people and world public opinion, seemed to follow him everywhere.



Philippines vice minister of foreign affairs, Manuel Collantes (right). It was the first time his country attended a Summit as observer.



In Maldives, the low-lying coral islands southeast of India, a British military base which operated there for decades has just been dismantled. Fathullu Jameel, foreign minister of the young republic, took progressive positions during the conference.



The Palace of Conventions in Havana

territories should be at the center of our struggle until final victory, with absolutely no compromise," he said.

There was a stirring in the hall since it now looked as if Senegal, Egypt's public defender, would go along with the Arab bloc. Not so: "Senegal," Mustafa Niasse perorated, "opposes any kind of sanction against Egypt."

Scrambled History

Egypt's foreign minister took the same line, demanding Israeli evacuation of Arab territories, liberation of Jerusalem and Palestinian selfdetermination. At the precise moment when Sadat was in Haifa with Begin doing the opposite, his delegate was asking that Sadat be honored as a "revolutionary" in a panegyric of Egypt's struggle for the Arab cause.

Said the President of Iraq: "The Egyptian delegate's allusion to his country's history is true; we all know it. But the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and exploitation was led not by Anwar Al Sadat but by the fighting General Gamal Abdel Nasser whom Sadat has betrayed. He betrayed his own history and falsified all the records of the struggle of our brother people, the fighting Egyptian people." Hussein then turned to the US role in international problems. "The US is now the state that has caused **most** damage to our peoples and is the greatest imperialist exploiter on earth."

Tito Agrees

The conference climate was highly favorable for ousting the Sadat government, but procedural

questions raised by some delegates complicated it. Tito in his initial speech—contrary to his position on Kampuchea, with its veiled criticism of Vietnam—put his non-support of Sadat beyond doubt. "Looking at things realistically," he said, "we must say that separate roads don't lead to peace." Many delegates, mainly from small countries, stoutly defended the Movement's principles as violated at Camp David. "We must," said São Tome and Principe President Manoel Pinto da Costa, "be quite firm with members who betray our Movement, if we want to preserve the purity of its principles." It took a 30-hour marathon of speeches and negotiations to reach a decision, and when the public was admitted to the hall almost all faces bore signs of exhaustion; some delegates were asleep in their seats. The Arab bloc performed maturely and got the essence of what it wanted: strong condemnation of Camp David and a watchful stance toward Sadat's government, pending a final decision, if the Egyptians—like the Iranians—don't find their own solution.

A Palestinian leader considered the conference results very positive for the Arab cause: former positions vis-à-vis Israel were maintained and the analysis of the problem advanced. Arab League secretary Chedly Kibli told us: "Our struggle against Zionism has emerged clearly here as on a par with liberation and anti-racist movements."

Sticking to Principles

If anything characterized the 6th Summit, it was faithfulness to the principles which have brought into the Nonaligned Movement, ever since Bandung, a growing number of countries: briefly, the struggle against imperialism, which must create inflexibility against colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism. The problems seem different but are similar. Puerto Rico, Belize, Palestine, East Timor and Western Sahara are typical cases of colonialism and neocolonialism, with the same imperialist roots.

On the great problems of liberation movements, the Summit held its positions, but perhaps there were omissions. Why support for the struggle for democracy in Chile and none for the same struggle in Argentina, Uruguay, Haiti and other Latin American countries? Why not a more comprehensive statement? But the statement did cover the concern about blocs, evidently stemming from Europe. The requirement for a country's membership was stated as "having adopted an independent policy, based on coexistence between states with different political and social systems, and non-membership in any multilateral military alliance within the context of great



power conflicts." This reflects the concern of certain countries, especially Yugoslavia, about the Movement's future relations with the socialist camp.

Fidel Castro broached the problem of "Sovietization" of the movement with such firmness and clarity as to reassure the most conservative participants that its independence and identity would be resolutely maintained. At the same time he thanked the socialist camp for "the help extended to liberation movements," and also expressed the Movement's gratitude to Scandinavian countries. The conference might well have broadened this tribute to revolutionary and progressive forces in capitalist countries who have a long history of cooperation. There were in the corridors of the Palace of Conventions many Dutch, Germans, French and Italians, but most conspicuously North Americans, with Blacks, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans predominating—people totally identified with Third World struggles.

Radicalization

Castro met with evident ease the challenge of keeping his wellknown ideological position separate from his responsibilities as chairman. Apart from facilitating the Pol Pot delegates' entry to Cuba, he gave the floor (although no reply to the opening speech is normally scheduled) to the Egyptian delegate to answer "Fidel Castro's insults."

Future problems are many, but Summit proceedings show a distinct process of radicalization apart from Fidel's style of leadership. Many countries traditionally in the "moderate" category and dependent on Washington or West European policies are becoming impatient with the capitalist system's fatherly grandiloquence, and clamoring for a New International Economic Order in which their natural resources will no longer be plundered. The conservative United Arab Emirates spoke up in condemnation of the oil transnationals, mainly responsible for the soaring price of energy. Bitter words were spoken about capitalist injustice and discrimination toward a Third World engulfed in harrowing problems; and a share of these attacks was aimed at certain oil countries of the emerging world which, instead of using their resources to help poor countries develop, continue filling the coffers of rich countries where they do business and stash their surplus money.

President Ratsiraka of Madagascar pointed out that "638 of the world's 650 biggest companies have their headquarters in the US" and "their profits rose from \$500 millions in 1950 to \$10 billion in 1974." The lone voice in their defense



The Palestinians achieved a resounding victory at the 6th Summit: unanimous support of the Palestinian people, reiterated recognition of the PLO's and Yasser Arafat's leadership, and outright condemnation of the Camp David agreements.

—"because they revitalize our economies"—was Argentina's, and it evoked a resounding reply. It was tantamount to a defense of colonialism, said the Mozambique delegate: just because the struggle against exploitation forced a company to drop a crumb or two to the exploited, where was the "revitalization?"

Bombs or People

On the social mathematics of the arms race, Fidel noted that world military spending now exceeds \$300 billions a year, "possibly a conservative figure. The US armed forces alone use 30 million tons of oil a year, more energy expenditure than all Central American and Caribbean countries combined. \$300 billions would build in one year 600,000 schools accommodating 400 million children, or 60 million comfortable homes for 300 million people, or 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds, or 20,000 factories with jobs for 20 million workers, or irrigate 150 million hectares of land which with adequate techniques could feed one billion people."

That two thirds of humanity will remain indifferent to the great challenge of politico-economic liberation reflected in all these problems, is surely inconceivable. The 6th Nonaligned Summit was a moment of denunciation and unity. Those who thought they could exploit this conglomerate of emerging nations were mistaken. Their political systems may differ and their ideologies be contradictory. What brings them together is the conviction that the circle of exploitation, poverty and outside-looking-in—everything that imposition of the imperialist system implies—must be broken. □



Fidel: Peace and a New Economic Order

At the opening session of the 6th Summit Conference, President Fidel Castro addressed the major issues before the Non-aligned Movement. Below we offer a few excerpts from his speech.

What charges can be brought against Cuba? That it is a socialist country? Yes, we are a socialist country, but we don't impose our ideology or our system on anyone, either inside or outside the Movement, and being socialist is nothing to be ashamed of. That we had a radical revolution in Cuba? Yes, we are radical revolutionaries, but we don't try to impose our radicalism on anyone, much less on the Nonaligned Movement.

That we maintain fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community? Yes, we are friends of the Soviet Union. We are very grateful to the Soviet people, because their generous cooperation helped us to survive and overcome some very difficult and decisive periods in our people's life, when we were even in danger of being wiped out. No people has the right to be ungrateful. We are grateful to the glorious October Revolution because it ushered in a new era in human history, made it possible to defeat fascism and created a world situation in which the peoples' self-sacrificing struggle led to the downfall of the hateful colonial system. To ignore that is to ignore history itself.

Not only Cuba but also Vietnam; the Arab countries under attack; the peoples in the former Portuguese colonies; the revolutionary processes in many other countries throughout the world; and the liberation movement that fights against oppression, racism, Zionism and fascism in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and elsewhere owe a debt of gratitude to socialist solidarity. I wonder whether the United States or any other NATO country has ever helped a single liberation movement anywhere in the world. In fact, I am convinced—and I have said so on other occasions—that, without the power and influence which the socialist community exerts today, imperialism, harassed by the economic crisis and

Peace for All Peoples

by the shortage of basic raw materials, would not hesitate to divide the world up again. It has already done so more than once. It is even threatening to do so again and, in point of fact, is creating special intervention forces aimed menacingly at the oil-exporting countries. To cite just one example of this, the United States has unilaterally decided to respect no more than a three-mile limit of maritime sovereignty.

If membership in the Nonaligned Movement depended on betraying our deepest ideas and convictions, it would not be honorable for me or for any of you to belong to it. No revolutionary has the right to be a coward.

The struggle for peace and for a just economic order and a workable solution to the pressing problems that weigh on our peoples is, in our opinion, increasingly becoming the main question posed to the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

Peace, with the immense risks that threaten it, is not something that should be left exclusively in the hands of the big military powers. Peace is possible, but world peace can only be assured to the extent that all countries are consciously determined to fight for it—peace not just for a part of the world, but for all peoples. Peace, also, for Vietnam; the Palestinians; the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia; the oppressed majorities in South Africa; Angola; Zambia; Mozambique; Botswana; Ethiopia; Syria; Lebanon; and the Saharan people. Peace with justice, peace with independence, peace with freedom. Peace for the powerful countries and the small countries. Peace for all continents and all peoples. We understand perfectly well that we will not achieve it without a tenacious, resolute struggle, but we should believe in the possibility of achieving it in spite of imperialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism, expansionism and the other regressive elements that still exist in the world. The strength



of our united countries is very great. Never before have the forces of progress and the advanced political awareness of the peoples attained such high levels. Even within the imperialist, reactionary countries themselves, important progressive sectors are determined to struggle for the same ends. The important role that the people of the United States and world opinion played in ending the criminal imperialist war against Vietnam should never be forgotten.

On Underdevelopment

We must demand peace, détente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. We must demand and win them, because they will not come about by spontaneous generation, and there is no alternative in today's world, if we are to preserve the very existence of mankind.

Progressive governments that are making a noble effort to develop and increase the well-being of their countries are overwhelmed and may even be wiped out by economic difficulties and unfair, unpopular conditions imposed by the international credit agencies. What political price haven't many of you had to pay because of the rules laid down by the International Monetary Fund? We Cubans, who were excluded from that institution because of an imperialist dictate, aren't quite sure whether that exclusion was a punishment or a privilege.

Some governments placed in power by the people's revolutionary struggle suddenly find themselves faced with horrifying conditions of poverty, indebtedness and underdevelopment that prevent them from responding to even the most modest hopes of their peoples.

I'm not going to tell you half-truths, nor am I going to hide the fact that social difficulties are much greater when, in any of our countries, a small minority controls the basic wealth and the majority of the people are completely dispossessed. In short, if the system is socially just, the possibilities of survival and economic and social development are incomparably greater. Some countries present the phenomenon of growing economies with equally growing poverty, illiteracy, the number of children who have no schools to go to, malnutrition, disease, begging and unemployment—all of which show in no uncertain terms that something is wrong.

The underdeveloped countries—some optimistically prefer to call them developing countries, when, in fact, the gap separating their per capita incomes and standards of living from those of the developed countries is constantly widening—contain 65 percent of the world population but account for only 15 percent of total world production and only 8 percent of industrial produc-

tion. The conglomerate of countries in this category, which have no natural energy sources, now have a foreign debt of over \$300,000 million. It is estimated that around \$40,000 million a year goes to servicing this foreign debt—more than 20 percent of their exports. Average per capita income in the developed countries is now 14 times greater than in the underdeveloped countries. In addition, the underdeveloped countries contain more than 900 million illiterate adults. This situation is untenable.

Economic Cooperation and Solidarity

We must look for solutions to the energy crisis, but not only for the developed countries, that already use most of the energy produced in the world; basically, we must also find solutions for the underdeveloped countries.

We appeal to the sense of responsibility of the large oil-exporting countries in our Movement, asking them to strike out courageously, firmly and boldly in implementing a wise and farsighted policy of economic cooperation, supplies and investments in our underdeveloped world, because their future depends on ours.

I am not asking you to sacrifice your legitimate interests; I am not asking you to stop all-out efforts to develop and raise the well-being of your own peoples; I am not asking you to stop trying to safeguard your future. I am inviting you to join us and to close ranks with us and struggle together for a real new international economic order whose benefits will extend to all.

No money can purchase the future, because the future lies in justice, in our conscience and in the honest and fraternal solidarity of our peoples.

The solution to the economic problems faced by our countries requires a tremendous, responsible, conscious and serious effort of a world nature.

Those of us meeting here represent the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Let us close ranks and unite the growing forces of our vigorous Movement in the United Nations and in all other international forums to demand economic justice for our peoples and an end to foreign control over our resources and the theft of our labor. Let us close ranks in demanding respect for our right to development, to life and to the future. Enough of building a world economy based on the opulence of those who exploited and impoverished us in the past and who exploit and impoverish us today and on the poverty, the economic and social underdevelopment of the vast majority of mankind. May a firm determination to struggle and concrete plans of action come out of this 6th Summit Conference: deeds, not just words.



Latin America: Strong Presence at the Summit

*The Havana Summit leaves only Chile, Guatemala, Honduras
and Paraguay outside looking in*

Luis Maira



Panama's Aristides Royo. Strong defense of human rights.

The original members of the Nonaligned Movement were mainly African and Asian countries emerging from colonialism after World War II, with the same problems of nascent independence and political will to confront them. Their perspective Latin American countries simply could not share, caught up as they were in their special "hemispheric" relationship with a cold war-obsessed US. Hence their total absence—even as observers—from the Bandung conference organized

by President Sukarno in 1955, at which the principles that would guide the Movement were defined.

Three Latin American countries* attended the first Non-aligned Summit at Belgrade as observers; but of the 25 founding members the hemisphere's lone representative was Cuba, already (1961, year of the Bay of Pigs invasion) in a state of de facto war with the US.

*"Latin American countries" here refers to all countries of the hemisphere south of the US, including the Caribbean.

The Lineup

Between Belgrade and Havana much has changed: with 95 member nations, the Movement is a global force to be reckoned with, and Latin American governments have progressively had to face that fact and define their positions on it. Eleven of them attended the 6th Summit as full members: Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Surinam and Trinidad-Tobago. Eleven more came as observers (Barba-



dos, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, St. Lucia, Uruguay, Venezuela) and two with special status (Belize and Puerto Rico, not yet independent but backed by the Movement).

This leaves only four outside looking in: Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay and Chile. An important member in the years of Salvador Allende's presidency, Chile was suspended by the Movement in 1973 on the grounds that the Pinochet regime, and the overthrow and murder of Chile's last constitutional President, resulted from inadmissible US interference.

Latin America Climbs Aboard

The 6th Summit can be said without qualification to have marked the integration of Latin America into the Nonaligned fraternity, to a point where intractable governments will find it a decidedly negative factor to stay out. Consider the present situation: 1) A Latin American country, Cuba, will be chairing the Movement for the next three years—a position with ample scope for projecting the most important political developments in the region; 2) Hemisphere countries, formerly with four seats on the Coordinating Bureau, now have five of 36 seats; 3) The Movement's 1979-1982 work program includes crucial projects which will broaden its importance and activity in Latin America.

At Havana, Latin America began throwing its weight in the foreign ministers' meeting prior to that of the heads of states and governments. Of six new-member candidacies approved there, three were Latin American (Nicaragua, Bolivia, Surinam) and three Afro-Asian (Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, Pakistan, Iran). Of four newcomers approved as observers, three (Dominica, Costa Rica, St. Lucia) were Latin American.



Gen. Omar Torrijos of Panama was a special guest at the Summit

No Protocol for Fidel

Chairman Fidel Castro's address set the tone of Latin America's integration into the Movement. All the delegations took his definition of the 6th Summit's problems as a basic point of reference. There had been much speculation as to whether he would choose a conciliatory protocol approach or take the obvious risks of putting a positive stamp on the conference. He chose the second course and, as in previous conferences, what he said influenced the proceedings right up to the final declaration.

Throughout the remaining five days Latin America made its presence felt despite wide gaps between the various governments' attitudes. As the Movement has grown in numbers and strength over the years, so has polarization of political criteria.

This time three groups emerged with distinct positions. On the right, a group unmistakably reflecting the developed capitalist countries' interests, led by Zaire, Senegal, Singapore and Saudi

Arabia, with Argentina well inside the ranks and sometimes Peru. In the center, a group led by Yugoslavia, India, Sri Lanka and Zambia, standing for strict adherence to the Movement's original principles as defined at Belgrade and equal treatment of all the powers, supported by Panama and Bolivia, and sometimes by Peru and most of the observer countries, especially Mexico, Venezuela and Ecuador. On the left, the radical countries led by Vietnam, Ethiopia and Mozambique, with Cuba in a major role and support from Nicaragua, Jamaica and Grenada.

The third group stood for reaffirmation of the Movement's essentially anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist character. That, they insisted, made it impossible to treat socialist countries—particularly the USSR—like imperialist ones, for socialist countries are "natural allies" of the Nonaligned.

Disturbing Situations

Over and above their differences, several Latin American



countries were able to arouse the other members' concern about their problems and positions. These were some of the hemispheric situations that left their mark on the Movement's new platform:

Nicaragua: The National Reconstruction Government delegation (Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez) was a weighty presence in the conference. Many African, Arab and Asian heads of state and government extolled Nicaragua as a strategic triumph over US domination in Latin Ameri-

ca. When Ortega set forth his country's economic plight (\$1,600 billion foreign debt, with \$800 billion in short-term debts recently contracted by Somoza to private banks "which we just can't pay"), the Movement committed itself to a financial aid plan for 1980-1985 which could be decisive for the new government's consolidation program. Nicaragua's appearance and performance clearly strengthened the left within the Latin American group.

The Andean countries (Peru, Bo-

livia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela): This group took on new importance during the conference. Their delegations were headed in each case by foreign ministers, and a "joint policy statement" came from Peruvian President, Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez. In the future the five countries would, it said, not only continue their efforts for economic integration but, in fulfillment of last May's heads-of-state agreement at Cartagena, undertake the "new international function" of "introducing an Andean perspective into a world scene afflicted by profound political and economic crisis." In a joint public statement the five countries promised to "act as a bloc within the inter-American and world system, in favor of a position based on the fundamental principles of nonalignment."

This would seem to promise important consequences in the Organization of American States. An international line self-defined as favoring free determination, security, justice between nations and independence for the peoples could evolve into a majority stance of independence vis-à-vis the US, and produce OAS actions similar to those taken with respect to Nicaragua. A bloc formed by the five Andean nations plus the Caribbean democracies Jamaica, Grenada, Guyana, Barbados, Trinidad-Tobago and the Dominican Republic, plus Mexico, and Costa Rica and Panama in Central America, could tip the scale in a new inter-American balance of forces.

Panama: Deeply concerned about full implementation of the Torrijos-Carter Canal agreements, Panama prudently joined the center group in the conference. Since the late 60s its government has been prototypical of those subordinating all international decisions to national exigencies. A policy, first and foremost, of seeking positions of equilibrium; secondly, of identifying as its

URUGUAYAN DICTATORSHIP DENOUNCED

During his speech, Panamanian President Aristides Royo denounced the military dictatorships of South America. "Panama has been fighting for the freedom of political prisoners everywhere and especially in Latin American countries. The pathetic case of two Uruguayans, the distinguished Gen. Liger Seregni and the wellknown mathematician Dr. José Luis Massera, who are suffering prolonged imprisonment in Montevideo, moves me to express the hope that the government of Uruguay may grant them freedom and consider my government's decision to offer asylum to these eminent men of America, because we see it as an honor to have them in our country."

In a subsequent interview President Royo affirmed his government's decision to continue campaigning for their liberation: "We will not rest until they are free." He said that all efforts have so far been ignored by Uruguayan authorities.



Representatives of Uruguay and Venezuela. Leaving protocol aside, they turned their backs at each other.



own those causes which involve claims to restore lost national territories. Hence President Arístides Royo's lone support at Havana of the Spanish demand for restoration of Gibraltar, and his backing of Argentina's and Bolivia's respective claims to the Flakland Islands and to an outlet to the sea.

Royo's efforts were amply rewarded with a resolution of Summit "concern that the treaties on functioning and neutrality of the Canal be fully implemented," voicing the Movement's "constant vigilance" in this regard. **Puerto Rico:** One of Cuba's and the left members' great successes was the concern they aroused about residues of colonialism in the hemisphere. The previous Nonaligned program included open support of "the anticolonial struggle of the Caribbean peoples, especially Puerto Rico, Belize, Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guyana." This was ratified, but Puerto Rico became

the central point of concern.

The platform of tasks to be supervised by Cuba until 1982, along with demanding full implementation of the 15th UN General Assembly resolution on the subject, reiterates "solidarity with the Puerto Rican people's struggle and their inalienable right to selfdetermination, independence and territorial integrity." This may affect the US government's decisions in coming years on normalization of its relations with Cuba, since Washington still insists that the status of Puerto Rico is "an internal matter."

Bolivia: The Summit's position apparently coincided with the key point of Bolivian diplomacy, seeking support for its claim to the Pacific coastal strip it lost after the 1879 war with Chile. Bolivia's recent re-democratization has brought it back into the Movement under advantageous conditions, in contrast with the isolation of Pinochet's

Chile against whom the claim is fundamentally lodged. Since Bolivia broke relations with Chile in March 1978, it has firmly planted the problem in international forums. Now enjoying support from the Andean bloc, it is excellently positioned to step up the pressure in the forthcoming OAS general assembly. Decidedly helpful on that occasion will be the Havana Summit's resolution "supporting Bolivia's just claim," calling on the international community to "declare its solidarity with this legitimate decision of the Bolivian people."

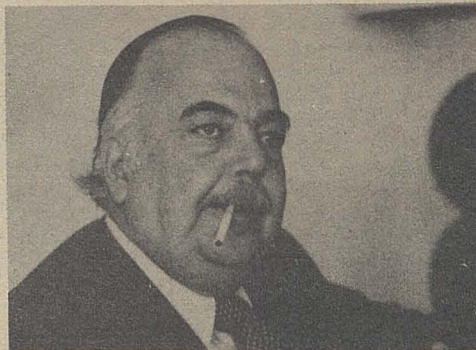
Chile: Despite the fact that it involved no claim against a colonial power, the Chilean resistance earned the Movement's express support. Other Southern Cone military dictatorships (like Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay) did not even figure on the Summit agenda, but Chile's case demanded implementation of specific resolutions by the UN General

PUERTO RICO:

CONSENSUS FOR ITS INDEPENDENCE

The Socialist Party of Puerto Rico, which has observer status in the Nonaligned Movement, was represented by its secretary general, the wellknown lawyer Juan Mari Bras. He said the 6th Summit had been of utmost importance for the Puerto Rican independence struggle: "For the first time there was a Latin American consensus on Puerto Rico's position." During the conference he made contact with many heads of state and leaders of various delegations who "promised to send representatives from their countries to the coming Conference of Solidarity with Puerto Rico, to be held in Mexico.

Mari Bras expressed his joy at the freeing of the four Puerto Rican patriots—Lolita Lebrón, Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Oscar Collazo, jailed in the US since 1954—during the course of the 6th Summit. "It's a tremendous victory for those of us who have been campaigning for their liberation over the last 20 years. I might say it is also a triumph for the Nonaligned Movement,



Mari Bras

because it is no coincidence that it happened just now. You must recall that the night before, the assembly voted for a resolution demanding their freedom. Carter could have set them free earlier—we know that the decree had been on his desk for some time—and world opinion would have treated him as a champion of human rights. But he has just done it, and the world will know it's a victory of the 6th Summit."



Assembly, the Human Rights Commission, the International Labor Organization, UNESCO and other international agencies. The Summit "stressed its firm solidarity with the Chilean people's cause against the Pinochet tyranny" and, commemorating "another anniversary of the fall of constitutional President Allende, paid homage to his noble and praiseworthy effort to lead his country toward a new destiny through defense of national sovereignty, recuperation of its natural resources, elevation of its people's wellbeing, independent foreign policy and full membership in the Nonaligned Movement—an effort frustrated by the US government's intervention in Chile's internal affairs."

Food for Thought

All these resolutions concerning Latin America rise above their texts to project a substantial shadow over coming events in the region. The adherence—at least formally—of so broad a majority of countries to principles clearly opposed to US domination must produce reverberations in many countries' political, economic and military relations with the US and in the functioning of regional organizations.

Furthermore, the importance of the countries that have become full Nonaligned members must be food for thought for those major hemisphere nations—Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela—that still remain mere observers. And finally, the fact that Cuba occupies the Movement's chair until the 7th Summit (Baghdad, 1982) will decisively stiffen its growing emphasis on Latin America.

But the balance of the Havana Summit for nations of this hemisphere cannot be judged only on the basis of faster or slower progress in expressing their concerns. It must be seen in an international context with entirely new elements to be taken into account. □

Mexico: An Observer Speaks

Through its foreign minister Jorge Castañeda Mexico reaffirmed its support of the Nonaligned Movement's basic principles. He defined nonalignment as "a deliberate separation from the world conceived in blocs, a rejection of the subordination of some states to others, the awareness that it's time for the world to disappear in which abuse, disorder and violence characterize international relations."

Castañeda addressed the conference on the importance of the energy problem "in a world in conflict... a problem that affects every country on earth, with such vast implications that a solution must be found in one way or another during the next decade. We must see to it that the solution arises from sovereign parties and their capacity to reach understanding, rather than being imposed by great powers and their capacity for violence." Precisely because of its universality, Mexico's President López Portillo will take the problem to the UN General Assembly.

He firmly reiterated his government's anti-colonialist position. "We think the world's chief problems are due to non-fulfillment of the right of many peoples to determine their political organization for themselves as independent states. That's the situation with the peoples of Western Sahara, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Palestine and Belize. Regarding our brothers in Puerto Rico we're confident that the US nation, born out of the exercise of free determination, will respect the

Puerto Rican people's sovereign and freely expressed decision."

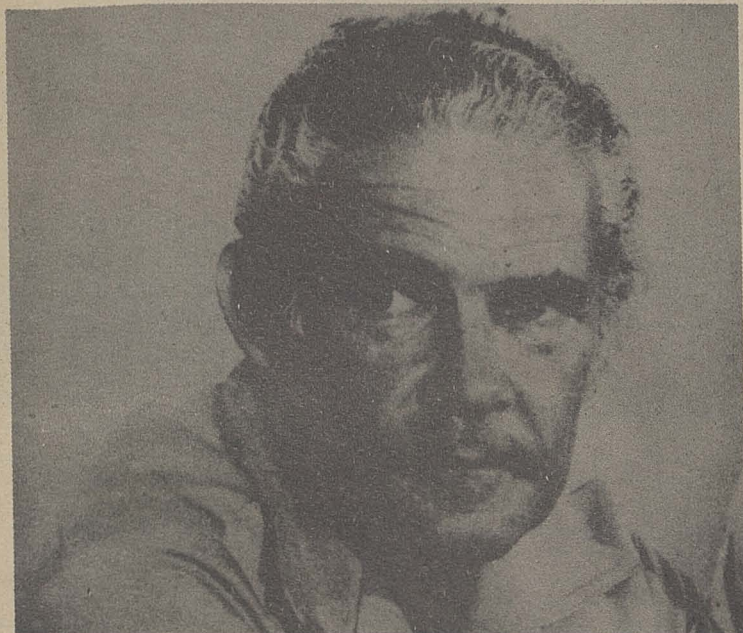
Announcing Mexico's recognition of the Arab Saharan Democratic Republic in the area of former Spanish Sahara, he commended Mauritania for having withdrawn from the war in that region, and called on Morocco to respect the Saharan people's self-determination. He saw the "greatest danger for peace" in southern Africa, backed the Movement's resolutions on that area and called for energetic UN measures against the "international crime," as he described it, of racist oppression there. He deplored the fact that South African, Namibian and Zimbabwean racial minorities and racists hold on to power and get political, economic and military aid from certain governments and powerful economic groups. He warmly greeted Nicaragua's liberation, pointing out that "recently the Latin American states blocked OAS intervention" against it, and called for immediate Nonaligned Movement help to that nation.

Transmitting his President's greeting to the conference, Castañeda said: I must at the same time extend President López Portillo's fraternal greeting to Comandante Fidel Castro, chairman of the Cuban Council of Ministers and of this 6th Summit. The Comandante is aware, and has had many proofs, of the solidarity and fraternal sentiments of the Mexican people and government toward the Cuban people's exemplary struggle to preserve their full sovereignty." □



The New Caribbean Speaks

*Two strong voices at the Summit reflect the change:
Manley of Jamaica and Maurice Bishop of Grenada*



Michael Manley

A note of dynamic commitment was contributed to the Havana conference by Caribbean island nations: especially by Grenada (Prime Minister Maurice Bishop) and Jamaica (Prime Minister Michael Manley), but also by Dominica and St. Lucia, attending their first Summit as observers. Bishop was repeatedly applauded in the plenary session, and a survey of journalists covering the conference pronounced Manley one of the outstanding heads of state present for his brilliant plenary speech and other positive contributions.

Outlining his people's history from slavery to the tyranny of Eric Gairy, Bishop spoke of the colonialist legacy—poverty, massive emigration, superstition—and of the “just, free, revolutionary” Grenada which has now emerged, “firmly committed” to the Nonaligned Movement's stand “against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, Zionism and the contemptible system of apartheid.” He spoke forcefully about “a cable we received last week from the US Secretary of State, to the effect that if we participated here we would be in the front line of

efforts initiated and directed by Cuba to destroy and divide the Movement.” The cable described these efforts as designed “to destroy the Organization of American States, to impede that organization's peacemaking role.” As for Grenada, “what was expected of us was to unite with other forces to ensure that this wouldn't happen.”

Who Damaged Relations?

“That,” said Bishop, “gave us several options. We could have replied to the Secretary of State that we never tried to give advice to any country—of course, never to the US—as to how it should run its own business in any organization to which it belonged.”

“We didn't choose that, but decided that by participating in this conference, by talking out straight in line with the interests of the suffering peoples of the world, the oppressed countries and peoples fighting today for their freedom, fighting for their independence, fighting for their right to national determination—by being here together with 93 other countries, we would give the most categorical answer to any suggestion that we would try to divide and reverse the Nonaligned process.”

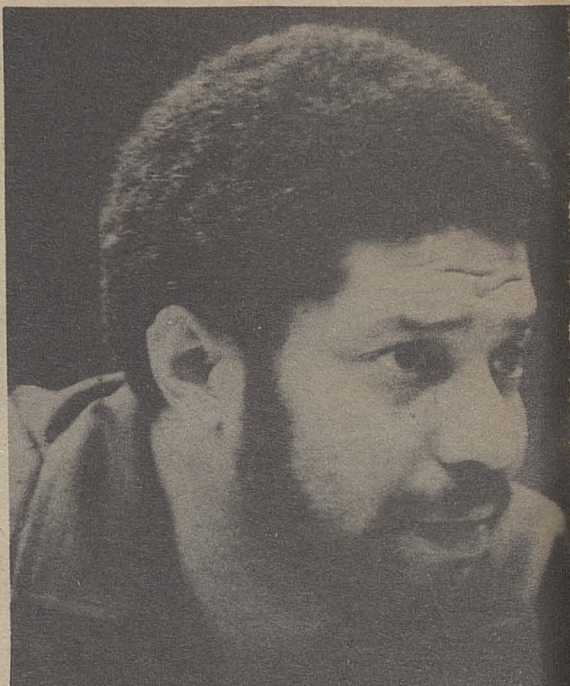
After his speech Bishop told us that if his country's relations with the US are not good, “it isn't Grenada's fault.” He accused certain US groups of seeking to undermine Grenada-US relations because of his government's clear stand against intervention,



A NEW POLITICAL DIMENSION?

"We in Jamaica are deeply convinced that the Nonaligned Movement holds out the possibility, and so far it is no more than a possibility, of a permanent, new dimension in the dynamics of world politics. The dimension involves the judgement of issues in terms of perceptions of right and wrong rather than calculations of advantage. Of course, this is a new and fragile plant. Of course, there are the cynics who scoff and say that political processes must forever be only a reflection of the dialectics of oppression and resistance, or the cynical perception of class or national advantage. Nonetheless, there are societies today that are seeking to build their structures and relationships on a basis of clear moral principles. The Non-aligned Movement represents the possibility of a parallel development at the international level."

(From the speech delivered by Jamaican Premier Michael Manley.)



Maurice Bishop. Strong pressures from the US.

and spoke of the help Grenada is getting from countries of the region "especially Cuba, Jamaica and Guyana," while Gairy is busy in California recruiting mercenaries. He hoped to see unity and cooperation among English-, French-, Dutch-, and Spanish-speaking Caribbean countries and stressed the importance of the "St. George's Declaration" recently signed by Grenada, St. Lucia and Dominica. Present developments in Grenada, he said, are part of the overall process of change in the region. "In Grenada we don't talk about nationalization, but about our need to take the reins of our country's economy."

Seldom but Welcome

On the hot potato of Non-aligned countries' relations with the socialist and capitalist worlds, Jamaica's Manley made these trenchant comments:

"If one of our members, or the Movement as a whole, takes a position which coincides with a position taken by, for example, the Socialist Group, it is claimed that we are surrogates of Socialist Bloc power. Nothing could be further from the truth. When that occurs we are glad that somebody else shares our view. Let the countries of the developed world understand that we will not change our view so as to avoid a coincidence of view with the socialist world, or any part of the world. And for those who are concerned about the fact that there are increasing examples of a coincidence of view between the Nonaligned Movement and, say, the Socialist Group about matters like liberation struggles, the matter can be simply remedied by the developed countries changing *their* position and joining *us* in what would then become a true international consensus! And, certainly, we wel-

come all occasions when our views do coincide with those of the developed countries: our only regret is that this seems to happen so seldom."

No Alternatives

Manley spoke at length on the present energy problem as "a manifestation of the crisis in the capitalist economic system," and in that connection praised the President of Iraq's proposal to maintain existing prices of crude for Nonaligned purchasers. In a third world interview he discussed the imperialist pressures brought to bear on his government and the "disappointment of those who expected the 6th Summit to fail." For him the Movement does not face "two alternatives," as some would have it; rather "it is basically and permanently committed to the struggle against imperialism."

Jamaica's Deputy P.M. and Foreign Minister Percival James



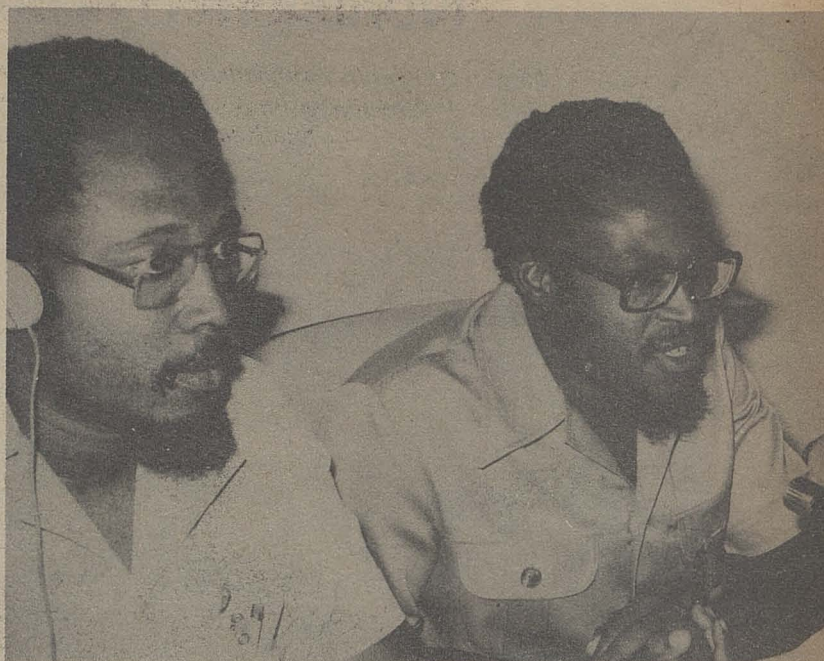
Patterson sees the Movement as having both "unifying principles" and "ideological pluralism." It needs, he told us, to "stress points of agreement and honestly recognize points of possible disagreement." The Third World's struggle for economic emancipation is what particularly concerns him: "Most of our countries have won political independence, but so long as neocolonialism continues in other forms, complete independence isn't possible."

Jamaica has distinguished itself in the Movement ever since Manley's biting indictment of apartheid at the Algiers conference. In Havana in 1975 he proposed an international convention on race segregation in sports, which was taken up in a special resolution at the 5th (Colombo) Summit. Jamaica became a Non-aligned Coordinating Bureau member in 1976 and is also coordinator of the Movement's action program on women's role in development.

Devastated but Unbowed

Guyana P.M. Forbes Burnham supported initiatives for new production associations: "OPEC has been a success and we must develop an agency in the Movement to foster such initiatives and guarantee stable prices for certain products and metals." He said Guyana hoped the conference would show more gumption with regard to economic cooperation between developing countries.

Bernard Wiltshire and Senator Rossie Douglas attended the Summit as observers for Dominica, the island almost wiped out by Hurricane David. (It left 70,000—80 percent of the population—homeless and destroyed citrus, banana and copra plantations and virtually all communications.) "We've been devastated," Wiltshire told a press conference, "but the Nonaligned Movement's human solidarity cheers us up."



Dominica's Bernard Wiltshire (right), who represented the prime minister, and senator Rossie Douglas. Nonaligned solidarity welcome.

During the conference almost \$4,000 million in cash was subscribed to a fund for Dominica, which Cuba as current Movement chairman was asked to coordinate, and several countries offered technical and human aid. "The US and UK," the press conference was told, "contributed by sending a helicopter and a warship."

To the Dominican Republic, likewise badly hit by David, solidarity was extended in an economic committee resolution approved by acclamation in the plenary. The resolution called for "immediate aid, without which the Dominican Republic could not be able to break out of its present calamitous situation."

George Odum, St. Lucia's trade, industry, tourism and foreign minister, said his country would seek closer relations with those fighting for a New International Economic Order. He

called the recent meeting in St. Lucia with representatives of Dominica and Grenada "an event of highest importance" which in no way implied divisionist aims "as certain people have tried to make out." With regard to the plan of some conservative Caribbean countries for a joint security force, he said: "Such a force may be necessary, but to act against imperialism" and not—as it has been conceived—to "solve internal problems."

Surinam, one of the seven new members of the Movement, sent a delegation headed by its P.M. Henk Arron. Stressing his country's support of decolonization everywhere, he made special mention of Western Sahara and Southern Africa. Also in the delegation were foreign minister Derlyck Heineman, permanent economic affairs secretary Henry Lont, and Ronald Dorn, head of the Foreign Ministry's international political section. □



Nonaligned Nicaragua

Fifty years later, in a Havana quite different from that of 1928, the assembly of states and peoples responds to Sandino's dramatic call.



Nicaraguan delegation during press conference. Left to right: foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto, comandante Daniel Ortega and Junta member Sergio Ramírez

Nicaragua's sudden appearance within the ranks of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries was a historic moment at the 6th Summit Conference. When Comandante Daniel Ortega strode up to the podium to declare, under a roaring shower of applause: "We are with the Nonaligned because we reject Yankee intervention," it was acclamation not only of the government's change of position but of the culmination of nearly half a century of struggle against the Somoza tyranny.

The new Nicaraguan government could be excused for wanting to remain in political limbo

resting on the laurels of its triumph over one of the world's most hated dictatorships. However, it decided not to let vague political positions neutralize or attenuate their victory. "The Nicaraguan people have given their blood for the right to be here today, finally breaking with a long history of servility to imperialism," Ortega explained.

Sandino in 1928

Few events at the meeting were as symbolic of the advance of the revolutionary process in Latin America as the Sandinista spokesman's speech comparing

the Nicaragua of 50 years ago to that of today.

"A conference was held in Havana in January 1928 which was known as the Pan-American Conference," he said. "At that time, the Nicaraguan people were locked in an uneven struggle against Yankee intervention. Herbert Hoover, then the President of the United States and the dictator Machado, President of Cuba, were there. Hoping to strike a sympathetic chord in some of the delegations, Sandino sent the following message: 'May our voices be heard in Havana. Those with any manhood will not lack the moral courage to



tell the truth about our misfortune. Let them tell how the people of Nicaragua, fighting and suffering bravely, are resolved to make any sacrifice, including that of their own extermination, in defense of their freedom. Results in Havana will be nil if the vision of the Spanish-speaking peoples remains unrealized. And, if you let us be murdered to the last man, we will have the consolation of knowing that we did our duty.'

"Not a single voice was raised at the meeting in Havana. Today, Havana is host to the 6th Summit where peoples and governments moved by common interests are listened to with respect."

Latin American Support

Insisting on not separating the Nicaraguan struggle from the context of the world situation and recognizing the contribution of progressive Latin American governments and movements which succeeded even in blocking US military intervention when Somoza's collapse was imminent Ortega went on to say: "Forces in the US government were bringing pressure to bear at the Organization of American States' meeting for recommendation of the invasion of our soil, but there were also 17 Latin American countries present who said no to the proposal... And we especially want to mention the militant solidarity of Latin American fighters who joined our struggle and whose blood soaked the path to victory. Latin America's help made that victory possible."

Israeli Armaments Bill Will not be Paid

Israel's role in the war with Somoza is wellknown. Blocked on the diplomatic front by the Latin American countries in its effort to save the Somoza dictatorship, the United States was forced to backtrack and discretely pass the buck to Israel in



Sergio Ramírez

supplying arms to the dictator. Now, the Israeli government is making overtures to the National Reconstruction Government in the hope that by sending token aid to Nicaragua they might make the people forget that thousands of their youth between 8 and 20 years of age—the overwhelming majority of the 50,000 victims of the last months of the struggle—fell under bullets from Israeli Uzi machine guns and Galil rifles, Gedeon rockets, and napalm dropped from Arava planes.

Important disclosures were made by Ortega at the 6th Summit about Israel's military collaboration with Somoza, and he placed the new Nicaragua's position within the context of an ideological struggle similar to that of the Palestinians in defense of their self-determination. He revealed that proof was found among the papers left behind by the dictatorship of Israel's credits to Somoza—amounting to millions of dollars—for arms. "Israel was an accomplice of Somoza's crimes... and imperialism's tool until the very end in arming Somoza's genocidal regime... We will not pay that debt... nor will we pay any other debts of the Somoza government. On the contrary, it is Israel that owes us an accounting," Ortega said. "That is why,

as Sandinistas and because our people has suffered aggressions and interventions for over 150 years, we identify historically with the struggle of the Palestinian people, recognize the PLO as its legitimate representative, condemn Israel's occupation of Arab territories and demand their unconditional restitution. We support true efforts in search of a just peace in the Middle East, which must consider the interests of all parties but first and foremost the rights of the Palestinian people."

The Nicaraguan leader then went on to tell the story of how on May 4, 1927, the moment Sandino came to the fore, a Nicaraguan traitor made a deal with the Yankee government to sell out the Nicaraguan people for the price of one dollar for each gun turned over to them. "The Camp David agreement merits the same condemnation as the shameful treachery of 1927 in Nicaragua."

During the course of the meeting, the government of Nicaragua also went on record demanding that the right of People's Kampuchea to be seated at the Assembly be acknowledged, and announced its recognition of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic and the Polisario Front "as the sole and lawful representative of the heroic Saharan people."

What Has Been Accomplished

In order that Nicaragua's friends might know what is being done in the country and its enemies have no doubts as to the significance of the change being wrought there, Ortega provided a graphic description of the enormous steps that have been taken towards social change in the few months since victory: "Sandinismo is the embodiment of the nation. The Sandinista National Liberation Front, as the true vanguard of the great popular



ERNESTO: AN EXILE RETURNS HOME

Among the absorbing human interest stories of the 6th Summit is that of Ernesto Aloma, a young Cuban who returned to his homeland for the first time since 1960 when his parents took him to the United States.

"My father fought in the rebel army," he explains. "For nine months he fought in the Sierra Maestra and later he was made captain. But he had always been an anti-communist, so as the revolution grew more radical he felt less and less comfortable. In 1960 he left for the United States through the base at Guantanamo.

"Soon after, my mother followed him taking my nine year-old brother and me—I was only 12 then. Frankly, I was confused. I felt proud to be the son of a captain and I was excited about the Revolution. But when they took me to the US, I became very confused."

Ernesto's story is similar to that of many young Cubans who, like him, were torn away from their country and forced to live amid the hostility of North American society. Resentful and wishing to be politically active, Ernesto joined the American Indian Movement after having lived on Indian reservations in the state of Arizona. In 1973 he met several members of the Sandinista Front in San Francisco, where he joined them in their solidarity work publishing *La Gaceta Sandinista*.

In 1978, when the attack on the National Palace in Managua took place, Ernesto recognized Comandante Three as one of this old buddies. Then and there, he decided to join the armed struggle. In Nicaragua he fought in the Benjamin Zeledón Southern Front, under the command of Edén Pastora, known as Comandante Zero. He took part in battles at Sapoá and Peñas Blancas. On July 20 he arrived in Managua. Now Ernesto is in charge of the Nonaligned section at the Nicaraguan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"Even though I live in Nicaragua, and despite the fact that I've travelled with my new Nicaraguan passport," he told *third world*, "I will always be a Cuban."



Ernesto Aloma: "I will always be a Cuban"

uprising that overthrew the dictatorship, is now fostering national reconstruction, the first steps of which have been the expropriation en masse of the properties that belonged to Somoza and his military and civilian henchmen. So far, over 500,000 hectares, representing close to half of Nicaragua's entire arable land have been recovered for the people. More than 180 industrial and commercial enterprises have been turned over to the people (together with) more than 400 mansions and residences.

"Banking, agricultural exports, and the exploitation of natural resources have been nationalized. An integral land-reform plan has been launched.

"Bills of 500 and 1,000 córdobas have been de-monetized thereby scotching any maneuvers on the part of the defeated enemies to destabilize the country's finances... Health, education, and housing have been given a true social dimension... A foreign policy of relations with the entire world has been instituted and we have joined the ranks of the Nonaligned Movement... Sandinista Defense Committees have been set up as mass organizations... A Sandinista Popular Army has been formed to ensure the defense and advancement of the revolution."

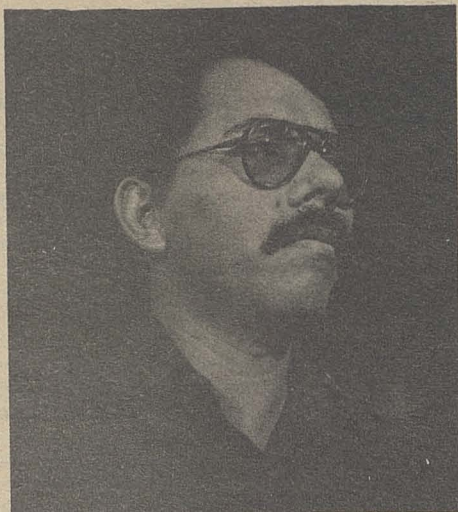
Aid to Nicaragua

Emergency assistance projects for Nicaragua was one of the recommendations of the 6th Summit Conference. While they were in Cuba, the Nicaraguan delegation, which also included Sergio Ramírez, Father Miguel D'Escotto, Comandante Humberto Ortega and other members of the Sandinista Front, made numerous bilateral contacts, tightened diplomatic ties, and discussed specific measures for cooperation with their devastated country. □



Comandante Daniel Ortega: A Great Latin American Front

Diego Achard



—Comandante Ortega, what lesson does the Nicaraguan revolution have for Latin America?

—As we see it, mainly that our revolution set itself against all models. At times we did succumb to the tendency of imitating the tactics of other successful revolutions, but the more we broke with that and got in step with the masses, the better things went for us. That tendency has been evident in Latin America since the Cuban revolution: armed and objectively paternalistic groups are going to liberate the masses, who are supposed to be waiting for a redeemer to appear out of the mountains.

There, we think, Nicaragua made a big step forward. The masses entered into the revolution through armed struggle in the cities, so it wasn't the struggle of a few iso-

lated super-heroes —the people themselves became the hero.

Our revolution shows the need for a political strategy of the possible, a break with dogma. So when we are asked what experience we can transmit to Latin American revolutionaries, our best answer is that they shouldn't try to imitate us, nor try to boil our experience down to a formula.

—Apparently your revolution is bringing about a change in US policy toward Latin America. How should Latin America react to that?

—We definitely must unite and form a great Latin American Front. The US's new policy is a fact. Its most serious aspect is the attempt to impose its line and dismember any possible democratic opening in our countries.

First we have to bear in mind the

struggle that Latin American peoples have made for their independence, which has had repercussions on many governments. And equally important are the economic contradictions. Right now, in some Latin American countries the need to build national capitalism coincides with the interests of revolutionaries. Thus, the national-capitalist tendency now emerging, as opposed to dependent capitalism dictated by US politics, is a positive factor.

We have to coordinate around common objectives: look for what unites, not for what divides. There are great common objectives, and we don't see that any revolutionary progress could be based on the desires of this or that movement or party. It must be based on the strengthening of positions that are positive for the continental revolutionary movement. We won't advance by putting group or party positions at the head of the agenda.

When we appeal for solidarity with Nicaragua, we don't do it from a parochial standpoint. We think the interests of the whole Latin American revolution are involved. So our job is to define unifying positions, such as an opening to democracy —democratization of countries now run by fascist-type dictatorships. Revolutionary forces have the obligation to drop sectarianism and find a road within the actual possibilities.

—Can the currently explosive situation in Central America endanger the consolidation of your revolution?

—Central America's social problems were already there. No one can tell us that it is Nicaragua that's creating them in El Salvador or Guatemala. It is a problem of those peoples with their governments, and they have to resolve them. Of course some people take advantage of that to attack our revolution, but we don't think it will affect us. □



Saddam Hussein: "Arab Unity Will Be Achieved"

The President of Iraq talks about Arab-Latin American relations, Arab unity and the Iranian revolution



Saddam Hussein interviewed by Neiva Moreira and Beatriz Bissio in Havana

Saddam Hussein, President of Iraq, who was the Arab bloc's spokesman in many 6th Nonaligned Summit discussions, gave the following exclusive interview to third world in Havana.

—Are the Arab world and Latin America beginning to understand each other better?

—One of our basic assumptions is that imperialist activities throughout the world, whatever form they take and regardless of geography, are connected and part of a general organized scheme. They are all aimed at maintaining the status quo and their in-

formation services are clearly coordinated. It follows from this that no matter how much national programs may differ, peoples who are targets of imperialism must coordinate their efforts to resist. So we think that Iraq's and the Arab nation's struggle must be closely tied with those of other nations, particularly of Latin American peoples.

—Israel's direct military aid to Somoza against the Nicaraguan people has been something new for us here. What does Iraq think about that?

—We see Israel as a racist

entity set up to serve imperialist designs against Arab peoples' desire for independent governments. So when Israel sides with oppressors against the oppressed, with corrupt governments against the peoples, why should we be surprised? That is our yardstick for appraising Israel's activities anywhere.

—What help can Iraq give to Nicaragua's new government, which Iraq was among the first to recognize, to rebuild its devastated country?

—I don't think any fighting people in the world ever sought moral and material help from Iraq and was denied it. We have maintained contacts with the Nicaraguan fighters since long before their victory, and now we have offered all the help that is in our power in specific projects. We are ready and willing to help them on the same basis as before.

Underground Streams

—Iraq's unification process with Syria has aroused a lot of interest. What prospects do you envision for Arab World unity?

—Our peoples have always sought unity and freedom, but they have been split during the last century and certain international forces have been working against their interests. We refuse to resign ourselves to this undermining of Arab unity and are convinced that unity will be achieved, some day and in one or another form. The present demands it and the future cries for it. But we don't underes-



timate the forces working against it, and we know the mentality they represent. They don't act openly but like little underground streams emanating from a hidden spring of power. We prefer to act on the surface in our efforts for unity, which is what the whole Arab people wants, though the desire takes different forms in different areas.

Our chief enemies, imperialism and Zionism, will keep trying to undermine our unity but in the long run this will turn against them. What they are actually achieving is an ever-growing awareness in the Arab nation that only unity can rid it of these two plagues.

—What was the ideological background of the recent plot in Iraq?

—It had none. A group of ambitious men acted in cahoots with many internal and external forces, all sharing the determination to sow suspicion about the regime and drown the revolution and its leadership in blood. Which, when all is said and done, could only serve the purposes of imperialists in the area.

—Mr. President, we saw for

Oil and the energy crisis were among the most debated issues in Havana. President Hussein announced the only concrete measure taken in this field, which of course was quite welcome.

"The Government of Iraq, conscious of the true economic situation in poor countries and appreciating the common destiny uniting Iraq with Third World countries, has decided to compensate those who have longterm oil agreements for the increase in official prices of Iraqi oil, valid from June 1, 1979, until the end of the year, through long-term interest-free loans equivalent to the price increases, looking toward a fair and effective solution of this problem."

The decision of the Iraqi government sets a precedent which many countries hope will be followed by other oil producers.

ourselves in Baghdad how your people and government welcomed the overthrow of the Shah. What is your view of the recent more somber reports on developments in Iran?

—Peoples fighting in all parts of the world naturally welcomed the end of a regime that was a bastion of imperialism. A revolution can oust a tyranny, but what is needed to eradicate it completely and replace it with a regime responsive to the people's interests? You must have certain

very specific things for that; removing a reactionary dictatorship is not enough. If those who take power are not revolutionaries, they can never create the conditions for revolutionary changes. To build a genuine and responsible revolutionary regime, you must have precise goals and a clear anti-imperialist position. And even if you are a revolutionary, that doesn't necessarily mean that you will be able to transform a reactionary regime into a revolutionary one. □

YEMEN: TOWARD REUNIFICATION

In their speeches before the Conference, the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Abdel Fattah Ismail, and the foreign affairs minister of the Yemen Arab Republic, Hassan Makki, coincided in stressing the aspiration of the Yemeni people for the reunification of the two states. "The colonialists," said Makki, "made two states from one society, from a single people. Unity must mean stabilization and prosperity."

Emphatically denouncing imperialist opposition to reunification, Abdel Fattah Ismail defended his people's aspiration and described it as "a primary issue to achieve the region's stability." He mentioned some of the steps taken toward unity as well as the conspiracy of reactionary forces working against that goal of all Yemenites. Fattah Ismail also condemned the permanent imperialist threats against Arab oil-producing countries.



Democratic Yemen's Fattah Ismail



Tarik Aziz: "We're Optimists"

A Ba'th Arab Socialist Party leader sees a revolution ahead against Sadat in Egypt and discusses the situation in Iraq



Tarik Aziz: "Sadat's cause is not that of Egypt's future"



Tarik Aziz with President Hussein

Tarik Aziz is Vice Prime Minister of the Iraqi government, a leader of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, member of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, and head of Iraq's National Information and Publications Office. **third world** interviewed him between sessions of the 6th Nonaligned Summit in Havana, to which he was one of his country's delegates.

—What is your view of the Camp David agreements?

—Since Camp David and the bilateral agreements between Sadat and Israel, events have taken an even more negative turn for the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. It couldn't have been otherwise. The "alternative route" proposed by Sadat and Israel is contrary to the Palestinian people's interests, to all the aspirations for an independent and sovereign Arab nation, and also to the interests of progressive African countries.

The new US-Egypt-Israel alliance which has come into being since Camp David represents a serious threat to the Arab nation. It has encouraged Israel in its repression of Palestinians in occupied territories, and in its aggressions against southern Lebanon which are now a matter of daily routine. This will go on as long as the Zionists have Sadat's and the US's backing, and it complicates the situation and increases the tensions more than ever.

The Arab nation intends to fight against the Camp David



conspiracy. Progressive Arab forces are carrying out the decisions of the Baghdad Summit, and condemnation of the Camp David agreements by the Islamic Conference in Morocco, and by the Nonaligned Summit, have been important successes for us. Unfortunately, the African Summit at Monrovia didn't do the same.

Earthquake Ahead?

—What about the Arab bloc's proposal here in Havana to suspend Egypt from the Nonaligned Movement?

—We proposed that because we think Egypt has betrayed Nonaligned principles and the Palestinian cause, and that it has acted aggressively against the Arab countries whose lands Israel occupied in 1967.

—What future do you see for the opposition in Egypt?

—We know the situation there well enough to be convinced that Sadat's regime has totally failed to solve the crisis in Egyptian society. Not only has it had no answer to the question of democracy, but it's becoming more and more of a dictatorship. More and more people are being imprisoned every day, freedom of the press is nonexistent, and political opposition is prohibited.

It has also failed to solve the country's economic problems. So, objectively speaking, Egypt is approaching the point of revolutionary explosion, a popular earthquake. Subjectively, though, conditions are still not ripe. Progressive forces there have yet to unite their efforts and create a broad, strong national front against the regime.

In our view one thing is quite clear: Sadat's cause is not the cause of Egypt's future, nor the cause of our region. We have reached a firm decision to continue relentlessly the struggle against the conspiracy of the Zionists, the imperialists and

the Egyptian regime, and we know that the lineup of forces in the region will be very different in the near future.

What is Democracy?

—Moving on to Iraq, how is the process of social and political change launched by the Ba'th Party progressing?

—We have faith in the future. We believe the situation in our country keeps on improving. The revolutionary process of socialist construction is getting more and more solid.

—Yet capitalist news agencies constantly charge your government with not having an acceptable level of popular participation.

—Well, of course for them a country undergoing a revolutionary process has to be a dictatorship. They'll always make such statements because they draw their parallels from liberal ideology, from liberal-government formulas. We have a different concept of democracy and mass participation. In Iraq we now have one million workers participating in a real democratic way through the Federal Workers Organization, and an even larger number of peasants through their own organizations. To say nothing of tens of thousands of students, hundreds of thousands of women, professionals in every sphere, all democratically participating in public life throughout our nation. They all have considerable and growing decision-making power, not only in their own particular concerns but in broad economic and social matters.

We also have the Ba'th Party, which seeks to be a mass party present in every cell of society, encouraging the people to practice revolutionary democracy and play an active part in the country's affairs.

I have had personal experience with visiting US and Western journalists who raise these ques-

tions, and have shown them that if we had a liberal-type election here we would win it by a landslide. No, that isn't one of our worries. We think we have got through the first revolutionary phase well; now we face a second developmental stage which calls for new bodies through which the people can exercise democracy. So a legislative body, the National Assembly, is what we're discussing now. The President and national leadership have been working on that for the last few weeks and we expect it to be implemented soon.

With the National Assembly and mass organizations throughout the country, democracy—as we understand it, based on our concept of revolution and socialism—will be a true expression of popular participation.

Moving Fast

—How about the distribution of wealth? Isn't that particularly important in the case of an oil-producing country?

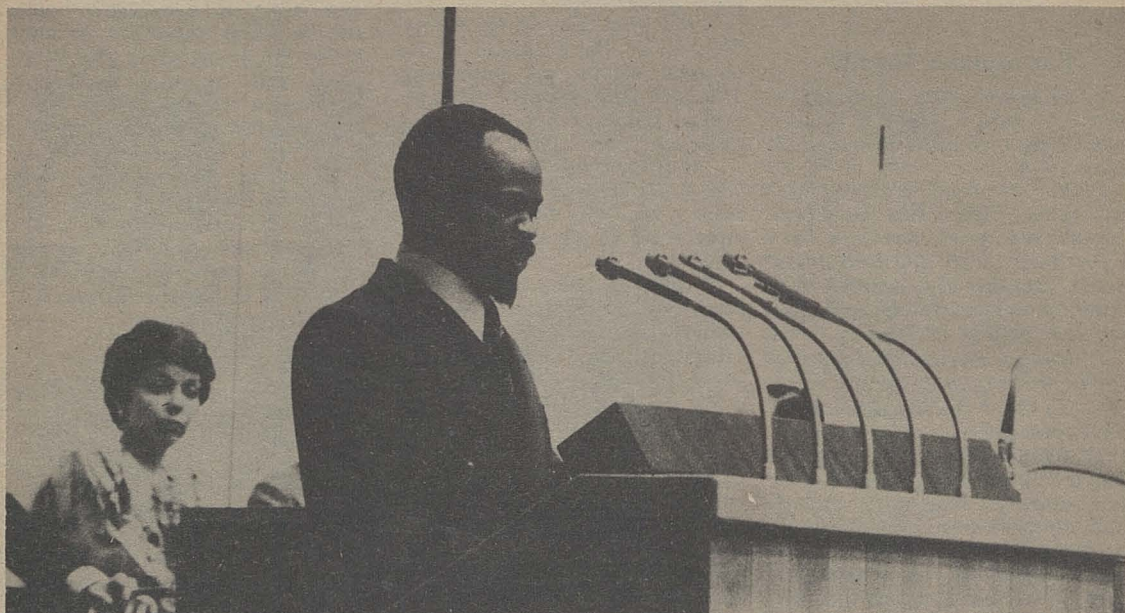
—Well, if I said we were satisfied on that score, I'd be claiming a complete socialist structure, and that we don't have. But we've radically changed the economic and social structure in these 11 years. We're moving fast toward meeting the needs of the workers and peasants, the poor people, citizens working in the army, the government and other areas of our society. Iraqi citizens today are not being exploited by any capitalist or feudal lord, or national or foreign business concern. Living standards, particularly of workers and peasants, are rising steadily but it will take time. One of the big problems we still face is how to build enough schools, decent housing and hospitals.

But we're optimists about our future. We're convinced that development of socialism will make a satisfactory level of distribution possible, perhaps within the span of the next two five-year plans. □



Samora Machel: "We Must Create Our Own Future"

The President of Mozambique affirms that the emergence of socialist countries is precisely what changed the balance of power in favor of the Third World



Samora Machel. A standing ovation for the Mozambican leader.

The emergence of socialist countries changed the power balance in our favor."

"Nonalignment means just one thing: everybody lined up together in the fight against imperialism." Samora Machel, President of Mozambique, said the Movement's ideology is "based on the people's interests and the struggle against the exploitation of man by man. It is antifascist and is against tyrannies and dictatorships... an instrument for the political, economic, social and cultural liberation of our peoples. A consistent liberation struggle must necessarily be anti-imperialist."

He went on: "Imperialism takes our minerals and leaves us the holes; profits from our forests while we keep the barren land; exploits our labor; corrupts our people; blocks our progress and yokes us to dependence... It is within this framework that we see the failures characterizing international negotiations for restructuring the world economy."

Samora Machel denounced the maneuvers to divide the Non-aligned "by direct actions or through spokesmen inside our Movement." He spoke out witheringly against an international campaign designed to make non-alignment appear as "a third ri-

val force of the two blocs": the common enemy is not imperialism but the rivalry between certain countries.

The Mozambican President drew applause when he said: "Now the enemy wants to be our teacher. Since when have colonialists defended our liberation? Since when did those who colonize Puerto Rico, occupy Guantánamo, deny Panama its canal, support the Salisbury, Pretoria and Tel Aviv regimes, and set up bases in the Indian Ocean, become authorities on nonalignment? Since when do they give good advice? We want none of this. We must create our own future."



Nonalignment and the Socialist Camp

On the question of the Movement's relations with the socialist camp, he said: "The emergence of socialist countries is precisely what changed the balance of power in our favor. That is a historical fact. . . Only then did our peoples have weapons to defend themselves and economic and technological alternatives to overcome imperialist attempts to blockade and destabilize."

"Socialist countries are natural allies of our peoples. . . We say this as a nonaligned country which knows and lives reality and history; as a country under permanent aggression; and because the socialism we are building in our country makes it possible for the People's Republic of Mozambique to develop, to recover its natural resources, to carry out its internationalist duty."

Samora Machel hailed the fall of Somoza, Macías, Idi Amin, the Shah, Pol Pot and the Grenada regimes. "These victories," he said, "have forced a redefinition of imperialist strategy in Asia, Africa and Latin America. . . We are deeply moved by the presence of those countries' new regimes. They represent the persevering struggle of their peoples for freedom and human dignity, and against tyrannies at the service of selfish and foreign interests."

Two Burning Issues

As regards Kampuchea he expressed indignation at seeing its delegation's seat still empty. "The People's Republic of Kampuchea and its People's Revolutionary Council represent the true struggle and will of the people." He also accused the Pol Pot regime of genocide, comparing it with the atrocities of Nazi Germany.

Replying to the Egyptian foreign minister, who tried to con-

"Why are the Rhodesian and South African racists allowed to bomb Mozambique, Zambia, Angola and Botswana almost daily, murdering with impunity thousands upon thousands of refugees and citizens of those countries as well? Why are the Zionist aggressors permitted to bomb the Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns daily? Who has given them that right? Who has given them that power? Why are they allowed to use the most sophisticated weapons of destruction and death? Who supplies them? Isn't this undeniable proof of imperialism's aggressive role and the type of peace and order it wants for our peoples? Or isn't it a crime to kill a child, an old man, a woman, a black adult, a Palestinian, a Lebanese? Can these methods and these concepts be differentiated from the methods and concepts that fascist Germany once used? Reports of genocidal acts of this nature are broadcast daily even by the imperialist press agencies, as if to accustom us to accepting such deeds with resignation and meekness."

(From Fidel Castro's opening speech.)

Ethiopian President Menghistu Haile Mariam stressed the importance of the African continent in Nonalignment, recalling that "not by chance, over a third of the Movement's founding members were African." Referring to the common interests linking Nonaligned and socialist countries, he cited the declaration on the independence of colonized peoples which was adopted in 1960 by the UN with the backing of socialist countries. He affirmed that "peace and human rights are indivisible and the Nonaligned must adopt a strong position to defend them."

ETHIOPIA'S MENGHISTU



vince the assembly that Sadat was striving to attain the goals of the Palestinians and to free Jerusalem, Samora Machel said: "We were dumbfounded when we heard Sadat's trip to Jerusalem being described as courageous. It is nothing but the courage of a suicide on his way to the grave. But when this suicide drags an entire people with him, it is called genocide. We will never support any agreement on Palestine that isn't signed or ratified by the PLO."

Solidarity with African Liberation

The President of Mozambique demanded the Movement's solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa. "South Africa is the strategic center for imperialist domination in the continent. It is the creation of imperialist interests, namely of the US, Britain, West Germany, France, Israel and other allies. Its military strength lies in the support



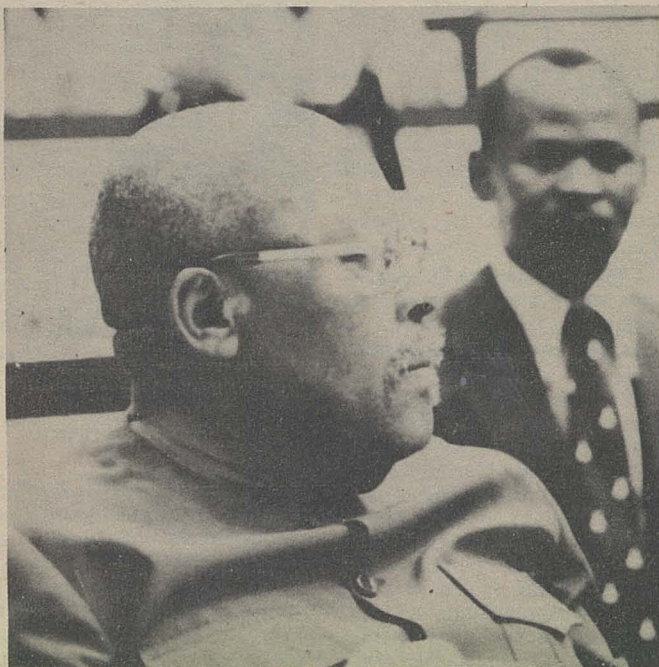
LESOTHO: UNDER THE THREAT OF APARTHEID

Lesbua Jonathan, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho, stuck in the heart of racist South Africa, hailed Mozambique's government and President Samora Machel, "for aid supplied in times of grave danger," during his speech at the 6th Summit. After revealing that Lesotho pays the world's highest prices for oil, Jonathan asked the oil-exporting Nonaligned countries to help his government diminish its strangling economic dependence on South Africa by supplying part or all the crude oil which Lesotho needs.

Lesotho depends on South Africa for the import and export of all its products. The South African rand serves as its currency, and South African companies control both the economy and mass communications. Nevertheless, in recent times, Jonathan's government has taken stances that are increasingly critical of Pretoria's racist regime.

When Lesotho voted against the recognition of Transkei (Bantustan) in the UN, South Africa closed its borders with Lesotho and initiated a severe economic blockade.

In Havana Jonathan denounced the attacks by Pretoria on his country. "In Lesotho we suffer directly the threat of apartheid," he stated, reminding the delegates present that armed aggressions against his small country, located entirely within South Africa, occur almost daily.



Lesbua Jonathan

provided by these countries. And if the fighting is tough in Namibia and Zimbabwe, it is even tougher in South Africa."

Nonaligned Colonialists

He had bitter words for member countries of the Movement which are now seeking to colonize other peoples. "Some member countries have become heirs to colonial expansionism. The aggressions against the East Timor Democratic Republic and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic are flagrant examples. We are ashamed to mention this, but certain members of this anticolonialist movement are now colonialists."

He saluted the political courage of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania for re-establishing peace and friendship with the Saharan people. "It is clear that those who persist in colonialist and expansionist actions will have to resort to open or camouflaged alliances with imperialism, in betrayal of the principles of non-alignment."

"The struggle for a New International Economic Order must include the rights of Third World countries to use their human and material resources for their own benefit. In the case of oil, the revaluation of its prices is a legitimate measure of producing countries to defend and control their resources... but their financial resources should not be used to serve those who plunder us. The political force of nonalignment must also materialize at the economic level."

After paying homage to Vietnam which had made "the greatest contribution to national liberation struggles in our times," he expressed his pleasure that the 6th Summit was held in Cuba. "The Cuban people are a living testimony that leg-irons can be broken, that peoples can free themselves from misery and underdevelopment to build an order consistent with the interests of the working masses." □



Liberation Movements

Nonaligned conferences have always set great importance on the presence of liberation movements, which bear the heaviest burden in the struggle against colonialist vestiges. In past years many such movements have taken their place among the Nonaligned as established governments; and perhaps movements still participating as such —the Palestine Liberation Organization, SWAPO, the (South) African National Congress— will follow the pattern of the former Portuguese colonies.

On this occasion, Western Sahara's Polisario Front and East Timor's FRETILIN were not directly represented but were there in spirit, the conference giving them total support. Their situation is a special one since the colonialism they resist is imposed by Nonaligned members, Indonesia and Morocco. This might have made it difficult to condemn the aggressors, but the Summit was true to Nonaligned principles. □



Patriotic Front

Robert Mugabe, co-chairman of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, called the Front's admission to the Movement "an important demonstration of support for our people's independence struggle against the Rhodesian racists," a NU, he replied: "We're now support which would do much to boost "the Front's strategy against racist maneuverings." He lambasted certain South American regimes in particular Uruguay, for their agreements with

South African defenders of apartheid. The Front is operating in 90 percent of Zimbabwe, he said, and 60 percent of arable land has been liberated and shared out among the people. To third world questions about the military unification of the two Patriotic Front groups, ZAPU and ZANU, he replied: "We're now carrying out joint actions with a joint strategy, and are preparing cadres for total unity. In our major political moves we've always maintained the same positions. □

ANC: "Time to Stop Talking"

Chairman Oliver Tambo of South Africa's African National Congress, attending as an observer, told the conference: "The time has come for the Nonaligned to move from talk into action." The three years between the 6th Summit and the 7th in Baghdad "will be crucial for the struggle against imperialism, apartheid and Zionism." □





SWAPO: Terror in Namibia

From SWAPO (South West African People's Organization) chairman Sam Nujoma, the Summit heard a ringing indictment of the crimes of the Pretoria and Salisbury regimes in southern Africa. Their aggressions, he said, are an attempt to force the peoples to accept white colonizers' conditions; in Namibia the racists have been able to keep their exploitation and terror policy going "because they get help from the imperialists, especially the US, Britain and West Germany." He thanked Cuba for its humane reception of 600 children who survived the massacre at Kassinga in Angola, where South Africans attacked Namibian refugee camps.

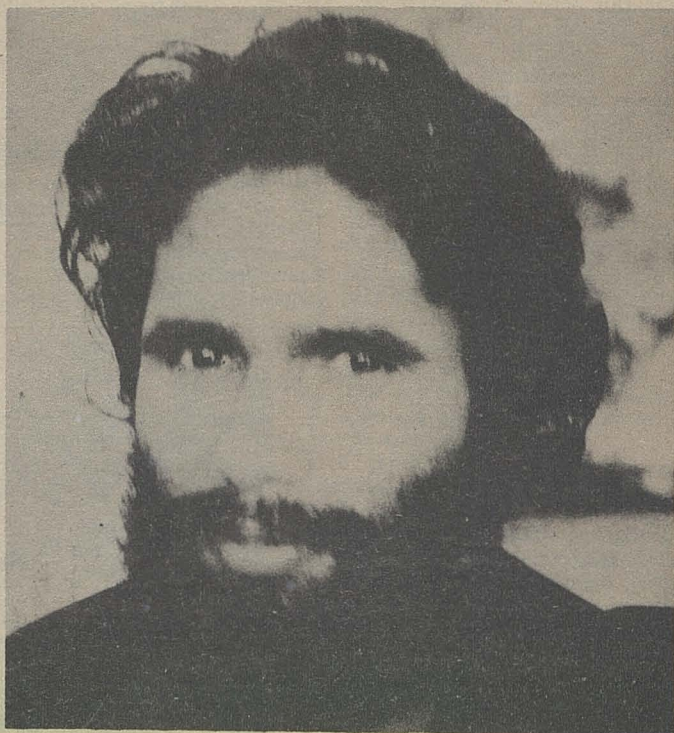
Nujoma said that the liberation movements' growing strength was forcing the racist regimes to talk about peaceful solutions, and appealed for Nonaligned solidarity with the African Front Line countries. As "just one example of the persecution visited upon SWAPO," he cited the thousands of its members who are held in open-air concentration camps, where for more than 20 days they got neither water nor food and many died of hunger. The Namibian people's fate, he said, depends in the first instance on their own will to fight, and in the second on help from the Nonaligned Movement.



POLISARIO: Doing Well

Ould Salek, Saharan information minister, was in Havana at the time of the Summit and told the press: "The Polisario Front possesses material proof of logistical supplies from the US to the Moroccan monarchy." Washington has insisted that these supplies "would only be used within the Moroccan frontiers of 1956."

He said the Israeli, Egyptian and South African regimes were all accomplices of Morocco but the Polisario was doing well both militarily and diplomatically, with "clear international support" evidenced at the 16th Organization of African Unity Summit, in the last UN session, and now at the 6th Nonaligned Summit. Mexico, Guyana, Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia are among western hemisphere countries that have recently recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, proclaimed by the Polisario Front in the liberated areas. □





East Timor: Not Forgotten

When no delegation turned up at Havana from East Timor, Portugal's former colony in the Malay Archipelago, some thought the Nonaligned had forgotten about FRETILIN (Timorese National Liberation Front), which proclaimed a republic there after the collapse of Salazar's Portuguese dictatorship. But support of FRETILIN, which ever since 1975 has been fighting an Indonesian occupation army, was reaffirmed in a resolution presented by Angola. The resolution views with concern Indonesia's armed occupation and asserts the right of East Timor's Maubere people to self-determination, as stated by the 5th Nonaligned Summit and in a UN resolution.

With other African countries' backing, Mozambique insisted on discussion of the issue both by foreign ministers and by heads of state in Havana. Nicolas dos Reis Lobato, FRETILIN leader and chief of state of the republic, fell in battle at the end of last year. But the struggle continues, its legitimacy endorsed in the final 6th Summit document.

Genocide

Along with Goa (now again part of India), East Timor was occupied and colonized during Portugal's imperial expansion in the 16th century. On Nov. 28, 1975, when the republic was proclaimed, FRETILIN controlled its whole 7,300-square mile terri-

tory and virtually all of its one-million population. But only ten days later Indonesia launched the invasion from West Timor (the former Dutch colony which it controls), and seized the capital Dili and a large part of the country.

FRETILIN patriots were forced back into the mountains by the unequal armed struggle. After an assembly of Timorese stooges proclaimed the country an Indonesian province, the great majority of the people joined FRETILIN's cause, clandestinely in the towns. According to a UN resolution, Portugal is still the "administrative power," but Indonesia has largely ignored this.

Perhaps the most tragic outcome of the four-year military occupation is the plight of refugees. Numbering some 70,000, they get some help from the International Red Cross and the Portuguese government. But Indonesia has virtually cut off East Timor from the outside world while its systematic massacre of the Maubere people proceeds. The refugees survive if they can under far worse conditions than others in Southeast Asia whose fate is better known, and who consequently receive more material support and expressions of solidarity.

According to European sources the Suharto regime's genocidal invasion has taken over 50,000 victims to date. According to FRETILIN, more than 110,000. □



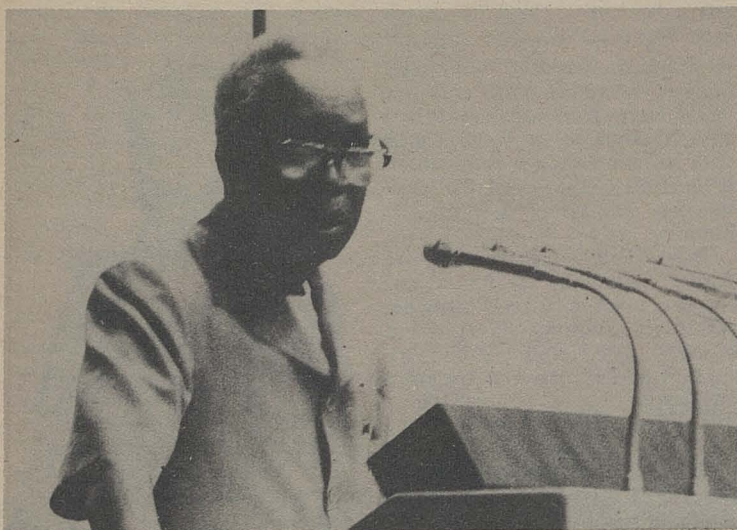
Nicolas dos Reis Lobato





Julius Nyerere: A Definition of Nonalignment

"It is entirely consistent with the principles of nonalignment to respond to a plea for aid, including military aid"



Like Samora Machel and several other heads of state, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, one of the first African leaders to join the Nonaligned Movement, also addressed the essence of nonalignment.

"Our movement is a progressive one, but it is not a movement of progressive states. We have socialists among us, but we are not a movement of socialist states. From the very beginning we have had states that claim allegiance to socialism, and some that aspire to construct capitalism and still others that say they are neither socialists nor capitalists! We could not form another power bloc, even if we wanted to."

Referring to the anti-colonial struggles still taking place in the world, he made special mention of the territory of the former Spanish Sahara.

"Western Sahara was a colony of a European power which abandoned the region to a great degree because of the pressures applied by the Organization of African Unity and the Nonaligned Movement. Yet this people is still fighting for its independence. Now they are opposed by a member state of this conference.

"Sixteen years ago, when the Organization of African Unity was founded, Morocco did not recognize the independence of Mauritania, preferring to see it as part of the Kingdom of Morocco. Today Morocco and Mauri-

tania are friendly, sovereign states; both belong to this Movement, to the OAU and to the United Nations.

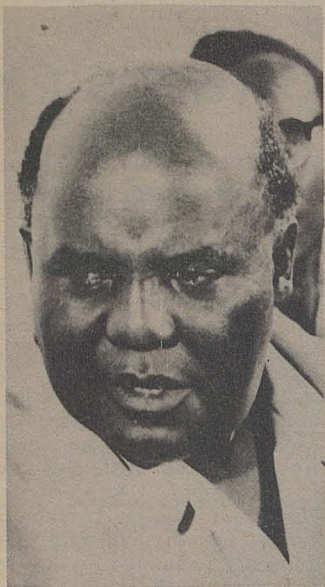
"At this moment, Morocco claims Western Sahara as part of its territory. We are confident that the wisdom which guided the government of Morocco to recognize Mauritania as a sovereign and independent state, will again be demonstrated by accepting the right of the people of Western Sahara to equality and independence. Until this happens, the people of Western Sahara have the right/just as do the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Palestine to demand and receive the support of the Nonaligned Movement."

Without naming them specifically, Nyerere made reference to the cases of Kampuchea and Uganda, whose political vanguard was aided by Tanzanian troops to expel the dictator Amin. He stated that within the Movement there has appeared a current of suspicion of those countries which offer assistance—especially if the assistance is military—to other countries of the Movement.

"Nevertheless," he emphasized, "it is entirely consistent with the principles of nonalignment to respond to a plea for aid, including military aid, from another Nonaligned state which is the victim of an external attack or is temporarily defenseless." "Truly," he continued, "I believe that it is better for us to help each other mutually, than to accept the aid of the great powers." □



UGANDA AFTER IDI AMIN



President Godfrey Binaisa

The eccentric figure of Idi Amin —always a favorite subject of the press in Nonaligned meetings— did not head Uganda's delegation this time. President Godfrey L. Binaisa himself, whose austerity contrasts with the overthrown dictator's traveling show, represented his country. It was the first time in eight years that Uganda was represented in a Summit meeting by a civilian head of state.

Binaisa's participation was significant: backing progressive African, Latin American and Asian causes and changing the former regime's support of President Sadat and the Israeli government. The Uganda delegation followed the policy of the new government: supporting the more progressive Arab countries, recognizing the Arab Saharan Democratic Republic and the Polisario Front, and siding with African liberation struggles.

In an interview with **third world**, President Binaisa said that there are still some 20,000 Tanzanian troops in his country. "At one time there were 46,000, and the remaining will leave Uganda as soon as we reorganize our army. Since Idi Amin's forces were disintegrated, we are now trying to organize a new military institution."

He defined the present regime as "a government that is striving for unity during a difficult period." We asked him if this meant that he would not seek closer ties with the socialist camp: "That is the present definition, but in politics things can always change." He requested support from the international community to overcome the "terrible heritage of long years of dictatorship and months of war which seriously damaged the country's economy." □

BENIN'S KEREKOU

Mathieu Kérékou, President of Benin, strongly denounced the aggressions suffered by various African countries, including Benin itself, by mercenary forces directed by neocolonial interests.

"As international imperialism loses its strategic positions in Asia, Africa and Latin America because of the independence of new sovereign Third World countries, it stubbornly uses surreptitious and immoral means to try to divide Third World peoples and countries. Otherwise, how can one explain the sterile confrontations and the fratricidal conflicts that exist today among Asian, African and Latin American countries, even though the OAU, the UN and the Nonaligned recommend that all states should respect the borders inherited from colonization and that differences should be resolved by peaceful means?"



Mathieu Kérékou



Florencio Maye Ela

EQUATORIAL GUINEA'S MAYE ELA

Vice President Florencio Maye Ela spoke to the conference about Equatorial Guinea's precarious economic situation following its "devastation by the old (Macías Nguema) regime." He said the Supreme Military Council which overthrew the dictator will do its utmost to preserve the basic principles of nonalignment.

A resolution in the 6th Summit's Final Declaration called on all governments and international organizations to help alleviate the urgent needs of the people of Equatorial Guinea. The resolution expresses the Movement's approval of the new regime, which proposes to ensure the people's freedom, the exercise of democracy and future socio-economic and cultural development. □



Pham Van Dong: "The Revolutionary Flood Sweeps On"

*For Vietnam, "standing clear of military blocs is a positive policy."
On Kampuchea: "Neither China, nor the US, nor Sihanouk can put the clock back."*



An outstanding figure in Havana was Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of Vietnam. The intense activity of this disciple of Ho Chi Minh, despite the weight of years, combined with his simple personality to astound friends and fill adversaries with respect.

When Fidel Castro concluded his opening speech, Pham Van Dong walked up unabashedly to embrace him. And when his own time came to take the rostrum, he expressed Vietnam's "great joy" that the conference

was being held in Cuba — "the homeland of the knights of our times" who, "braving the threats of the enemy close by, extended their generous help to fraternal peoples struggling for liberation thousands of miles away."

The Children Cry Out

Pham Van Dong spoke both optimistically and realistically about "the onward sweep of the revolutionary flood assailing imperialism from all directions." It was, he said, "a hard reality that in many countries the eco-

nomic situation is deteriorating with every passing day. The unjust international economic system increasingly widens the gap between developed and underdeveloped countries. The deadlock in the North-South dialogue and failure of the recent UNC-TAD-5 conference are further proof that imperialist powers never implement UN resolutions which run counter to their interests. On the contrary, they are ready to unload on developing countries the burden of the economic and energy crises, so as to reduce the difficulties they now face."

In Nonaligned countries which have achieved nominal independence from colonialism, "every year tens of millions of children under five die of malnutrition and lack of health care. Our biggest concern is to get rid of this tragedy as soon as possible, so that our children may live a better life and become the future masters of society. This can only be done by untiring struggle for complete economic independence and sovereignty over our natural resources."

Nobody's Instrument

On relations with the Soviet Union: "Vietnam is making every effort to obtain the great and valuable assistance of the USSR and other socialist countries, and of all forces struggling against imperialism, while maintaining its independence and sovereignty. We categorically affirm that one of our principles is nonparticipation in any military bloc, and not to let ourselves become an instrument or servant of any



bloc's aggressive and war-provoking aims. To stand clear of blocs is a positive policy for us." All the more reason why, in the Nonaligned Movement, "solidarity must always be our banner, no matter how big the differences between us." Such conflicts "should and can be satisfactorily solved through negotiations in a spirit of respect for each other's national rights and of unity for the common interest."

On "Asian hegemonists": "They are still pursuing a feverishly hostile policy toward Vietnam, threatening to launch another aggression, increasing their interference in and threats against Laos, attempting to restore the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime in Kampuchea, undermining peace and stability in this part of the world. As a people who for half a century have never stopped fighting for their freedom, the Vietnamese will not allow anybody to violate it, just as they respect the independence and freedom of other nations."

Patience Unrewarded

On the Kampuchean conflict, he insisted that before "the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique embarked on its aggression," Vietnam had "exercised the utmost restraint and persisted in negotiation through the UN Secretary General, the Nonaligned Movement and many friendly countries. When the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique intensified the war and unilaterally broke relations, Vietnam still maintained diplomatic relations with Kampuchea and put forth the Feb. 5, 1978, peace proposal which was warmly received by world opinion. In March 1978 Vietnam again asked Sri Lanka's foreign minister, in his capacity as Nonaligned Movement chairman, to help the two sides—Vietnam and Kampuchea—to sit at a negotiating table. This was categorically rejected by the Kampuchean side. "In July 1978 Vietnam came to the Nonaligned

"No other people of recent times has paid such a high price in sacrifice, suffering and death in order to be free; no people has made a greater contribution to the national liberation struggle; no other people has done so much in this period to create a universal anti-imperialist consciousness. Four times as many bombs were dropped on Vietnam as were used in World War II; the most powerful imperialist country had its claws cut off in Vietnam; Vietnam taught all oppressed nations that no force can defeat a people that is determined to fight for its freedom. The struggle in Vietnam reinforced the respect and dignity of all our peoples.

Now, when Vietnam has been made the victim of intrigue, slan-

der and encirclement by the Yankee imperialists and of betrayal, conspiracy and aggression by the government of China, Cuba offers it its firmest support.

With all their talk about the problem of the Vietnamese refugees—who are the direct result of colonialism, underdevelopment and the 30-year war of aggression—why don't the US government and its allies even mention the millions of Palestinians scattered all over the world and the hundreds of thousands of Zimbabwian, Namibian and South African refugees who are dispersed, persecuted and murdered in Africa?"

(From Fidel Castro's opening speech.)

foreign ministers' meeting at Belgrade with a draft resolution calling on the two sides to find a peaceful solution. But Sri Lanka as chairman of the Movement and Yugoslavia the host country advised Vietnam to withdraw that draft on the ground that Kampuchea objected to it. While rejecting all Vietnam's proposals for negotiation, Peking and its Pol Pot-Ieng Sary henchmen intensified the war and planned to attack Vietnam from two directions. After all efforts to negotiate peace had failed, and in face of the danger to our nation's survival, our people were forced to use their legitimate right of self-defense and gave the aggressor what he deserved. This is obviously in accord with moral and international law, with the UN Charter and the principles of the Nonaligned Movement."

The Common Enemy

Pham Van Dong said that the Kampuchean people's achievements in ousting Pol Pot's "ge-

nocidal regime", and subsequently "consolidating people's power and returning family, economic, cultural, religious and social life to normal," were "eloquent proof that the present situation is irreversible." He defended "the Vietnamese, Laotian and Kampuchean peoples' right to support one another against the common enemy, US imperialists and Chinese reactionaries. During their long struggle for independence and freedom, their peoples have closely united with one another and built up a fraternity praised by friends far and near. This is the necessity of history. But now as before, imperialist and reactionary forces apply the 'divide and rule' maneuver, in an attempt to weaken and annex all three countries. In the process of struggle of three nations against the common enemy, the Vietnamese people have twice sent their volunteer troops to fight shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal Lao and Kampuchean peoples for independence and freedom. Today history is



repeating itself. The Vietnamese armed forces will go home when the danger of aggression and interference from outside no longer exists, in conformity with the spirit of the peace, friendship and cooperation treaty between Vietnam and Kampuchea." The Vietnam government is "ready to discuss with other Southeast Asian countries the establishment of a zone of peace, stability and neutrality in the region."

The Clock Keeps Moving

At a press conference, Pham Van Dong talked about the refugee problem. He held the imperialists responsible for provoking it. What no one mentions, he said, is that US shortwave radio was urging Vietnamese to leave and spreading scares about what awaited them in their country; then the promise held out to them, to give them refuge in the US, was not kept. When US correspondents kept harping back

to Kampuchea with disparaging comments on its present government, he said: "What right have you to speak in that way about the problem of Kampuchea? Have you been there? Do you know what's really happening there? I wouldn't use such expressions about something I'm ignorant of."

Repeating that the current process is irreversible, he said: "Neither Sihanouk nor China nor the US can put the clock back. The Kampuchean people wholeheartedly support the People's Revolutionary Council. No one has any right to decide for the people who shall or shall not represent them." As for the countries putting up juridical arguments in Havana for seating Pol Pot's delegation, Pham Van Dong asked: "Why don't they argue with equal vehemence for withdrawal of the Americans from Guantánamo, the base held by the US against the will of the Cuban people and government?"

"LOOK WHO'S TALKING"

Vietnamese foreign minister Nguyen Co Thach on the hot issues in Havana:

—On Kampuchea: "They (the countries that want Vietnam to withdraw its troops) are the same countries that want US forces to remain in Southeast Asian bases." "Twice previously, Vietnamese troops participated in the Kampuchean people's struggle; both times they withdrew when the threat disappeared and their internationalist mission was accomplished, and this time we'll do the same —after the threat of aggression against Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam definitely disappears."

—On the defenders of Pol Pot: "The same states that are now invoking international law, the non-use of force and other dubious legalistic arguments were totally silent when China attacked Vietnam."

—On the Chinese government: "Nothing new to call it counterrevolutionary." Since the 50s it has been taking divisionist positions within the world revolutionary movement, which "as time passed, clearly became positions of alliance with imperialism. They have just been taking the mask off." □



Nguyen Co Thach interviewed by Neiva Moreira

"We Know Them Well"

To a question about possible new aggressions by China, he said: "We're aware of the danger but stay on the alert. China knows us, the US knows us, and we know them well. If they want to attack us again, too bad for them. Our country wants peace, but a just peace." Vietnam wants relations with everyone "including China and the US," he added; in the US case "the next move is up to them."

third world asked him if Vietnam wouldn't undertake a campaign of enlightenment for the Chinese people, as it did for the US people during the war. "Some day," he replied, "the Chinese people will demand an accounting of their rulers for their irresponsible actions. We have faith in the Chinese people. History advances: we have faith in history, and the Chinese people will inevitably rise." □



"With all our energy, we condemn the genocidal government of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Three million dead accuse them... It is a shameful thing for the progressive forces of the world that such crimes could ever have been committed in the name of the revolution and socialism.

The Movement should preserve its unity and always seek a peaceful solution to any difference that may arise among its members, but it is equally bound to maintain impartiality, realism and political logic in its decisions. Tanzania was also obliged to defend itself against Uganda's aggression and to support the patriots of that country against the repressive regime. Now, the legitimate revolutionary government of Uganda is represented in this conference. Why should we deny this right to People's Kampuchea?"

(From Fidel Castro's opening speech.) □

"What right does China have to teach Vietnam a lesson, invade its territory, destroy its modest wealth and murder thousands of its people? The Chinese ruling clique, that supported Pinochet against Allende, that supported South Africa's aggression against Angola, that supported the Shah, that justifies the US blockade against Cuba and the continued existence of the naval base at Guantánamo, that defends NATO and sides with the US and the most reactionary forces of Europe and the rest of the world, has neither the prestige nor the moral standing to teach anybody a lesson."

(From Fidel Castro's opening speech.) □

KAMPUCHEA'S HUN SEN:

"I REPRESENT A LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT"

Hun Sen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, gave a press conference in Havana about how the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime deceived Kampucheans as to its character and aims. "In April 1975, we thought we were going to win our freedom," he said, "but in the name of revolution and communism the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique committed these frightful crimes. I myself was an officer in Pol Pot's army, and only when we undeceived ourselves about his betrayal did we form another armed movement to fight for true independence." He stated that "Pol Pot's and Ieng Sary's crimes were also committed against our people by the authorities in Peking."

Asked about the legitimacy of his government, he said: "A country is a state, a people, and a territory. The Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the state approved by the people and established on Kampuchean territory. He also affirmed that Thailand has lent its territory to Pol Pot to sabotage the popular government headed by Heng Samrin. The Chinese have no frontier with Kampuchea but, Hun Sen recalled, "neither did the French colonialists, the Japanese militarists or the American neocolonialists when they attacked us some years ago."

One reason for Pol Pot's defeat, he said, was that his troops were tied down in aggressions against Vietnam instigated from Peking. "This made it easier for the National Unity Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea—the FUNSK, organized in the jungle in 1978 and led by Heng Samrin—to call for the uprising which led to the revolutionary triumph of last January." □

"Few had the guts to openly defend a regime which has been compared to Hitler's. I believe the solution of the vacant seat was the best, but I hope it will soon be occupied by Heng Samrin, for it clearly belongs to People's Kampuchea." That was the assessment made at the end of the Conference by our colleague and third world contributor Wilfred Burchett, who worked hard in support of Kampuchea's cause.

Burchett, one of the most knowledgeable journalists on Southeast Asia, was an active supporter of Vietnam during the war. When Pol Pot rose to power in Phnom Penh in 1975, he felt identified with that victory, as did all progressives and democratic

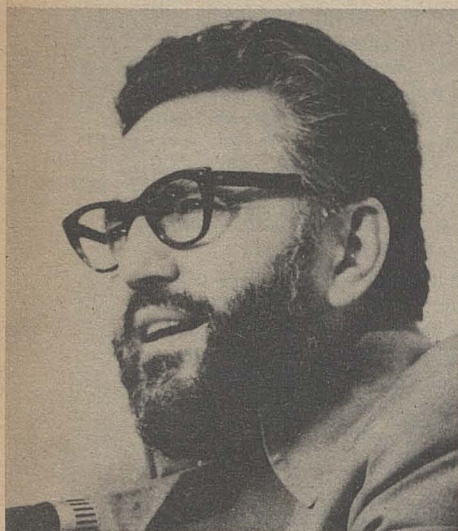
forces in the world. But when the regime showed its fascist deviation, when mass murders muddled any alleged socialist ideals, he did not hesitate to condemn their policies and support Heng Samrin's armed movement, which finally ousted those responsible for the people's massacre.



Wilfred Burchett



Iran: "We Are a Revolution"



Ibrahim Yazdhi

For Iran's young foreign minister Ibrahim Yazdhi, "Fidel Castro is closer to Islam than many Moslems. He said this while eulogizing the 'equalitarian and humanitarian character of Islam' and of the Iranian revolution's leader Ayatollah Khomeini.

Yazdhi backed all the Movement causes, particularly stressing Iran's support of the Palestinian struggle and of the resistance to southern African racists. "The final victory of the world's oppressed peoples is inevitable," he said. He told a crowded press conference that his country and government have confidence in Mexico's assurances that the Shah won't be allowed to conduct anti-Iranian activities from his exile residence in Cuernavaca. Some European correspon-

dents wanted to know if reports of repression of women and Marxists in Iran are true. He said Iranian women have the same rights as men and that no one is persecuted for being a Marxist: "Anyone, left or right, who tries to sabotage the revolution will be suppressed, but not for his or her ideology. We are a revolution, although even the Soviets only recently recognized the fact. Isn't a movement that threw out the Shah and US imperialism a revolution?"

Asked whether the Ayatollah and the Iranian government had assigned a special group to assassinate the Shah, he said: "The Shah was condemned by the Iranian people as a criminal with a known record, but contrary to what has been reported our government hasn't assigned anyone to kill him. There may be groups in Iran interested in doing that, but not the government." □

CYPRUS AND MALTA: NO TO FOREIGN DOMINATION

With a third of its population subjected to foreign domination and 40 percent of its territory occupied, Cyprus is living through a difficult period. In Havana the President of this strategic Mediterranean island, Spyros Kyprianou, demanded the solidarity of the Nonaligned Movement with his country. "It's been five years since the conspiracy and aggression against Cyprus took place and the situation remains the same," he said. "Thousands of people have lost their lives for no reason, and we still have thousands of missing citizens whose fate we don't know due to the negative attitude of the aggressor."

He said that although religion has often been presented as the source of the conflicts, "it has nothing to do with the problem of Cyprus." His people's aspirations in a nutshell: "Free Cyprus of foreign troops."

During a press conference, Kyprianou stated that "after a prolonged stalemate we reached an agreement with Turkish-Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash to resume talks, but unfortunately it became

evident that the Turks would not implement it, for it imposed unacceptable conditions which would have led to a division of the island." The problem of Cyprus, he pointed out, "isn't really one between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but of the occupation of 40 percent of the territory by Turkish troops. It is a flagrant violation of the most elementary human rights. We insist that only strict observation of UN resolutions will provide a fair and viable solution."

The final resolution fully supported his proposal and called on all states to respect Cyprus's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Together with Yugoslavia and Cyprus, Malta is the third European member of the Nonaligned Movement. The head of its delegation, Vicepremier Joseph Brincet, stressed his country's support of the principles of nonalignment, citing the removal of the military bases which existed in its territory. "Malta used to be an amusement park for NATO," he said. "Now it will remain strategic, but for peace." □



Indian Ocean Countries: General Demand for Demilitarization



In this oil and raw-materials "lifeline" area, afflicted with a superpower "defense" buildup, progressive and conservative governments join in calling for a Zone of Peace



Top: President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar, a pioneer in the struggle for demilitarization of the Indian Ocean. Left: Ziaur Rahman, President of Bangladesh. Right: Shri S. Mishra, foreign minister of India, criticized stalemate between US and Soviet Union on Indian Ocean talks

In 1971 a United Nations resolution proposed a "Zone of Peace" in the Indian Ocean "to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of states of the region." To this proposal and the problem behind it, the 3rd (Lusaka) Nonaligned Summit paid special attention in its final resolution. And at the Havana Summit several heads of state of Indian Ocean countries addressed themselves to the danger to world peace of the industrialized powers' growing military buildup in the area.

The government of the former British island colony Mauritius, east of Madagascar, has not been known for taking progressive positions. Yet it was that country's delegate at Havana, Radha Krishna Ramphyl (permanent Mauri-



tian representative at UN), who came out most strenuously for demilitarization and denuclearization of the Indian Ocean.

"Deteriorated Stability"

"The wishes of states in the region," said Ramphul, "are being ignored. Some powers have acquired and developed new bases and installations in the Indian Ocean. The base at Diego Garcia is a case in point. When Diego Garcia was first separated from us, we were told that it would be a communications center. Then it became clear that it was to be a base. Now it seems Diego Garcia may become the principal base for a new US Fifth Fleet to be stationed *permanently* in the Indian Ocean."

With those words Ramphul embarked on a discourse in defense of the UN and Non-aligned resolutions: "Many states in the region are alarmed at these and similar developments. We are told that this military expansionism is a result of the *'deterioration of peace and stability'* in the Indian Ocean. But we would not *pretend* to any right to establish a military presence in the North Sea or the Baltic simply because some official had concluded there was *'instability'* there!"

COMOROS, ALLY OF POL POT

The Comoro Islands delegation joined with Singapore and Malaysia in defending the right of Pol Pot's regime to maintain its representation in the Nonaligned, placing themselves in some isolation at the conference. Led by Premier Salim Ben Ali, they represented a regime which had ousted progressive President Ali Soihili by a coup d'état supported by mercenaries.

"In our view the real explanation for the growing military expansion into the Indian Ocean is that some powers seek to use our region as a base for projecting power into areas where they believe their interests are threatened. In a word, they are concerned about events in the Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa. For the most part their efforts are geared to preservation of the status quo in those regions."

Resume the Dialogue

India's chief delegate, foreign minister Shri S. Mishra, expressed similar misgivings, deploring the nonobservance of the UN resolution of 1971. "In particular the strengthening of existing military bases, such as Diego Garcia," he said, "cannot but cause concern over further intensification of the arms race and a setback in the relaxation of international tensions in the area. We were disappointed that the talks between the US and the USSR relating to the Indian Ocean were interrupted; we would strongly urge that the dialogue between the two sides be soon resumed."

The President of Bangladesh, Ziaur Rahman, also devoted much of his speech to the subject. His country had always supported the Zone of Peace initiative, he said, and so long as foreign bases existed in the Indian Ocean "it is necessary to provide adequate safeguards and guarantees for the security of littoral and hinterland states". Bangladesh favored a conference of those arms race-threatened states and users of Indian Ocean routes, to seek a "mutually acceptable agreement" facilitating establishment of the Zone of Peace.

Somalia's Ahmed Mohamed Adan protested in his speech that "one or the other superpower is ever continuing to expand military activities in the Indian

Ocean," which "as nonaligned nations we should condemn, for we dearly wish the Indian Ocean and its adjacent gulfs and seas, including the Red Sea, to be seas of peace. There should be no foreign military bases, installations or facilities on those shores and islands."

Green Lights to the Middle East

President Didier Ratsiraka of Madagascar dealt with some of the geopolitical and economic reasons why capitalist powers are revving up the arms race in the Indian Ocean: "By flying to Subic Bay in the Philippines via Pacific airbases, and from there to Diego Garcia, US Air Command transport planes can reach the Middle East without needing authorization to fly over third countries. Thus Diego Garcia is the indispensable link completing the Guam-Subic Bay chain. At the same time, with their longrange sea-patrol Orion PC8s, which can be refueled in flight, the North Americans can cover the whole Indian Ocean from Diego Garcia, reaching the subantarctic Kerguelen islands 1,800 miles southeast of Madagascar." Appraising South Africa's strategic importance in this far-flung "Western defense" network, Ratsiraka pointed out that the Cape of Good Hope is the essential oil and raw-materials route and that 80 percent of the cape traffic consists of Atlantic Pact ships. "Of ten supertankers now rounding the Cape every day, nine belong to NATO countries. That figure alone explains the continuous destabilization inflicted on Madagascar and Mozambique."

Mozambique's Samora Machel said that "the decision to create a US Fifth Fleet for the special benefit of the Indian Ocean just aggravates the situation, and makes united action by all Non-aligned countries more imperative than ever as a response to these new war threats." □



"Our Movement is More United than Ever!"

*Full text of the speech delivered by
President Fidel Castro at the closing
session of the 6th Summit Conference*



I'm not going to give a speech. After 27 hours of continuous activity—without a second's rest—after more than 20 hours of Summit sessions, I'm not at all sure I could even begin to put together a responsible speech. Furthermore, nothing could be said that hasn't already been said. And nothing could be better said than what has already been said. I'm sure you would all like me to be brief.

People have said that this may have been the largest meeting of heads of state and leaders ever to take place. But I would guess that this is, indeed, the first time a group of responsible men, of statesmen, have been in plenary session from 8:00 in the evening to 9:00 in the morning! Probably never at an international conference have people worked as hard as we have worked here.

Ninety-three statesmen have spoken from this podium, and that does not include today's speakers. Truly brilliant, talented, extraordinary men have participated in the debate. As I watched them walk by, I thought of all the human worth in our world, how many fine figures have emerged, how many leaders, what high quality, seriousness, honesty, commitment to struggle, what enthusiasm.

Without any exaggeration, many of the world's finest leaders have spoken, debated and worked together these past few days.

I have thought of the usefulness of gathering together all the speeches and publishing them in



a book that would be sent to everyone who has participated in this Conference. I personally plan to reread, analyze and meditate on everything that has been said here. And I am certain that no book would be richer in experiences, no book would give us more information or a more accurate assessment of the world's problems.

At this Conference the spirit of solidarity has shone as never before. At this Conference we have analyzed the most important, the most urgent problems of our time. At this Conference there has not been a single just cause, a single hope of our peoples, that has not been fully considered and supported. At this Conference we have spoken, as never before, of the problems of peace. At this Conference we have spoken, as never before, about economic problems. And it was said, and rightfully so, that economic problems should be at the center of our concerns and our work.

Almost at the end of the Summit a resolution was proposed that expressed the concern of the members of our Movement to carry out practical and concrete tasks. I am glad that at the end of the Conference we did not adopt, precipitously, a resolution on problems that need much more attention, thought, analysis and discussion. The fact we have not adopted the proposed resolution does not mean we are postponing discussion and adoption of concrete decisions we should have taken now to the next Summit or to the Greek Kalends.

There was a very important issue, possibly the most important of all, at this Conference. Our enemies predicted there would be a split, predicted that the 6th Summit of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries would explode like a grenade. They were taking into account what has been so often said and repeated: that we are a Movement of very heterogeneous countries, with many a reef in our path. Nevertheless we overcame the reefs, we have dealt with the most difficult problems, and we have reached agreements on each one by almost unanimous consensus.

As a result we can say --we can even proclaim-- that our Movement is more united than ever, more vigorous than ever, more powerful than ever, more independent than ever! Our Movement is more ours than ever!

Given Cuba's responsibilities as chair of the Nonaligned Movement, we shall do our utmost to see that agreements are carried out, to strengthen the unity of the Movement. In spite of our differences we have seen how many interests we have in common, how many goals we have in common.

At this Conference we have had the opportunity to see how close we are, how equal we are, and what brothers we are to one another.

Someone said tonight that in a few hours this room, once we had all gone, would be very empty. But we Cubans are going to feel even emptier inside when you all leave.

We have been so absorbed in the work of the Conference that at times from that chair I forgot I was in Cuba; sometimes I felt as if I were off attending a conference in some other country. Indeed, it has been an unforgettable experience.

I can't find the words to thank you all, to thank you for the support you have given the Conference, which in a way was also support for Cuba. I can't express to you how honored we have been to have you here. It is impossible for me to express how delightful and stimulating your presence has been. In spite of distances, the thousands of miles that separate Africa, Europe, Asia and most of Latin America from Cuba, it is impossible to express how profoundly rewarding it has been to think that, in spite of all the campaigns, in spite of all the predictions, you came and participated in this Conference.

It is impossible to express how deeply we have felt the proof of friendship, of solidarity and of support which we have received from so many of you.

You move us to keep struggling to keep fighting, to keep practicing solidarity, to keep practicing internationalism! Because everything that is done for others, everything that is done for other peoples, everything that is done for humanity is what gives meaning to a revolutionary's life. It is the only thing that can make us feel members of the human family.

This Conference has given our country great prestige, has given us great authority. But that prestige and that authority will never be used to benefit Cuba. We will use all of it to struggle and work for others. Cuba will not benefit itself in the least from chairing the Movement over the next few years.

One thing we can say: Cuba will make more sacrifices, Cuba will work harder for others!

It is not my place to say that the 6th Summit has been a success. History will judge!

I declare the 6th Summit of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries closed.

Thank you very much.



The Final Declaration

The Havana Declaration sums up the progress of previous Summits and sets forth decisive political and economic definitions for the Nonaligned Movement

The preamble to the Political Declaration lists all the countries attending the Summit, both full members and observers. The statement of principles begins by stating it has been proven that the policy of nonalignment constitutes a genuine expression of the interests and aspirations of an increasing number of countries and peoples throughout the world.

The heads of state or government expressed their great satisfaction at meeting for the first time in Latin America. When the Movement was founded there was only one Latin American country, Cuba, among its founding members, yet Latin America, the declaration adds, has been the setting of a ceaseless struggle by its peoples for the achievement of their full independence, and this has enabled them to play an increasingly dynamic role alongside their brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia.

Meeting in Havana 18 years after its founding, the Movement is aware of its responsibility and its role. It represents an overwhelming majority of humanity struggling to do away with inequality between the developed countries and the developing countries; get rid of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy; and establish a new world order based on justice, equity and peace, instead of the present order in which wealth continues to be centered in the hands of a few powers.

The preamble also states that liberation will not be complete until effective control of natural resources and wealth has been guaranteed and independent economic development achieved, and until the peoples are guaranteed the decent living conditions that they deserve.

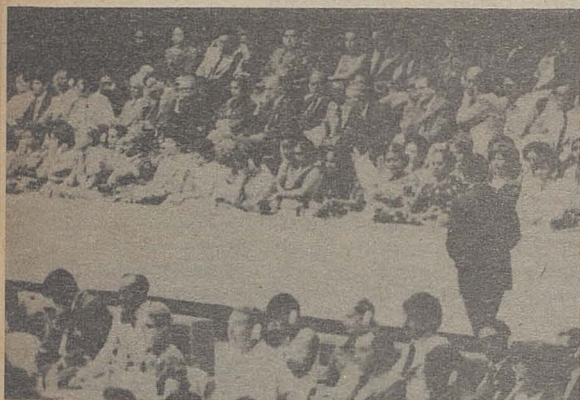
The Movement of Nonaligned Countries represents the hopes and wishes of millions of human beings who have been deprived of freedom and the right to decide their own destiny.

Born in the midst of the breakup of the colonial system and the liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and other parts of the world, and at the height of the cold war, this Movement has been an essential factor in the process of decolonization —which has led to the achievement of freedom and independence for many countries and peoples and the creation of dozens of new sovereign states —and in the preservation of world peace.

The Conference reaffirmed that the essence of the policy of the nonaligned is the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism; opposition to all forms of foreign occupation and domination, and hegemony; the struggle for peaceful coexistence among states and noninterference and nonintervencion in the affairs of other countries; for the establishment of a new international economic order on the basis of equality, respect



Premier Pham Van Dong with President Luiz Cabral of Guinea Bissau



Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda with Angola's foreign minister, Paulo George

for the inviolability of frontiers, opposition to the use of force and for the peaceful resolution of controversies.

It was reaffirmed that the criteria for acceptance as members must be based on a country's having adopted an independent policy, based on coexistence between states with different social and political systems, and on its not belonging to any multilateral military alliance agreed to in the context of the conflicts between the great powers.

The Conference stated that the policy of non-alignment constitutes an important and indispensable factor in the struggle for the freedom and independence of all the peoples and countries of the world, and expressed its thanks to the peace loving forces for their support, declaring its wish to continue collaborating with these forces.

The Declaration says that at the time the 6th Summit was taking place in Havana, the world was living in a situation fraught with dangers, but also full of encouraging possibilities. It adds that peace efforts are being stepped up, and solidarity with the peoples and with the causes of Palestine, Cyprus, Panama and of other peoples of Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean is being strengthened.

The Conference hailed the achievements of Iran and Nicaragua in their emancipation, the decision to establish a new international economic order, and the growing demand for general and complete disarmament.

The Declaration also states that the positive trends come up against the resistance of imperialism, colonialism and other reactionary and retrogressive forces, and that there are serious threats to the process of international détente.

The Conference noted that the imperialists are continuing their policy aimed at maintaining their interests in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia.

Africa

Concerning the African issues, the Conference stated the following: Upon reviewing the events that have taken place since the previous Summit Conference was held, the progress made by the struggling African peoples was acknowledged and a deep concern was voiced for the imperialists' destabilization plans and aggressions. It was noted that the struggle of the African peoples, particularly the struggle of southern Africa, was closely tied to anti-imperialist and anticolonialist revolution and the development of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

The Conference also expressed its gratitude to the socialist and Scandinavian countries for their aid to the liberation movements.



It also hailed the important initiative of having called the Maputo meeting at the ministerial level to examine and analyze the situation in southern Africa and endorsed as its own all the recommendations adopted at the meeting. All the countries were urged to pay special attention to the execution of the Action Plan approved in Maputo and later ratified and enlarged by the Coordinating Bureau.

Congratulations were offered to the Organization of African Unity on its 16th year of existence and the OAU's importance as an effective instrument to promote peace was acknowledged.

On analyzing the situation in southern Africa, the Conference reiterated that the consolidation of the victory achieved by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe decisively changed the region's balance of forces.

The Conference greeted with pleasure the Iranian Government's decision to stop selling oil to South Africa. Also deeply acknowledged was Nigeria's decision to nationalize British Petroleum's oil concessions when the latter failed to comply with the oil embargo decreed on the

racist regime in Rhodesia and broke its promise not to supply oil from the North Sea to South Africa's apartheid regime.

The heads of state or government hailed the decision taken by the Government of Iran, Grenada and Nicaragua to break their ties with the racist apartheid regime.

The Conference arrived at the conclusion that southern Africa is one of the tension spots in international relations and a point of confrontation between imperialism and the forces of progress and peace.

Regarding so-called internal settlement for Zimbabwe, the Conference stated that the fraudulent April 1979 elections made a mockery of Zimbabwe's legitimate goals and were in no way a solution. It appealed for greater support from the international community, and particularly the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, to the heroic armed struggle being waged by Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, against the opprobrious, racist and illegal Salisbury regime. The Conference pointed out that armed struggle was getting stronger and growing throughout the country, and that the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front



The Mozambican delegation. Left to right: foreign minister Joachim Chissano, President Samora Machel and education minister Graça Machel



was also waging a struggle in the political and diplomatic fields.

The Conference reiterated that Rhodesia continues to be a British colony illegally ruled by a gang of racists and traitors. It voiced its concern for the maneuvers of the British Government elements seeking recognition of Rhodesia's illegal regime.

After noting that at the last meeting in Lusaka the heads of government of the Commonwealth turned down the so-called internal settlement of Zimbabwe and reaffirmed their total commitment vis-à-vis the legitimate majority government, the Conference emphasized that the outcome of the Lusaka meeting had gained neither international acceptance nor recognition as long as Zimbabwe did not have a true majority and independent government. Total support was voiced for the Patriotic Front and the latter's decision to intensify the armed struggle against Muzorewa's racist and illegal regime.

It also called for preventing supplies of oil and its by-products from reaching Southern Rhodesia; condemned the lifting of UN economic sanctions in cohorts with the Salisbury regime and rejected recognition in any form for Rhodesia's regime.

The Conference warmly congratulated the Patriotic Front upon its admittance as a full-fledged member into the Movement of Nonaligned Countries.

Concerning the issue of Namibia, it strongly condemned the South African racist regime for its stubborn refusal to withdraw from that territory and reasserted the Namibian people's right to independence and their territorial integrity. It also reasserted its unconditional support for the struggle led by SWAPO as sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

The Conference strongly denounced the establishment of an illegal and arbitrary "national Assembly," and stated categorically that the nonaligned countries will neither recognize nor cooperate with this illegal "assembly."

The Conference firmly rejected South Africa's maneuvers aimed at violating Namibia's territorial integrity through annexation of Walvis Bay; legitimizing the electoral farce of December 4, 1978, and setting up a neocolonial regime under Pretoria's control.

The Conference similarly praised the Namibian people led by SWAPO, and appealed to all progressive forces to immediately increase their material, military and financial support for SWAPO so that it may intensify the armed liberation struggle. Such aid should cover mainly equipment supplies, support for training programs and support for the Namibian refugees.



Farouk Khadoumi, PLO's foreign minister

The heads of state or government voiced their support for the programs calling for humanitarian aid to Namibians sponsored by the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other international organizations.

They stated that the liberation struggle in South Africa had already entered a decisive stage, since the Pretoria regime has unleashed the most brutal repression by resorting to criminal and fascist methods aimed at weakening and destroying the South African people's unity.

Deep concern was voiced for the continued economic, military and nuclear cooperation of the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, Great Britain, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel, with South Africa's racist regime. It resolutely condemned such cooperation that has contributed to increase Pretoria's war potential, which is part of its industrial development plans.

The racist regime is challenging world public opinion when it pretends to become the defender of the West's white Christian civilization and the gendarme of the region's so-called free world.

The Conference stated that southern Africa embodied one single field of operations in which the South Africa apartheid regime was the central strategic issue. The problems of southern Africa cannot be dealt with separately for they are politic-



ally, militarily and economically intertwined. The Conference condemned the racist authorities' bantustans program and rejected the systematic aggression against Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Zambia, while underlining that South Africa had increased its repressive designs since Portuguese colonialism was defeated, and had invaded and systematically attacked Angola to stop it from becoming an independent state.

Broad consideration was given to every form of support and aid for the Front Line states, now acting as a safe rear guard and giving their militant solidarity to the liberation struggle being waged by the peoples of southern Africa.

The Conference reasserted that the Front Line states will not now nor in the future be alone, and it recognized that the material and financial support given to these states would in all certainty boost their ability to withstand aggression and enable them to effectively uphold their territorial integrity.

On the other hand, the Conference voiced deep concern for the serious situation prevailing in Western Sahara, and it considered that the ad hoc commission set up by the OAU would succeed in bringing about self-determination and independence for the Saharan people as soon as possible. It hailed the accord between the Republic of Mauritania and the Polisario Front and Mauritania's decision to withdraw its forces from the territory of Western Sahara. The Conference likewise deplored Morocco's armed occupation of southern Western Sahara previously under Mauritania's control.

Concerning Mayotte Island, still illegally occupied by France, the Conference voiced its active solidarity with the people of the Comoro Islands in their legitimate struggle for independence.

Concerning the Malagasy Islands in the Indian Ocean, the Conference called for their return to the Republic of Madagascar from which they were arbitrarily separated by the former metropolis.

The Middle East

The Conference reaffirmed that the Middle East situation still seriously threatens world peace and security owing to the growing possibility of a new war breaking out as a result of Israel's decision to persist in its policy of aggression, expansionism and colonial settlements aided by the United States of America. Such support encourages Israel to ignore the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, and to refuse to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories.

It was stated that the Palestinian issue is at the core of the Middle East problem and is the

fundamental reason for the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Palestinian problem and the Middle East question are one and the same problem and there can be no partial solution or settlement solely involving one of the parties to the conflict. It was considered that no just peace can come to the region unless it is based on Israel's total and unconditional withdrawal from all Palestinian and Arab occupied territories, leading to the establishment of an independent state in Palestine.

The Palestine Liberation Organization was recognized as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Conference took note that the United States' policy of alignment with Israel implies that the former has taken sides against the Palestinian people and their inalienable rights. Far from working on behalf of peace, the United States is seeking solutions favorable to Zionist goals. Hence the Conference condemned US policies and schemes in the region.

The Conference denounced the stance taken by certain countries, particularly the United States that called for continued supplies of advanced weaponry to Israel, and it voiced its concern for the escalation of Israeli military power, both in terms of conventional and nuclear weapons. The Conference also condemned the cooperation existing between Israel and South Africa and was



Fidel embraces Pham Van Dong



grateful for the help given by progressive and peace-loving forces.

The Conference voiced support for Lebanon's unity, independence and sovereignty, strongly condemning Israel's continued attacks and aggression in southern Lebanon, where it used highly sophisticated planes and armaments supplied by the United States of America, killing thousands of innocent women, children and elderly people.

The Conference noted with deep concern that, following the Camp David agreement between Egypt, Israel and the United States, Israel has stepped up its policy calling for the confiscation of Palestinian and occupied Arab territories. The Conference stated that the incorporation of Jerusalem under Arab sovereignty was an indispensable condition for achieving lasting peace. It urged the Security Council to meet its responsibility to make Israel subject to the sanctions provided under chapter 7 of the Charter. Such measures should include the application of all the sanctions deemed necessary as well as the enforcement of an all-out boycott and the exclusion of Israel from the international community.

The Conference deplored the fact that the Security Council has so far failed to adopt any decision concerning the recommendations made by the General Assembly.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Concerning Latin American affairs, the heads of state or government noted that Latin America is one of the world's regions that has most suffered aggression at the hands of US and European colonialism and neocolonialism. They singled out the admittance of four Latin American countries as full-fledged members and the incorporation of a further three as observers. This brings the number of Movement members and observers in the region up to 24.

The Conference condemned the presence of foreign military bases in the Caribbean, like the ones existing in Cuba and Puerto Rico, that threaten the region's peace and security. It renewed its demand for the Government of the United States and other colonial powers to return to these countries the inalienable portions of their territories occupied against the will of their peoples and to close these bases.

On the other hand, the Conference voiced its support for the anticolonial struggle of the Caribbean peoples, particularly in Puerto Rico, Belize, Guadeloupe, Martinique and French Guiana, while condemning every attempt at setting up a so-called security force in the Caribbean that would



President Hafez Assad led Syrian delegation

perpetuate the presence of the metropolis in the region.

The Conference reiterated its solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people and their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. It exhorted the US Government to abstain from carrying out any repressive political maneuver aimed at perpetuating Puerto Rico's colonial situation, and congratulated itself on the victory of the unconditional release of the four Puerto Rican political figures jailed in the United States for over 25 years.

The Conference reiterated its support for the right of Belize to self-determination.

Support was voiced for the right of the Republic of Argentina to exercise sovereignty over the Falkland Islands, and for the Cuban people's claim over the land occupied by the United States in the Guantánamo base and condemned the unjust US blockade on the Cuban Revolution. The Conference denounced the United States' hostility, pressures and threats against Cuba, which constitute a flagrant violation of the UN Charter and a danger to world peace. The heads of state government strongly condemned the blockade that the US Government is still using to try to isolate and destroy the Cuban Revolution and demanded that it be immediately and unconditionally lifted.

The Conference noted with pleasure the coming into force of the Panama Canal Treaty. The heads of state or government voiced their concern regarding the default of the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the part of the United States and voiced their hope that they will be faithfully adhered to by the United States.

The Conference hailed the Government of Grenada's decision to join the Movement and recommended the adoption of measures to speed up the reinstatement of democratic rights in Chile.



The Conference hailed with satisfaction the victory won by the Nicaraguan people and their vanguard, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), and expressed how pleased it was that this country had joined the Movement.

The Conference warned of the need to implement emergency aid programs for Nicaragua.

The Conference backed Bolivia's claim to regain an outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

The Conference strongly denounced the growing political, economic and military ties between Paraguay and Chile and South Africa. It similarly condemned the ties between Israel and Guatemala and El Salvador.

The Conference voiced its satisfaction for the declaration that the Andean Pact countries issued in Havana.

Other Agreements

Another agreement reaffirmed the Movement's solidarity with Cyprus and called for an end to all foreign interference in its internal affairs and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops.

The Conference hailed Malta's valiant act of eliminating the foreign military bases in its territory.

The decisions of the 5th Summit to make the Mediterranean a zone of peace and cooperation were ratified, and the close relationship between

European security and the Mediterranean was emphasized.

Convinced of the need to strengthen the concept of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean through a collective universal security system without alliances, the Conference urged the coastal and interior states to abstain from participating in military pacts. The existence of military bases in South Africa and the intensification of that country's military activity in the zone was denounced. The dismantling of foreign military bases in this area was urged and the right of all peoples to freely navigate the Indian Ocean was reaffirmed.

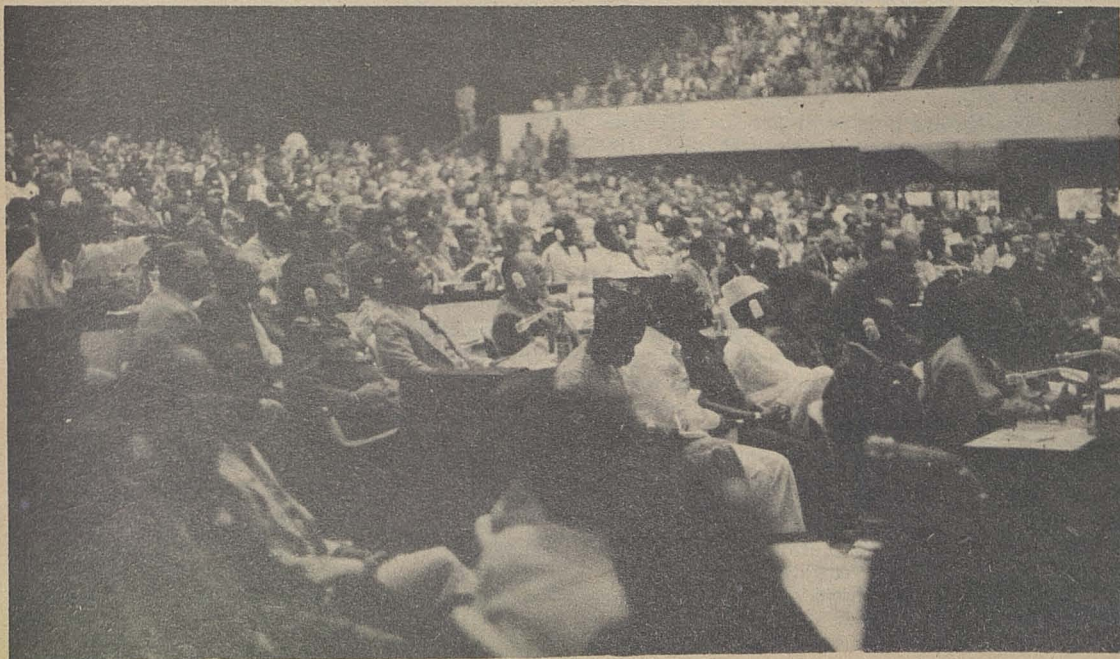
The Conference warmly hailed the victory of the people of Iran and welcomed their participation in the Movement. It also hailed the withdrawal of Iran and Pakistan from CENTO.

Hopes were expressed that talks on the establishment of a peace zone in Southeast Asia continue.

The Conference asked all countries to respect the right of the Korean people to peaceful reunification.

It reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor, who are still under foreign domination, to self-determination.

The Conference underlined that, faced with the danger of a military confrontation based on the politics of force, the only option open to humanity is active peaceful coexistence. It consid-





ers the right of people to self-determination and independence to be included within the application of this principle. It insisted that it is impossible to assure peace and security while the arms race continues.

The Conference regretted the fact that the policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence, a policy used for centuries by the colonial powers and which caused so much damage to humanity, is still being applied by certain powers in an attempt to thwart the true independence, especially of those recently emancipated countries, and to frustrate the final victory of the national liberation movement.

The Conference welcomed the signing of the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic nuclear weapons. It stressed that the arms race was incompatible with the efforts aimed at establishing a new international economic order.

It considers the strengthening of the national information and mass communication systems indispensable for the establishment of a new international order in the sphere of information, and noted with satisfaction the important results achieved by the development and activities of the press agencies' pool of nonaligned countries.

The Conference once again condemned the old metropolises that continue to systematically pillage the cultural wealth of the African, Asian, Latin American and Caribbean countries.

Economic Questions

With respect to economic questions, the Conference concluded that new forms of effective negotiations should be sought for the establishment of a new international economic order. The heads of state and government expressed their deep concern that the present international economic system is not only unjust, but also functions inefficiently, and does not support the process of development of the countries. The new international economic order implies a basic restructuring of the world economy, which includes modifications in the world economic patterns of production, consumption and trade; the exercise of an effective national control over the utilization of natural resources and the restructuring of the international institutions.

The establishment of a new economic order is one of the most important and urgent tasks facing the Nonaligned Movement.

Deep concern was expressed over the present international economic situation, characterized by a sharpening of the world economic crisis. They agreed that this crisis is not simply a natural cyclical phenomenon but a symptom of structural imbalance. The situation is aggravated

by the fact that, due to structural deficiencies and deficiencies in the management of the market economies, inflation and monetary disorders are permanent characteristics of the world economy.

Concern was expressed over the worsening conditions of foreign trade in the developing countries, and the protectionist measures introduced by certain developed countries were denounced. Concern was also expressed over the extraordinary increase in the developing countries' external debt, which, at the end of 1977, was estimated at about 300,000 million dollars.

There has been a tendency towards increased interest rates and decreased amortization periods on loans, limiting the import capacity of the developing countries. The growing deterioration in the balance of trade and exchange relations have led to an increase in the deficits on current accounts. The increase in loans by multilateral bodies has been slight.

The deteriorating economic situation confronting the developing countries is being aggravated and accelerated by the effects of the world economic crisis.

The heads of state or government strongly condemned the inflexible positions taken by the majority of the developed countries at the 5th UNCTAD.

The Conference stressed once again that the prices of basic products that the developing countries export to the developed countries have continued to decline or continue to be unsatisfactory, while the prices of manufactures and capital goods, food products and services that these countries import from the developed countries have increased, resulting in a further deterioration of the exchange relationship.

The Conference considered it necessary to formulate measures to protect the purchasing power of the income that the developing countries receive from their exports through the regulation of trade relations between developed and developing countries.

The heads of state or government underlined the importance of establishing a set of principles and norms to control restrictive commercial practices, particularly those of the transnational enterprises, that have adverse repercussions on the trade and development of the developing countries.

The heads of state or government stressed that the international energy question should be discussed in the context of the world negotiations taking place at the United Nations with the participation of all countries. The Conference praised the UN decision to convene an international conference on energy sources in 1981. □



Freedom of the Press and Other Stories

A selection by Carlos Prieto

"MOSCOW HO!"

Will the "nonaligned" let Castro haul them towards the Soviet camp rather than risk a split?

Cuba is about to play host to the sixth summit of the governments that call themselves—and in many cases are—nonaligned. Mr. Fidel Castro will do his best to convince them that Russia is their "natural ally"... His government and the other Soviet-supported ones at Havana may be able to shift it quite a long way in the direction Russia wants it to go... They might, however, have a better prospect of success if they had adopted more restrained tactics. The rather crude ones they have chosen are more likely to widen the existing split in the nonaligned movement, perhaps to make it unbridgeable... Speaking on his home ground, (Castro) made it clear that he would go on sending his soldiers to fight 'wherever the glorious Soviet Union wanted them'." (sic) (*The Economist*, Aug. 25, 1979)

"CASTRO MEETS GROWING OPPOSITION TO ATTEMPT TO SWAY THIRD WORLD

Yugoslav sources, encouraged by the response to President Tito's speech yesterday urging Third World nations to remain independent of both superpowers, today expressed confidence that their views would prevail. The split within the conference has been symbolized by the confrontation between President Tito and President Castro." (*New York Times*, Sept. 6, 1979.)

"EDITORIAL

Probably by accident, reports of a Soviet military buildup in Cuba surfaced just as 90-odd nonaligned nations were about to meet in Havana... Most Americans find it absurd that Cuba can be regarded as 'nonaligned.' The island is an economic vassal of Moscow and a staging base for Soviet forces in the Caribbean." (*New York Times*, Sept. 7, 1979.)

"TITO AND CASTRO LEAD CHARGES OF THE NONALIGNED

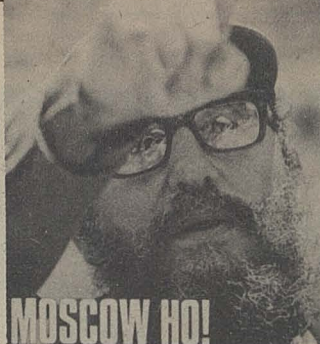
Mr. Castro's manipulative tactics antagonized some countries and intimidated others. Although the conference outcome was ambiguous, the Cuban leader, as chairman, has three more years to try to delete the prefix from non-aligned." (*New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1979.)

"SHOWDOWN IN HAVANA

Tito and Castro Collide for "Soul" of the Third World.

The arena was the Sixth Conference of Nonaligned Countries opening this week in the Cuban capital... Cuba has been campaigning aggressively both to seize the leadership of the movement and to steer its political direction squarely into the orbit of its principal ally, the Soviet Union... Lining up against (Cuba) is a broad group... led by Yugoslavia... (which has) been waging their own behind-the-scenes battle in diplomatic chanceries and ministries around the world... A Cuban victory obviously would spell

The
Economist



bad geopolitical news for the US... The main bone of contention in Havana is a Cuban draft of the communiqué to be issued at the end of the summit, which froths with Pravda-like anti-US agitprop. It calls for the immediate independence of Puerto Rico, for instance... But much depends on the crucial confrontation between Tito and Castro." (*Time*, Sept. 10, 1979.)

"CASTRO'S SHOWPIECE SUMMIT

Cuba's anti-Americanism is endorsed by the nonaligned

Even as Washington worried about the Soviet brigade in Cuba, President Fidel Castro was luxuriating last week in an ego-boosting extravaganza. Basking in a tropical sun and bedecked with banners carrying anti-imperialist and anti-American slogans, Havana radiated a fiesta-like atmosphere as Presidents, Prime Ministers, dictators and Kings of 92 states flocked into the Cuban capital... The Havana summit was a major stepping-stone toward broadening of Cuba's international role—although just what the role is varies with the perspective of the beholder. To Washington policy makers Cuba is a cat's paw of the Soviet Union... To make matters worse, Castro may well ride the swell of his enhanced prestige straight into the UN Security Council." (*Time*, Sept. 17, 1979.) □

LATIN AMERICA

PANAMA



Building Crisis ?

As Panama begins to recover sovereignty over its Canal, a time of crisis is emerging which demands new definitions

Paulo Cannabrava Filho

From October 1, the US's colonial enclave in the Canal Zone is no more. Panama now has the canal it fought for during 76 years, and this has launched the country on a new era. An era of conflicts and definitions, of crises and confrontations.

Showing irrefutably that the fight for sovereignty was unifying "religion", every ambulatory Panamanian wanted to enter the Zone on that day—and it looked as if they all did. From midnight Sunday and when guns and fireworks announced that the Torrijos-Carter treaties had come into effect, a human river poured into the Zone, without end until the official ceremonies ended on Monday night. The multitude was estimated at some 500,000 people: oligarchs and beggars, bankers and clerks, liberals and communists, "ultras" of every stripe, and above all *Torrijistas* of diverse social classes, the mass base that made the day possible. Actually a fifth of the country's population.

One week later, on Tuesday the 9th, teachers celebrated a month of their total nationwide strike with a well-organized and disciplined march through the capital. Including students, doctors and nurses (also on strike), they numbered some 20,000 and were applauded by the public.

Two symbols: on the one hand a unifying banner, on the other a split in the mass front that—monolithically until then—had backed the political process launched in October 1968.

Polarization

Now there is talk of a crisis. Government leaders deny it, only admitting the existence of "surmountable" political and economic "difficulties." All will come out well for the regime, they say, since it has strong popular support, the National Guard behind it, and hopeful signs of an economic upturn. But among the masses, its supporters and opponents are increasingly polarized. The Panamanian situation reflects not only the crisis of the dollar but the apparent exhaustion of a development "model." New definitions are needed.

In April 1970, two years after Gen. Torrijos became President, the so-called "National Development Strategy 1970-1980" was initiated. It would "assure sustained economic and social growth to improve the quality of life for the people, correct present distortions and strengthen Panama's political and economic independence." Reviewing the strategy's achievements in education, we find that between 1968 and 1977

the teaching body grew by 89 percent, with 43 percent more schools and 86 percent more student registrations. In universities the growth was 180 percent, with the student body rising from 11,548 to 32,335. Of the government's 1977 budget, 33 percent went for education.

New hydroelectric plants at El Bayano, La Estrella, Los Valles and La Fortuna upped electrical capacity by 190 percent. New sanitary, housing and water-supply projects brought health services in 1977 to eight times more people than in 1969. In agriculture, Panama's only really important export was bananas: it remains important but now represents only 60 percent of income. Out of \$243.1 millions of exports in 1977, there were \$30 millions of shrimps, 21.9 of sugar, 2.1 of cacao and 54.3 "others," including grains, coffee and fruit.

Successes and Failures

The chief institutional gain has been consolidation of popular power through the National Assembly of 505 representatives, elected on a *corregimiento* (municipality) system peculiar to Panama. The strategy, conceiving Panama as a country of "transit and services," promoted the development of an international financial center in Panama City whose deposits grew between 1968 and 1977 from \$393.6 million in 12 banks to \$16.3 billion in 83 banks (see *third world* No. 1).

Both for government and governed the prime achievement was the Torrijos-Carter treaty for the country's decolonization—the most spectacular of all Latin American diplomatic victories in relations with the US. But despite its successes, the strategy did not fully satisfy the masses' aspirations for more participation and full employment. Such palliatives as an emergency 20,000-job, \$100-a-month minimum wage plan did not work out, and the state can find no resources to maintain this legion of unemployed.

A Political Maze

The government, headed by Torrijos's protégé Aristides Royo, says the world economic crisis, soaring oil prices and reluctance of national investors have hindered its plans, while the mass of un and under-employed (some say 40 percent of the work force) provide grist for the mill of the opposition who would reverse the process. Forces backing the regime are the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD), the Broad Front (more to the left), the People's Party (communist), and some sectors of the Liberal Party which held power for the longest period in Panama, some of whose cadres—slightly to the right of PRD—are in the government.

Other Liberal sectors are in the opposition with the Panameñista Party of three-times-overthrown ex-President Arnulfo Arias and the right-wing Christian Democrat and Social Democrat parties. These three parties challenge the legitimacy of the Royo government, and refused to register with the Electoral Tribunal as required

by the political rules laid down last year. So did the ultra-rightwing God & Panama organization (similar to Chile's Fatherland & Freedom) and Maoist and Trotskyist splinters.

A call to "Panama-ism" brought together Liberals and left- and right-wing ultras into the National Opposition Front (FRENO), which agitates for a return to traditional representative democracy and, above all, economic liberalism.

Close Call for the Government

The success of the teachers' demonstration in the capital encouraged the opposition to call for a general stoppage throughout the country. On October 11, the 11th anniversary of Torrijos's assumption of power, President Royo told the striking teachers that meeting their claims would mean upping education expenditures to 52.7 percent of the budget, with obvious harm to other areas. Progovernment organizations—unions, Communist Party, Campesino Confederation—called for takeovers of concerns that stopped work. A large part of the workers opposed the general strike called by the opposition, and what with the government's efforts and the heads-of-families' dislike of the teachers' attitude, the move collapsed—but only after two very confusing weeks.

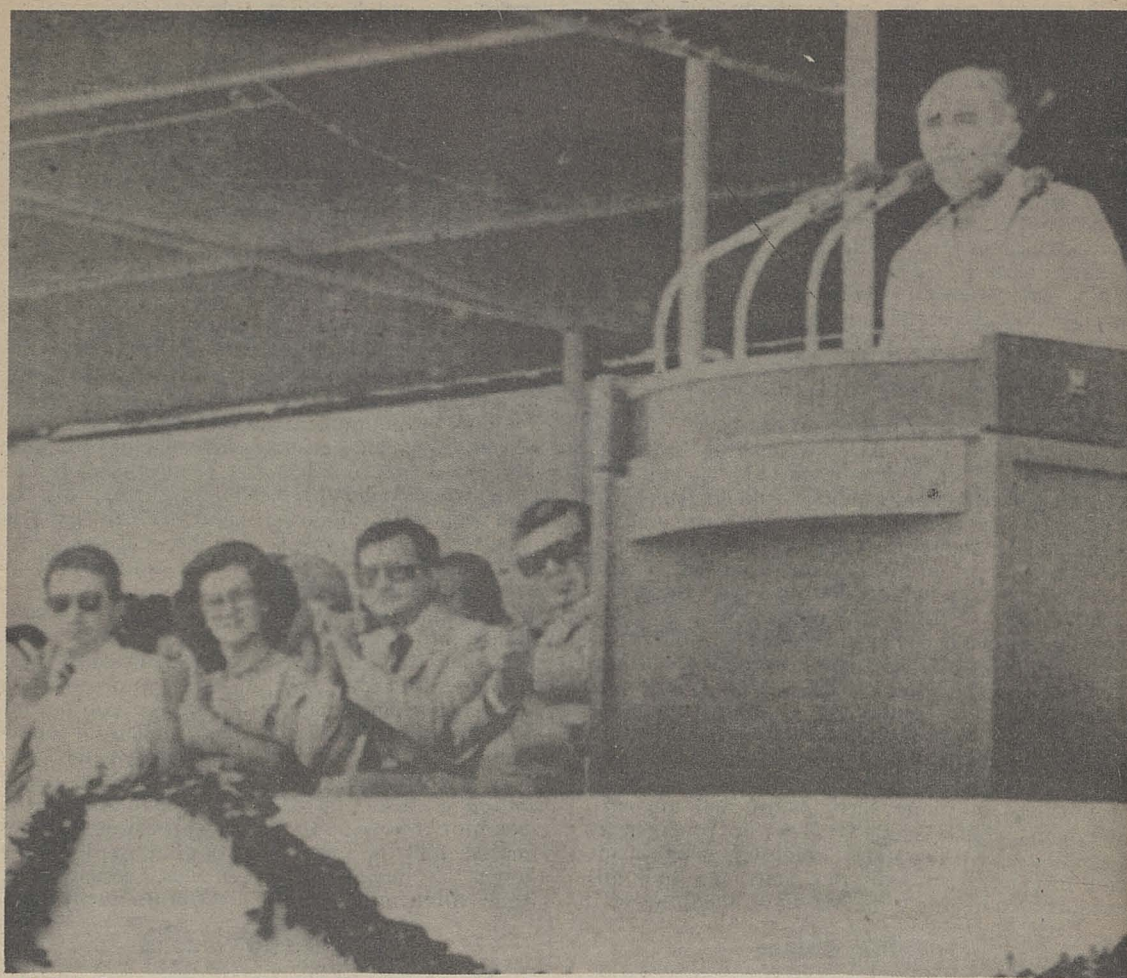
The opposition had shown that it could capitalize on popular unrest, and it was obvious who had tried to turn that into subversion: the Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture backed the teachers and financed their strike and the call for a national strike, which smelled of coup d'état. The government could mobilize the people to defeat this, but could not halt the destabilization process. The decade of economic growth has not resolved the basic problems of the masses, and the Canal treaties don't satisfy their hopes of liberation since US bases remain in a Zone still haunted by the ghost of intervention.

The Absent General

The absence of General Torrijos from the October 1 ceremonies reflected that sense of frustration. Even though he had often said that "I don't want to enter history but the Canal Zone," he refrained from entering it. Instead, he sent a message to López Portillo in which he mentioned that "the 21st century is too far off"—full surrender of the Canal is scheduled for A.D. 2000—perhaps suggesting that Panamanian sovereignty may come about sooner.

The masses want change, and if this regime doesn't fulfill their desires they will end on the rightwing opposition bandwagon. That is the present risky perspective for Panama. The solution—perhaps to be found in Torrijos's message to López Portillo—is to give them new hope.

But the Royo administration has not yet offered any goal other than consolidation of past achievements and fulfillment of the 1970-1980 development strategy. The decade about to begin is full of question marks. □



López Portillo in Panama representing Latin American Presidents

More than a Walk-On Role

Strengthened by oil, the voice of Mexico makes itself heard for a just solution of the energy crisis, for equity in international relations, and for Latin American unity against intervention, poverty and repression.

Roberto Remo

ROil has given Mexico a strength we never had in all our history," President José López Portillo told the press recently, and that strength is increasingly felt on the international scene. When foreign minister Jorge Castañeda reaffirmed in Havana Mexico's stance of anti-colonialism, non-alignment and solidarity with liberation struggles, it was the beginning of a "September diplomatic offensive" which López Portillo then carried to the UN General Assembly.

The core of Mexico's message to the UN was the energy crisis. As against the tendency to limit the discussion to oil, López Portillo urged that all energy sources should be treated together as "a common responsibility of mankind."

A Formidable Package

The world energy plan he outlined must, he said, "assure orderly, progressive, integral and just transition between two human epochs." He supported UN secretary-general Waldheim's initiative for an International Energy Institute and put forward these demands: 1) Guarantee the peoples' full sovereignty over their natural resources; 2) Rationalize energy exploration, production, distribution, consumption and conservation; 3) Extend the exploitation and study of unconventional sources; 4) Enable national energy plans to be integrated into a world policy; 5) Develop auxiliary energy industries in underdeveloped countries; 6) Set up a system to reduce the impact of high oil prices on underdeveloped consumer countries; 7) Create financing funds with contributions from industrialized and oil-exporting countries to reduce the pressures on underdeveloped consumers; 8) Systematize the transfer of energy technology for the benefit of Third World producers.

This package of proposals, affecting many interests, will certainly provoke much controversy before solid progress can

be made. "What I was after at the UN," López Portillo told the press, "was a general stimulation of consciences;" if the energy problem is seen "simply as one of prices charged by one lot to another lot, that leaves out the structures that stand in the middle—the transnationals, which having no country nor social commitments" would prevail over "the limitations of nationalism" unless sovereign states formed a front against a most efficient group of depatriated people."

The OPEC Connection

Well aware of the ambitiousness of his proposal, López Portillo said afterwards: "I had to bring it all out so that something good would come of it." What can in fact come of it? "In the short term—and we're really going to insist on this—a system guaranteeing the supply of energy, free of speculation, to developing countries that import it."

This concern for the situation of Third World oil importers, voiced by many nations' delegates at the Havana Nonaligned Summit, reflects the need to avoid a confrontation between OPEC and other underdeveloped countries. Third World unity is vital for the maintenance of negotiating strength in all forums where the New International Economic Order is discussed, and this aspect could help bring Mexico closer to OPEC countries which object to Mexico's remaining outside the oil-exporters' organization.

At the White House

López Portillo took an equally firm stand on bilateral problems when he sat down with President Carter some days later. Prior to their meeting an agreement had been signed for sale of Mexican gas to the US, at a price equivalent to OPEC's and much higher than the one vetoed in 1977 by US "energy czar" James Schlesinger. With that problem out of the way, the Mexican President asked for—and got, at least on the pro-

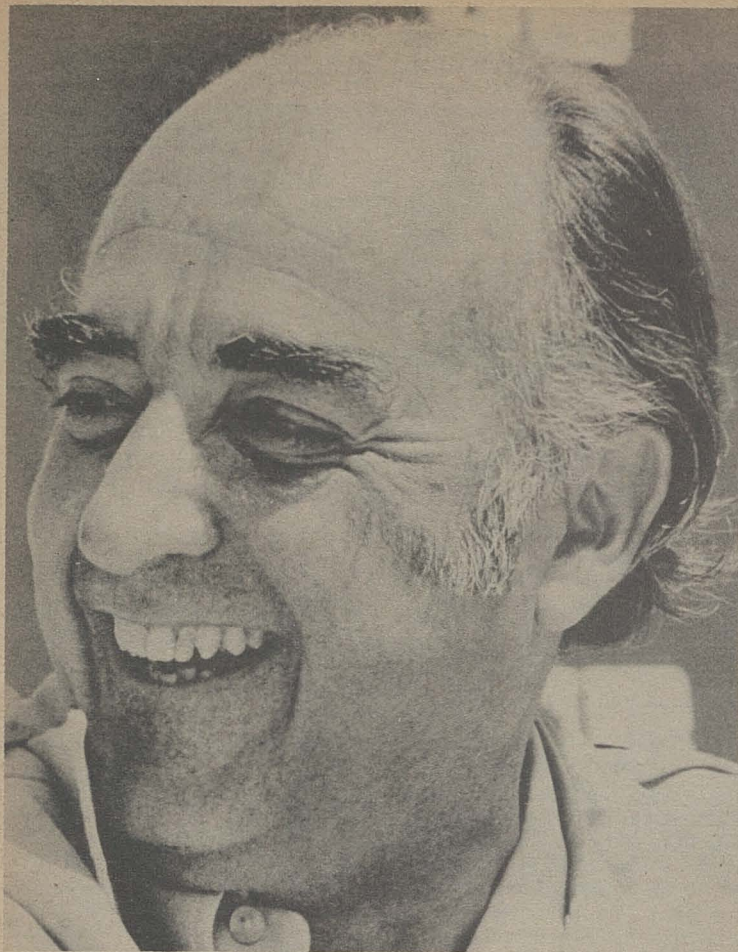
mise level—respect for the right of Hispanics in the US to education, health and legal protection. He supported the SALT II nuclear arms-control treaties but opposed all foreign military enclaves, especially in Latin America; confirmed Mexico's willingness to help in the reconstruction of Nicaragua, but insisted that international aid be without strings attached.

He declined to discuss the demand that Mexico indemnify the US for ecological damage caused by the leaking under-sea oilwell Ixtoc, since, besides the lack of precedents in international law, there had been no US indemnity for the havoc caused to Mexico's agriculture by contamination of rivers along its northern frontier.

Nicaragua and Panama

He said that "Latin America is recovering its stride"—referring to the Nicaraguan people's victory against the Somoza dictatorship and to that of the Panamanian people in initiating decolonization of the Canal Zone. In effect, it was López Portillo whom Latin American governments had chosen to speak for them at the Panama Canal sovereignty-transfer ceremonies. The choice was partly due to Mexico's "new strength" arising from its oil, but also to its exceptionally stable constitutional institutions, to its semi-industrialized economy, to its population exceeding that of any Spanish-American country, and to the long Mexican tradition of firmness in defense of its principles. And it was far from a mere protocolar speech that López Portillo gave in Panama. He described the surrender of the Canal as "another step along the road of de-colonization, recovering the dignity of mankind from the imperial grasp of manifest destinies."

The new world, he said, reflects the division of the old supremacies: "The North is the formidable power that, ever since the Monroe Doctrine, seeks to force the other Americans into its own (North) American mold. It engineered the canal plot in



José López Portillo: "Latin America is recovering its stride"

Panama, and turned our America into its zone of influence and of imposition of its power, its strategic orbit and defense arena." And in the South, "the task of surviving and progressing has not been an easy one under the colossus." He spoke of the evils of feudalism, of the struggle to overcome them by a "belated, rachitic and dependent industrialization," of inflation, energy crisis, unemployment, the chronic imbalance of trade; of "freedom without justice" and its counterpart, restrictions on democracy. In sum, "the relative balance is far from being in our favor."

All Free or None

Yet for López Portillo, this negative balance did not lead

to pessimistic conclusions. His condemnation of US power-wielding since the Monroe Doctrine, his reference to Latin America's great crusaders for unity, Simón Bolívar and José Martí, and his veiled allusions to many Latin American countries' lack of democracy and economic justice, seemed to trace a program: "None of our countries will be truly free unless all Latin American peoples are free."

In a carefully prepared speech, his mention of only two specific cases was not accidental: "The revolution of popular power in Nicaragua, which more than the fall of a political regime is the defeat of a prototype of exploitation, authoritarianism and dependency," and the sur-

render of the Canal to Panama where "the infamy of colonialism and the abuse of force are being buried." With these two points of departure—events which did in fact produce a broad Latin American front and a new balance of forces—Mexico's President explicitly posed the question of unity: "Either we unite in our own order, or order will be brought by armed and financial power-groups using tortuous paths of economic and or political hegemony." But this growing unity around great political issues common to all, which emerged in Nicaragua and Panama in open opposition to the "northern colossus's designs," must be forged by "overcoming injustice and underdevelopment." Said López Portillo: "Fighting intervention and foreign pressures will be of little avail if disunity, repression, poverty and inequalities keep growing in our own countries."

A New Epoch

This sort of political program for integration via internal transformations and elimination of authoritarian regimes, can hardly be implemented in international forums in which those very governments participate. López Portillo did not suggest that any new inter-governmental agency be created. After all, they already exist, whether they be called LAFTA (Latin American Free Trade Association) or the Organization of American States, which in Nicaragua's case showed that it could be something else than a "colonial ministry" of the US government.

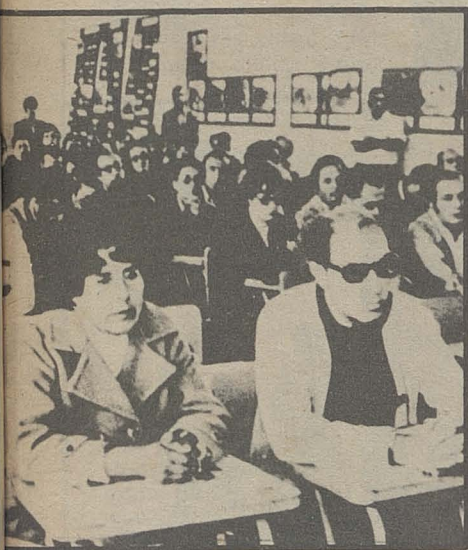
"*Líderes* aren't what Latin America needs," López Portillo told the press. This hispanized barbarism from the English word "leader" was bound to put many people in mind of that old hegemony which "our America" must unite to fight. But it is unquestionably understood by Mexico's leadership that a new epoch is opening for Latin America, with freedom glowing on its horizon. A epoch in which Mexico expects to play no walk-on role. □

ECUADOR

The 21—point Program of President Jaime Roldós



sendip

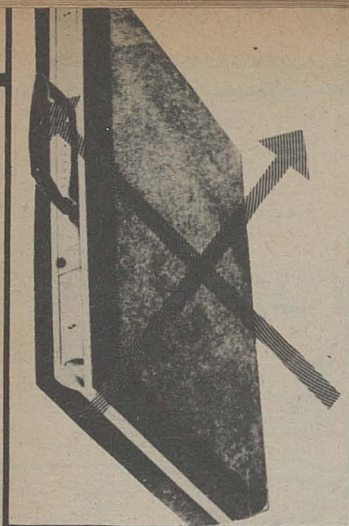


1 The welfare and dignity of all Ecuadorians as the basic goal of society,

2 Full guarantee of public liberties and strict respect for human rights

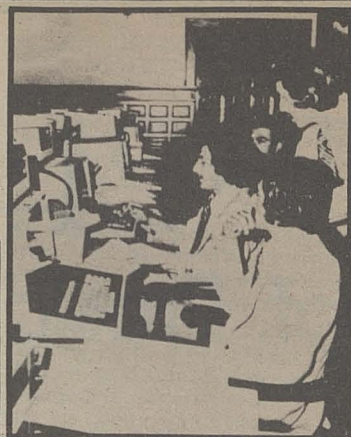


3 Social justice for eliminating privileges and inequalities, providing equal opportunities for all



4 Utmost honesty in the management of public funds

5 Planning as a governmental instrument to achieve harmonious and integral development of all provinces and regions as well as national integration



6 Administrative reform to achieve efficiency, modernization, agility and decentralization of public administration



7 Fiscal reform to improve tax collection, substituting direct for indirect taxes to increase incidence on the income and patrimony of the wealthy



9 Eradication of illiteracy, increased technical training, reorientation of education so that it may become a consciousness-raising instrument of high academic standards, support of scientific research, creation of technology and development of national culture



8 Rural development and promotion of the peasantry through agrarian reform, settling of unpopulated areas, supply of technical and financial services and road construction

10 Reduction of inflation, improvement of the socio-economic condition of workers and expansion of social security, health centers and recreational facilities



11 Promotion of grass-roots organization so that the people may form communities to have access to property and participate in the solutions to their problems as well as in fundamental decision-making

12 The defense of natural resources and their management according to national interest



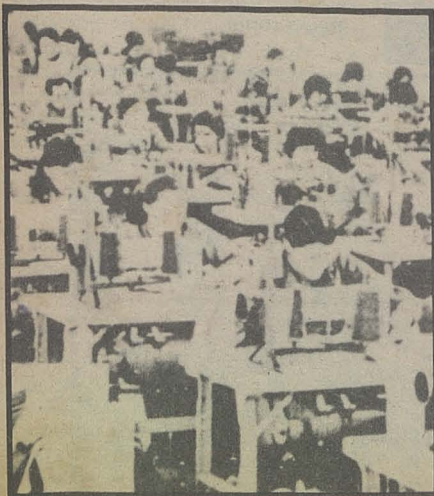
13 Industrialization as the basis of economic development and employment, with specific support to small industries. Foreign capital will be oriented toward this economic sector provided are respected the independence and interests of the country



15 Development of the necessary physical and social infrastructure: roads, airports, energy, ports, water supply, sewers, etc.



14 The respect for private property and private enterprise within the framework of the principles set forth in the New Constitution



16 Equal rights for women and youth in education, work, salaries, etc., and development of specific governmental programs



17 Participation of the Armed Forces in the creation of the new democracy, in the fulfillment of permanent national objectives, and in concrete tasks for economic and social development

18 The defense of national sovereignty over the 200-mile territorial waters, the air space, the geostationary zone and the unwavering rights of Ecuador in the Amazon region



19 The strengthening of Latin American integration and of international, regional and specialized organizations, with the aim of contributing to the creation of a world community and to international social justice



20 An independent foreign policy based on ideological pluralism, the legal equality of states and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, opposing any form of aggression, the use of force, colonialism and neocolonialism



21 The improvement of internal marketing channels, the reduction of unnecessary imports and those that may be substituted, and the expansion of exports, both traditional as well as industrial and marine

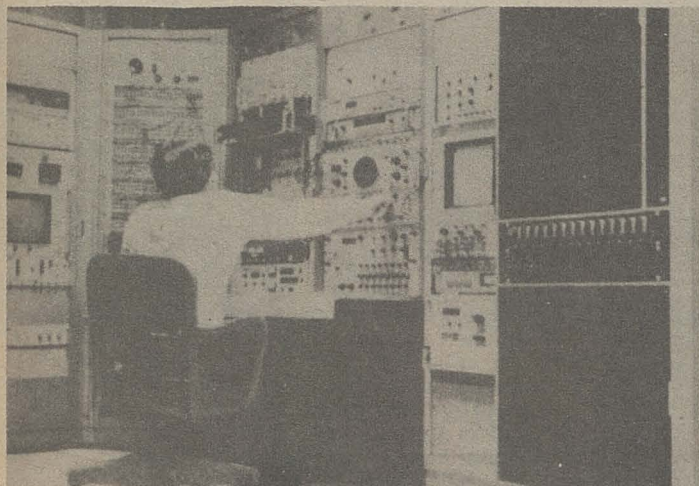




After Iran What's the CIA Up To Now?

Despite recent failures of US spying organizations, particularly in the case of the Iran revolution, they are fundamental to the system and will continue after an attempted face-washing.

Gregorio Selser



CIA chief Stansfield Turner. Despite all electronic gadgetry, back to fundamentals

In the second half of 1978 Iran astonished the world with a revolutionary upheaval which ended with the flight of the all-powerful Shah. Only months earlier US President Carter had toasted the Shah in his Teheran palace, referring to his "great leadership qualities" and to Iran as "an island of peace in one of the world's most turbulent regions." The US and Iran, said Carter, "profoundly shared the cause of human rights," and from the standpoint of military security were "closer than any countries on earth." Carter felt "gratitude and friendship" toward the Shah "as to no other leader."

Had Carter been better informed, the toast might not have been offered. But despite possessing the world's most allegedly effective intelligence service, he knew no more than the most ignorant US citizen about the true socio-political situation in Iran, as the *New York Times* revealed on Nov. 22, 1978 when it was too late to change the line.

According to the *Times*, Carter had complained to CIA director Admiral Turner, to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and to National Security Council chief Zbigniew Brzezinski that he was

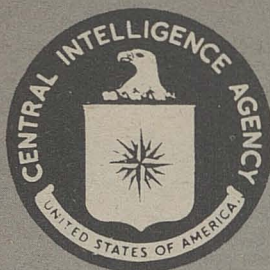
"dissatisfied with the political information" they had given him about various trouble spots and especially Iran. Months later, on Feb. 4, 1979, the CIA's Turner publicly admitted failure to predict how far the popular risings in Iran would go. Prognosticating about political rebellions, he explained, was the toughest task of Intelligence, and no other intelligence service, nor journalist, nor analyst had guessed right about Iran. It had been "like a series of volcanic eruptions" none of which had seemed likely to be beyond the government's control.

Changes in "The Company"

Such a fiasco in any other country would have cost the job of the person responsible. That did happen after the Bay of Pigs when President Kennedy fired the sacred monster of world counterespionage, Allen Dulles. But Carter's style is wreathed in cordial smiles: he couldn't summarily fire his friend Turner, and anyway there was no visible replacement and the Iran bungle was due *inter alia* to inner-CIA changes which Carter had told Turner to make.



A Few of CIA's Major Feats



1948

September 18: Central Intelligence Agency officially created under National Security Law. Its first chief, Adm. Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, followed shortly by Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Gen. Dwight Eisenhower's chief of staff in World War II. Smith calls Allen W. Dulles, chief of OSS, the WW2 counterespionage organization, to assist.

1948-1950

CIA uses American Federation of Labor for bribery operations in Italian and French labor circles to head off communists, and Marshall Plan funds to finance Italian Christian Democrat Party against Communist Party threat. Finances clandestine movements in Hungary, Albania, Ukraine, Poland.

1949

After Chiang Kai-shek's defeat, CIA initiates air raids on People's Republic of China territory to help surviving pockets of Chiang's Nationalists. Operations to reinforce Chiang remnants in Burma.

1950

Supplies arms and money to Chiang's army in Taiwan and Malaysia, reinforces resistance to Mao Tse-tung's army in Chinese province of Tibet. Falls down on job of alerting Washington to imminence of war in Korea.

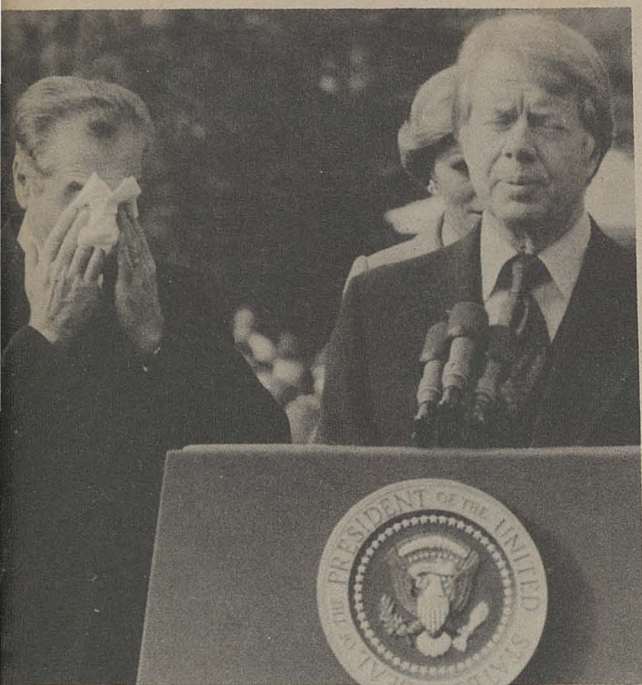
The restructuring process required firing or transfer of some 800 CIA people at the end of 1977. The organization had to wash its face after the Congressional investigations brought out its most repulsive aspects: destabilization of democratic or populist governments throughout the world and elimination of heads of state, according to the CIA's view of how the US should conduct certain aspects of international diplomacy.

In his electoral campaign Carter committed himself to eschewing such "regrettable episodes" as the CIA's participation in destabilizing the Allende government in Chile.

Leading US newspapers gave full publicity to the Church Committee's investigations, and the Pike Committee's disclosures leaked into New York's *Village Voice*. At least the best-informed politicians couldn't ignore them. The Pike Committee had probed a little-known case of intervention by Secretary of State Kissinger: the US's support of the continuous Kurd rebellion under Mustafa Barzani on the Iraq-Iran frontier, culminating in agreement for a joint military operation to "liquidate the problem." According to the committee, Kissinger's support of this operation compelled him to back Barzani's indignant complaints of having been abandoned by his late allies. Many Kurds had apparently been killed. Barzani was given asylum and an allowance in the US, where he died a few weeks before he might have rejoiced over the Shah's downfall.

The CIA's Iran fiasco brought to light other details which, albeit anecdotal, are part of history. It seems that, following the normal and common practice of all espionage services, CIA agents assigned to Teheran contacted Iranian opposition groups and kept the Langley headquarters informed about their actions and opinions. Since these dispatches must have shown that the country was in ferment, authorized US diplomats may be presumed to have communicated their concern to the Shah and offered some suggestions, as indicated in Carter's later statement that there had been "closest consultations about regional problems." Also that the Shah would have asked them to stop contacting the opposition, and that the agents would have obliged him in order not to provoke the Shah's own service, the SAVAK—thus eliminating this valuable source of information not only from the Shah but from Brzezinski, Vance, and Turner.

If this is correct, the Iranian people have cause for eternal gratitude, in light of the events of 25 years earlier. In 1953, because of the CIA, the State Dept., and the National Security Council having been too well informed, it was possible



for Dwight Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles and Allen Dulles, in collusion with the same Shah, to liquidate the first Iranian nationalist effort under Premier Mohamed Mossadegh.

Failures and then some

In January of this year Carter did not conceal his displeasure from close advisers, who offered an adequate rationalization of the CIA's failure to inform or warn him of the explosive situation in Iran. In the last 15 years the US has apparently gone overboard in reliance on complicated apparatuses, space satellites, electronic eavesdroppers on other nations' secret messages. Carter himself said this had sometimes been "detrimental to the data derived from them and also to data received through normal political channels."

The National Reconnaissance Office's (satellites) and National Security Agency's (code communication/interception) SIGINT and RADINT systems afforded planetary coverage of the chief enemy but neglected highly sensitive areas of conflict. The Pike Committee showed that CIA and DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) could not detect the Arab-Israeli war preparations in 1973 either by spy satellites or by "normal," less



1950-1953

All-out support to Philippines government against Hukbalahap leftist guerrillas. CIA approves and/or foments West-bound opium traffic across Asian "Golden Triangle," with planes belonging to a freight and passenger airline created by CIA for the purpose, and land transport from Burma across Laos (with Meo tribe cooperation), Kampuchea and Thailand.

CIA agents Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi



1951

Birth of Center for International Studies (CIS) at MIT with copious funds for "academic" probes of countries deemed "critical" or "strategic." CIS to be prototype of other similar university institutes which will become cover for CIA-financed "researchers."

CIA-financed *Free Europe* and *Voice of Freedom* begin beaming radio programs to East European countries to incite rebellion.

1953

August: Active participation by CIA agents in Iran military revolt against Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, deposed and jailed in name of Shah Reza Pahlavi. Oil nationalization measures annulled; oil distributed among "Seven Sisters" with minor share to a French concern.

1954

With fall of Dien Bien Phu to Giap's forces and consequent end of French empire in Indochina, US replaces France, declines to ratify Geneva Treaty



Allen Dulles and John Foster Dulles, the brains of espionage and cold war policy

ending Vietnam war, begins active support of rightist puppet Ngo Dinh Diem, an MIT selection, to govern part of Vietnam and prevent its unification. CIA set to play major role there till US defeat in April 1975.

June: Guatemalan President Arbenz overthrown after psychological softening-up campaign similar to the one in Iran. CIA funds used to corrupt Guatemalan army officers, form a mercenary army, install powerful radio stations in Honduras, acquire WW2 surplus planes, and pay crews for decisive operation.

1956

Clandestine intervention to prepare for rising in Hungary.

1958

Participation in insurrectionary movements against Indonesian President Sukarno and his nationalist, nonaligned policy: rebels supplied with money, arms, Philippines-based bombing planes. Operations suspended after Indonesian press denounces CIA.

First secret intervention in Chilean internal politics by fund contributions for propaganda against candidate Allende; conservative Alessandri wins presidential elections.

sophisticated methods (nor did Israel's very efficient secret service learn of them). Neither did they detect Turkey's preparations for war to annex most of the Greek portion of Cyprus.

Depending on the copious war hardware in Iran to keep things quiet, Carter was as surprised by Khomeini's "religious rebellion" as he was by the ruthless forays into Zambia of the troops of Rhodesian Premier Ian Smith in October 1978; just when Vance was engaged in talks with Smith in Washington. The official explanation in that case was: "The past 10 or 15 years saw a gradual decline in human intelligence, in the sense of a correct, incisive and rational analysis of data."

In other words, the analysis of satellite and high-flying plane photos and the deciphering of intercepted codes were deemed more reliable than written reports on such dull subjects as the socio-economics and geopolitics of remote Asian and African countries. Verification of the SALT agreements with the USSR, and the extent of commercial and military shipments to Cuba, continued to take priority. But as David Lennon observed in London's *Financial Times*, "photos of Soviet forces and intercepts of Warsaw Pact codes which are generally undecipherable, say something about the Russians' military capacity but little about their intentions."

Turner took the CIA helm with Carter's instructions to control the agency's "dirty tricks," including secret violence, destabilization of governments, and assassination of foreign political leaders, the latter being "repugnant to national morality." Turner was told to prettify the monstrous face of the CIA and to stop spying for information "which we can get from public sources." Nothing more in fact than the expression of a wish, but James Schlesinger, in his brief CIA sojourn in 1973, began putting it into practice for the sake of efficiency. In what was jovially known as the "Halloween massacre," Turner fired 820 agents who had mostly operated in Vietnam and could not easily be reeducated from their Dulles-style "dirty tricks." In January 1979, 200 more were invited to resign or advance their retirement dates. The *New York Times* called it "something like the end of a whole generation within the agency."

As an unexpected sequel to all these departures of personnel, there have been others based on a crisis of "morality," if such a term is applicable. Apparently the souls of many agents have been wounded, partly by the revelations about their methods and more recently by the ridicule to which the Iran fiasco exposed them.

The increasing flow of leaks to the press and to "the enemy" has tightened control methods at Langley: agents must have their purses and briefcases examined on entering and leaving the build-



1959-1961

Training and financing of Tibetan exiles for harassment operations in Tibet.

Operations against revolutionary Cuba begin with canefield fires set by Florida-based planes, with object of destabilizing Fidel Castro's government.

1960

March: President Eisenhower and Vicepresident Nixon authorize preparation of mercenary army to invade Cuba and liquidate revolution. Project initiated with direct participation of CIA members and collaboration of dictatorial Guatemalan and Nicaraguan governments.

May: USSR shoots down U-2 spy plane in its airspace. With this type of intervention exposed to the world, Eisenhower assumes responsibility, but Premier Khrushchov declines to attend summit conference in Paris.

1961

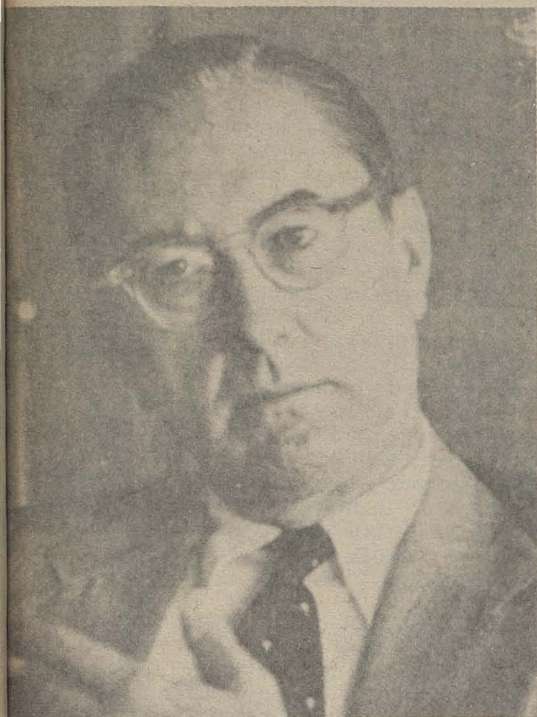
April: Fiasco of Bay of Pigs mercenary expedition, financed, trained and sent by CIA. President Kennedy assumes responsibility, later fires Allen Dulles in view of "technical" incompetence shown.

Kennedy authorizes creation of Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA), further stimulates US intervention in Southeast Asia.

CIA with Kennedy's authorization intervenes in former Belgian Congo against nationalist Patrick Lumumba, has him assassinated. B-26's support Belgian and other mercenaries to strengthen pro-US regime of Mobutu and Adoula.

September: Attempted coup d'état against Argentine President Frondizi, previously destabilized with letters forged by CIA agents with help from Argentine opponents.

November: In Ecuador, CIA sparks overthrow of President Velasco; repeats process with his replacement Arosemena in 1963.



Former CIA director William Colby

ing just outside Washington, and are said to consider this an affront to their moral integrity. Lie detectors are often used on agents suspected of permitting leaks, and by last February fifteen had been fired as a result. These developments should lead to no illusions about the Agency's dissolution. They are correctives and adjustments of its operating efficiency, not changes in its character. If Vietnam alone made 820 US agents expendable, one can infer how many continue operating throughout the world, not to mention permanent or temporary agents of other nationalities operating in their respective countries.

Business as Usual During Alterations

William Colby, ex-CIA chief and one of its officers most chastised by the Congressional committees, came out on US public television (Feb. 13, 1979) for continuing clandestine operations in Central America to settle that region's crisis in favor of "moderate sectors." He offered the same advice with respect to southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Namibia and "other points"), since what mattered for "US national security" were political solutions "equidistant between the



1961...

Continuous training and support of Cuban exiles in harassment and terrorist operations, including projects (failed) to murder Fidel Castro and other Third World leaders. In at least one case, US mafia elements contracted for this.

1962

Destabilizing operation in Guyana against leftist Premier Jagan's government.

1962-1963

In Brazil, "investment" of at least \$20 million in support of hundreds of rightist gubernatorial, congressional and municipal electoral candidates, to prevent political consolidation of President Goulart.

1963

September: Coup inspired and directed by CIA overthrows Dominican Republic President Bosch.

1964

CIA "wins" Bolivian presidency for Air Force Gen. Barrientos via military coup.

In Chile, no less than \$20 million "injected" in Christian Democrat candidate Frei's favor against Socialist Allende; CIA again imposes its man.

In Brazil, active CIA participation in prelude to March 31 military coup overthrowing constitutional President Goulart, while US warships stand off Rio "in case of need."

"Tonkin Gulf incident" trumped up to permit full escalation of war against Vietnamese people. Definitive escalation of secret military aid to 35,000 Meo tribesmen in Laos, and to 17,000 Thai tribesmen, against their countries' leftist movements and against Vietnam.

1965

"Counter-terror" policy fully unleashed in Vietnam, later culminating in "Operation Phoe-

two extremist forces;" that is, as he sees the situation in developing countries, tyrants and left extremists—two poles to be eschewed by the US. Rather should the US opt for "honest and moderate people," but not to the exclusion of such well-tried tactics as destabilization of governments.

As an example, he mentioned the "Congo solution"—i.e., Zaire—in the early 60s. There, he explained, extremists backed by the USSR and Che Guevara confronted "Belgian reactionaries," but thanks to the CIA there was a *dénouement* which, "if not the best in the world, was better than the extremists taking power." He did not mention that it called for the assassination of Patrick Lumumba and other leaders, the sacrifice of thousands of Congolese, and installation of a puppet regime backed by the US.

Also last February the committee of espionage experts, appointed by Carter to outline new intelligence and security methods based on the successes of recent years, recommended replacement of present methods by others that would permit fast and effective measurement of "the real capacity of political opposition groups, and better understanding of their true intentions, in countries whose resources of geography have strategic value for the US government." To interpret this sort of thing correctly one needs to know the jargon of Washington officialdom. A "strategic country" is one with resources or geography relevant to US national security; a "country of vital importance" is one not situated close to the US but allied with it for strategic utilization of its natural resources, such as Iran and Saudi Arabia. "Study" or "examination" refers to specific tasks of a particular espionage agency—in this case the CIA—to keep watch or to infiltrate.

Santiago, Chile, September 1973



Too Much to Handle?

This committee of experts found that excessive reliance on highly sophisticated technology in structural aspects of international relations produced an overbalance of information difficult and slow to process and of dubious practical use. The "science-fiction" type of technology is not sufficiently relevant in critical situations where use of the human factor is more effective. The committee noted that US diplomats and spies alike tend to ignore social and political changes in key peripheral countries. Conditioned by their political prejudices and psychological predispositions, they concentrate on what the ruling class is doing and thinking and belittle the importance of socio-economic groups functioning openly or under repression outside governmental contexts.

This was what happened in Iran. The potential resurgence of political, religious, intellectual, trade union and even economic groups went unheeded under the spies' noses. The committee recommended extending information sources into all strata of political, economic, social and cultural life in countries of vital or strategic importance.

Thus the news came as no surprise to the CELAM conference of Latin American bishops at Puebla (Mexico) that Carter had advised the CIA to intensify its studies and analyses of Moslem and Catholic, lay and religious groups in Latin America and elsewhere. Apart from the suggestive exclusion of Protestant, Jewish and Buddhist groups, the accent was on "Moslem"—chief object of concern because the Iran explosion would be incomprehensible without its religious component and it remains a factor in nearly all Middle East conflicts.

It is no accident that, after the Khomeini "phenomenon," most European political publications devote so much space to the history and analysis of Islam, whose renaissance—if our nose doesn't deceive us—may well cover the horizon of coming years, possibly extending into the 21st century.

Back to Basics

Yet this return to fundamentals by the CIA is equally symptomatic. Its predecessor, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), did an efficient counterespionage job in Nazi-occupied Europe, because it relied on agents mainly of Central European nationality who blended their anti-fascist convictions with professional incentives. The CIA, born in the Cold War under the militant anti-communist Allen Dulles's direction, was initially an organization of evaluation and study, with the cooperation of those anti-fascist circles



nix" under CIA chief-to-be William Colby.

May: Popular rising in Dominican Republic crushed by open intervention of 40,000 land, sea and air troops—not including in this number CIA-DIA-FBI agent competing to assure power for the US's man, Balaguer.

September-October: Bloodbath in Indonesia, ideologically and politically inspired by CIA techniques and tactics and compensating for its 1958 failure. Sukarno overthrown; dead and disappeared estimated at over a million.

1966

February: With military coup in Ghana, CIA displaces Nkrumah, leader of Pan-African anti-colonialist struggle.

1967

CIA and US "special forces" intervene to crush Che Guevara's guerrillas in Bolivia.

Ramparts magazine and *New York Times* compete to expose CIA activities in US universities, labor unions and political organizations and the world over. CIA subvention of famous publications like *Encounter* ("British"), and bribery of student and labor leaders, also exposed.

In Greek colonels' coup sparked by a US transnational, CIA supplies reinforcements to assure military dictatorship till 1974.

1970

Months before Chile's presidential elections, CIA again (as in 1958 and 1964) supplies money to opponents of Popular Unity candidate Allende, but Allende wins. President Nixon authorizes CIA operations "Track I" and "Track II" including bribery, assassination, support to opposition and its press, economic blockade in harness with World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Inter-American Development Bank, etc.; destabilizing strikes such as the truckers', leading up to DIA-supported mi-



litary coup of September 1973.

General and CIA agent Lon Nol with US support overthrows neutralist Prince Sihanouk in Kampuchea; Southeast Asia war extends to that country, continues until Lon Nol's flight to Hawaii in April 1975.

1970...

Dan Mitrione arrives in Montevideo, Uruguay, to instruct political police in torture techniques, killing at least three innocent persons in training sessions; later the same year, kidnapped and executed by National Liberation Movement. His instruction bears fruit in following years, when at least 40,000 Uruguayans are submitted to torture.

1975

UNITA's Jonas Savimbi and FNLA's Holden Roberto —both CIA agents, the latter since 1958—given support during transition period to independence in Angola. After Agostinho Neto assumes power (November), support continues to both and to European and Latin American mercenaries until US Congress withdraws authorization of clandestine activities.

April: Total defeat of US invaders in Vietnam wipes out CIA's power there.

1976

Continual protests in Jamaica against CIA attempts to destabilize government of Michael Manley.

1977-1978

Painful failure of CIA to anticipate revolutionary events in Iran.

Gregorio Selser

who were at the same time anti-communist. Only in the course of time did the CIA pass from the "academic" to the strategic-operations phase. And it was precisely in Iran that Allen Dulles scored his first resounding triumph, against Mossadegh. This, as we know, was followed by successes in Guatemala and other Third World countries, which would fill a fat volume.

US News & World Report (May 7, 1979), which normally reflects Pentagon and National Security Council views, reported that the CIA knew almost to the minute about China's invasion of Vietnam, and scored another success according to a report by a high military intelligence expert: "When Argentina and Chile were disputing the Beagle Canal islands, Argentina was ready to go to war. But we kept this to ourselves. We passed the information to the State Dept., which was in a position to have the Vatican mediate the dispute. This was a case where good intelligence prevented a war."

True or false, this leaves no doubt that the State Dept., the CIA and the Pentagon intend to continue the US spy agencies' dirty work despite their many failures, and however many and justified the criticisms. For, after all and above all, it is a basic organism for the survival of the empire and its system.

Covert Action: Fightback Against CIA

Recently the CIA's worldwide activities have given rise to a series of Who, Why, How and Where revelations. Many of these emerge from probes by US Congressmen unable to stomach CIA's violation not only of international, but of US law. But the most stunning exposures have come from ex-agents, many of them sincerely convinced of the damage CIA does to the world's peoples, including the people of the US.

Philip Agee, author of the famous *CIA Diary*, is one of these. The work of exposure begun in his book is today carried on by the magazine **CovertAction Information Bulletin**.^{*} After only six issues, **CovertAction** has become an invaluable source for journalists, researchers, and all popular organizations that the CIA has its evil eye on.

^{*} Published by CovertAction Publications, a nonprofit organization with headquarters in Washington (PO Box 50272, Washington, DC 20004). Subscriptions (six issues): Mexico, Caribbean, Central America: \$15; South America, Europe, Medit. Africa: \$16; Asia, Pacific, Africa: \$18

MIDDLE EAST

What if the Wells Burn?

For all the talk about US contingency plans, Washington hesitates to order a military occupation of Arab oil fields. It rightly fears its paratroopers might only find burning wells, which would certainly mean chaos for the capitalist system. The alternative is negotiations, but here strategists find an unavoidable obstacle: Arab demands for an independent Palestine.





I'd like Carter to know that when his government decides to occupy Middle East oilfields, we have the match ready to light the fuse."

The Pentagon's contingency plan for such an occupation had come to light, and the speaker was Yasser Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Simultaneously, Saudi Arabian Oil Minister Yemeni told a French publication that the Palestinian problem had better be solved fast, for the deliberate sinking of one tanker hauling oil through the Arabian Gulf could cause an international catastrophe, and the Palestinians were quite capable of doing it.

The dependence of capitalism on Arab oil is wellknown. The US gets from OPEC countries—mainly from Arab countries and Iran—about half of its oil, Japan almost all, and Europe a large amount. South Africa and Israel, vital pawns in the capitalist strategic chessgame, produce no oil. Non-oil-producing Latin American countries depend on Arab crude: Brazil, using nearly a million barrels a day, gets half from Iraq and about 30 percent from Saudi Arabia, Libya and Iran.

Chaos could hence result in the West from any interruption in the flow, and that could happen if the US tried armed occupation of Arab fields. A high percentage of Arab-world oil technicians and workers are Palestinians active in the resistance, not to mention the other Arabs who would support reprisals against such occupation. This is genuine cause for US concern. Apart from oil, the Middle East has strategic priorities for Washington: proximity to the USSR, control of the Mediterranean, the key East-West link at Suez, the route to Central Asia with its new hot spot Afghanistan.

Petrified History

It is hard to imagine how qualified planners, with sophisticated analytical methods and high-powered intelligence, cannot work out and sell to their government a less dependent and vulnerable energy policy. Yet despite the "independence" plans of the Nixon-Ford and later periods, nothing serious has been done; and opinion polls showed that even Carter's tearful TV address left most Americans unconvinced of any "energy crisis." One can only ascribe this to the Washington planners' petrified sense of history. They saw Iran as permanently subject to US geopolitical interests, and the Arabian Gulf—especially Saudi Arabia—as the "Seven Sisters" captive oil lake for an indefinite period. This was the basis of a plan based in its entirety on prodigal supplies bought at ludicrous prices from Third World producers.

To dominate the oil zones the Pentagon set up seemingly invulnerable bases—the Israel-Iran-Ethiopia-Saudi Arabia-Turkey military network. The Turks and Iranians were to keep watch over the USSR, and the Red Sea strategic complex and approaches to the Indian Ocean were to be controlled respectively by the Ethiopians and Saudis, and the Saudis and the Shah.

But Ethiopian and Iranian revolutionaries radically modified the situation by breaking from dependence on the US; the Turks began losing their enthusiasm for the pawn role in a confrontation with the Soviets; and the Saudis split with Cairo, warmed to Teheran, and even threatened to establish relations with Moscow. All this has deepened the military and diplomatic isolation of Israel, whose expansionist policy evokes systematic condemnation from the nongaligned majority in the UN General Assembly.

Camp David: Dubious Triumph

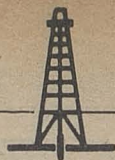
With the Camp David agreements, Washington apparently succeeded in restoring its strategic position with the Sadat government's help. It was only apparent because it omitted the Palestinians. That this was a decisive factor, not a mere question of terrorist fanatics, the petrified view of history prevented Washington's strategists from seeing.

Carter counted on the "understanding" of Arab nations committed to capitalism: Tunis, Saudi Arabia, the Emirates, Kuwait. These regimes' acceptance of Camp David would isolate Iraq, Libya, Syria, South Yemen, Algeria and the PLO—the main centers of resistance, and Sadat's Egypt (which of course isn't Nasser's Egypt), allied with Israel, would become Washington's new power center.

The agreements' early phases gave little trouble: Israel returned some small Sinai towns in return for Egypt's commitment not to use the military installations for war purposes, and Israel made strategic gains in the shape of two great military bases in its territory, paid for by the US, in compensation for the installations returned to Egypt.

A Good Question

The price of the US aid promised to Sadat is delivery of Egypt's economy to the transnationals. As for the \$5 billion-odd US contribution to both countries, it is basically destined for military expenses that will increase Washington's war potential in the region. "What sort of peace is this," asks Arafat, "if it multiplies armaments in the Middle East?" The two countries' weapons will not of course be aimed at each other: Israel's mainly at Syria and Lebanon, while Egypt's will



Yasser Arafat, Austria's Premier Kreisky and Socialist International President Willy Brandt

serve for its understudy role to the ex-Shah as regional watchdog." The consolation offered to US taxpayers for this new multibillion-dollar forkout is that it is the price of peace.

In the second phase—now beginning—of implementing the agreements, problems pile up. Israeli extremists persist in installing new settlements on Arab lands despite Sadat's complaints that this causes him internal difficulties, and Israel continues its genocidal war in southern Lebanon. Nor is there any indication in this phase that Israeli and US hardliners have renounced what has been called the "dirty war" of crimes, assassinations, sabotage, etc. Not that Carter, the State Department and other more flexible elements of the US Establishment can be accused of direct involvement in such operations. But it is hard not to see the hand of the CIA and its Western fellow-dirty-workers in the plot launched in Iraq at the end of July, aimed at replacing the present government with one more sympathetic to imperialist strategy. And hard not to suspect Israel's secret service of a hand in the murder at Cannes of Palestinian military leader Zuhair Mohsen.

They Are a Nation

The more likely truth is that while capitalist intelligence agencies were staging the plot in

Iraq, they were also fanning a confrontation between Iraq and the new government of Iran, just as they are today trying to foment a clash between Morocco and Algeria over the Western Sahara question. But US diplomacy puts on a different kind of performance, seeking to open the way for talks on the Palestinian question. The fact is finally dawning that without solving this, no Middle Eastern agreement has any value.

Yet how does Carter face up to it, trying to get talks going on the critical Camp David phase—which is the destiny of occupied Transjordan and Gaza? With a foggy comparison between the Palestinians' demand for self-determination and US minorities' struggle for civil rights followed immediately by a statement opposing the creation of a Palestinian state. But the Palestinians are historically, culturally, geographically and politically a nation, fighting for its right to exist independently; for the restoration of its land to the majority of its people, now exiled in many brother countries; for an autonomous state that can live peacefully with its neighbors, including the Israelis.

Firm Principles

Carter's statements convinced no one. They stirred a storm in the US Jewish community and the Israeli right, and in no way helped toward



negotiations with the Palestinians. The PLO maintained its principled position:

1. Nonparticipation in any negotiations without prior recognition of the right to selfdetermination. Palestinians outside the country joined the 1,500,000 in Israel and the occupied territories in rejecting "administrative autonomy" with Israeli occupying troops and no voice in foreign policy. When Sadat sought to breach the unity of the Arabs in Transjordan, they reaffirmed their loyalty to the PLO and Arafat's leadership.

2. Seats at the negotiating table for all parties concerned with the Middle Eastern conflict. This includes not only Arabs but the USSR, whose strategic isolation is sought by the US. The trap is obvious: were the Palestinians to sit down with Sadat, Israel and Carter, in the belief that their juridical situation would be modified, they should be renouncing their principles which have done so much to win international sympathy. They would estrange themselves from the Arab world, their chief base of support, and from many governments and political forces that support their struggle because they consider it just and appreciate its ideological coherence.

Carter's notion of drawing the Palestinians into separate talks without going to the nub of the matter has no future. Nor will it help strengthen an Israeli government already weakened by the delay in solving the regional problem and,

like the Egyptian, faced with growing internal resistance. There are important groups in Israel who question the viability of a military solution.

Occupation & Diplomatic Blockade

A high UN official recently told a Yugoslav correspondent: "The Middle East crisis has become so acute that a solution to the Palestinian problem is now urgent and undelayable." The urgency springs mostly from the weakness of the US position. Occupation of the oil regions could generate widespread arson and sabotage there, with unpredictable consequences for US lives and security. While the armed occupation thesis comes persistently from Washington, a correct evaluation of it would show that the risks surpass the possibilities of success.

Furthermore, a diplomatic blockade of the Arabs as pressure to negotiate would be ineffective. International activity by the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, has never been greater than now. French Premier Barre's recent visit to Baghdad and other regional capitals, and the growing trade between Arab countries and the European Common Market, suggest that Washington's segregation of the Arabs, seconded by Israel, has flopped.

Reasons to Vacillate

Meanwhile, Palestinian diplomatic activity is growing and effective. PLO foreign minister Farouk Kadumi has been visiting France, Belgium and Holland in the context of the Palestinians' lively presence in UN and other international bodies, which culminated in Arafat's interview with Socialist International leader Willy Brandt and Austrian Premier Kreisky. Washington's and Tel Aviv's dim view of these encounters did not affect the Arab (particularly the Palestinian) opening to the European Common Market. On his next visit to France, Arafat may well be received by President Giscard. All this strengthens the Palestinians' negotiating position in face of Washington's pressures and Israel's sectarian intransigence.

These recent developments may exert positive influence toward a just solution of the Middle East crisis. But it will not be solved by the spirit of Camp David, nor by military occupation of oilfields. When the studiously trained parachutists reach the Arabian Gulf, many wells will be in flames. And what the bonfire may well destroy is the stability of a capitalist system long rooted in Arab oil.

Washington knows it. The 82d Airborne and other Marine units may be all set for the operation. But the White House vacillates, haunted by the funeral pyre of the Arab oil it so badly needs.

LEBANON

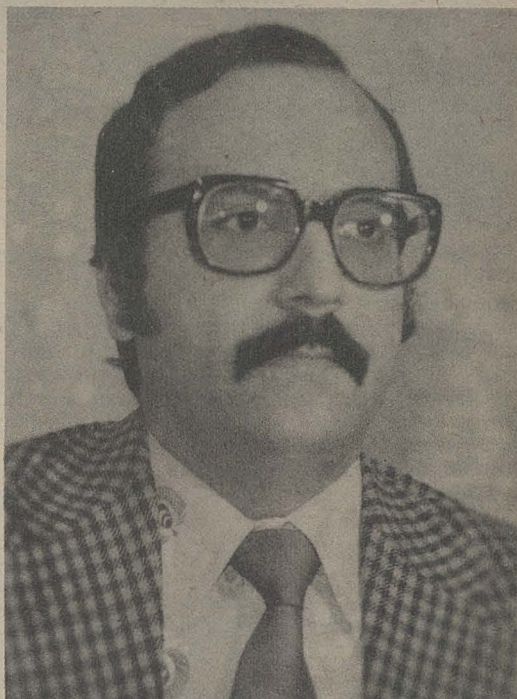
A Powderkeg Ready to Explode

An exclusive interview with Mouris Nahra, member of the Lebanese Communist Party's central committee and political bureau and a leader of the National Progressive Front

Ahmed Sarkis



Lebanese fighters



Mouris Nahra

—How does Lebanon's civil war shape up against the present Middle Eastern background?

—The civil war that broke out here five years ago, and remains unresolved, has an internal and an external aspect. Internally, Lebanon reached an explosive situation due to the anachronism of the politico-religious control of power—which gives key positions to Maronites despite their being a minority—and economic domination by the big importers and businessmen, by domes-

tic and foreign bankers, and by the monopolists of housing.

A class embracing less than 4 percent of the population totally controlled the economy and politics, and the people rose against it: workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and some of the middle class and national bourgeoisie. And something was won; for example, democratic freedom for all progressive parties to function. So that reactionary groups like the Falange and Camille Chamoun's National Liberal Party fanned religious hosti-

lities, portraying the struggle as a religious one, to divide the people and win over part of the petty bourgeoisie.

Externally, Zionism and imperialism exploited the conflict to try to liquidate Palestinian resistance and strengthen the reactionary Arabs. They encouraged Sadat to betray the Arab cause instead of turning to account its victory in the October 1973 war for the people's benefit.

These parallel interests spurred the rightist militias into more



bloodshed with Israeli and imperialist support. They failed to wipe out Palestinian and National Progressive Movement resistance, but to our sorrow five years of fighting have brought no solution. The people continue suffering, Israel continues its aggressions, and further exploitation of the situation in Lebanon is a constant danger.

Role of the Right

As Lebanese nationalists we have proposed a three-point solution: 1) unification of Lebanon; 2) maintenance of its Arab character; 3) the people's right to organize democratically. Rejection of these points by Lebanese reactionaries has caused thousands of innocent deaths, destruction of the economy and emigration of thousands of our people.

—What is the present political situation in Lebanon?

—Chamoun and the Falange, by refusing any unifying solution, are responsible for the continuing tensions. This has led important Christian groups such as those led by ex-President Suleiman Frangie and Raymond Eddé, to desert them. Many independent rightists also oppose the reactionaries' plans to divide Le-

banon and come to an agreement with Israel.

Why then no solution? Because after their initial failures imperialism and Zionism are making the most of the internal situation and hoping to perpetuate it until they can achieve their goals in the Middle East. At the same time, President Sarkis throws away chances for peace by not allowing the Arab army to occupy positions of the fascist forces, which imperialism and Zionism continue to move around in any way that the regional political situation demands.

These forces continue to enjoy the Israelis' support, and their attacks on southern Lebanon have continued from the great battle of 15 March 1978 until today. There are places in the south which they still dominate through a few military characters like Saad Haddad, who have betrayed their country to form a purported independent state. Israel wants to form such a state on our Litani River, as a step toward imposing on Lebanon a new form of Zionism based on the Maronites.

Regional Geopolitics

What is your view of the US's present Middle Eastern policy?

—Carter is anxious to save his presidential image after the fiasco of the Camp David agreements. Sadat prostrated himself there, but now they're requesting him to crawl. The Arab people, including the Egyptians, have repudiated the betrayal. The PLO, and Palestinians in the occupied areas, have repudiated it. Sadat is isolated and the Zionists keep wanting more every day. And since Carter godfathered the agreements, now he looks for an exit. He's worried about the Palestinian problem which is the core of the whole Middle Eastern mess.

But imperialism hasn't destroyed Palestinian resistance, hasn't crushed the Lebanese revolutionary movement, and has failed to establish a new Zionist state in our south. On the contrary, the Firm Front (PLO, Algeria, Libya, Iraq, Syria and Democratic Yemen) has been strengthened and Syria and Iraq are moving toward unification. And the revolution in Iran has shaken the foundations of imperialism in the region because of Iran's oil, military power and frontiers with the USSR, and because of the shattered honeymoon between the CIA and the Shah.

The situation took a sharp turn with the change of regime in Iran: Zionism's former ally (the Shah was Israel's and South Africa's chief oil supplier) became a supporter of Palestinian resistance. Now Carter wants to use Egypt as a second Iran. No doubt the Sadat regime will receive plentiful arms to defend itself, but we think Carter has a big problem because the Egyptian people won't accept the role of regional policeman fighting their Arab brothers.

Sadat said he accepted the peace treaty with Israel to avoid the slaughter of Egyptian youth, but he is continuing to arm. We don't think Egyptian youth will agree to be sent into the slaughter for unjust causes such as policing the region and fighting against the Ethiopian, South Yemeni and Omani revolutions.

ASIA

CHINA

Open the Gates!

Publishing its statistics for the first time in 20 years, China shows the usual problems of an underdeveloped country, with stark contrasts between city and country. Ambitious plans demand revision, and the "opening's" first result is a whopping trade deficit.



As part of its "opening" toward capitalist powers, the Chinese government has opened to public view its statistics and economic orientation which had been withheld for 20 years. Western investors, invited by Vice President Deng Xiaoping to participate in the "four modernizations," had to be told the truth about the Chinese market.

The "opening" to the West, the recent foreign investments law and the exposure of economic data are undetachable pieces of the new economic policy. Whether all this can fulfill China's hopes of becoming a world power by the year 2000, it is too early to say. Meanwhile it seems less than consistent with the building of socialism in the world's most populated (reportedly 958 million) country.

The capitalist powers' special services have analyzed the statistics and found them reliable, and private operators have appraised the foreign investments law as a positive step despite some inaccuracies.

After Mao

Hua Guofeng's and Deng Xiaoping's China has reaffirmed its "post-Mao" orientation and received the West's blessings. From now on trade between the two will grow considerably. But the exposure suggests that, with all its potential, China's economy is very backward, its market very small, its problems deep. This after 30 years of socialism in which the economy has moved in radical and zigzag directions.



ASIA

The data give China top place world-wide in pork and grain production, third in coal, fifth in steel, and one of the top ten in oil; but its people's living standard is among the lowest, its city-country income gap very wide. In 1978 the percapita average in cities was \$405, in the country (where 80 percent of the population live) \$46.

Also to be noted is that the new course leads China into growing debt—i.e., dependency on its new Western partners. Imports are growing twice as fast as exports, producing a 5.6 billion-yuan trade deficit (about \$2.5 billion). This disturbing tendency has induced the authorities to apply the brake, which affects the plans while not changing the tendency.

At the same time growth rates, with the exception of retail trade, sag sharply. Tractor production was 100,000 in 1977, 113,500 in 1978,

and will be 95,000 in 1979 under the plan. Chemical fertilizer production rose 20.1 percent in 1978; a 10 percent rise is predicted for 1979. Coal production is static and oil will only rise 1.9 percent this year (11.1 percent in 1978). Electrical energy, up 14.8 percent in 1978, will rise by 7.2 percent this year. Industrial growth rate, 13.5 percent in 1978, is down to 8 percent.

A New Direction?

To explain all China's problems, and especially the falling economic growth, the leaders lay all blame on "Lin Biao and the Gang of Four." These people's errors and deviations have, they say, cost China three years of readjustments and corrections. Thus they now abandon unrealistic heavy-industry plans and stress agricultural development. This reasoning omits the fact that even in 1978, according to official documents, forces were concentrated on heavy industry: thus the present administration also helped cause the instability. This apart there is logic in the new line of cutting growth rates in some industrial sectors, but not in energy generation and in industries linked to agricultural development.

The relative slowdown must be attributed to an unfavorable financial situation, which has imposed a general policy of austerity including investments in priority sectors such as transport and farm modernization/mechanization. This explains the modesty of the 1979 indicators, which can only be hiked after a period of recuperation. But it inevitably means revising, for the time being, the optimistic "Four Modernizations" goals.

At the same time the hope of bettering the people's living standard suffers a setback, although a moderate rise in rural purchasing power will be attempted.

Surprises

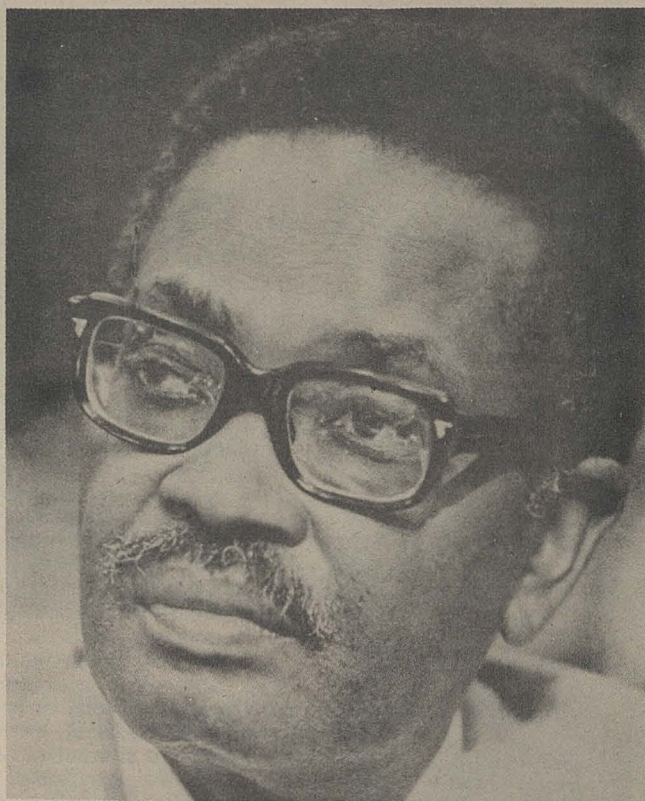
The statistics now brought to light contain some surprises, minor at first glance but perhaps concealing important developments. For example, while the production of bicycles and sewing-machines barely rose, that of television sets doubled. Some analysts see in this signs of a policy of consumer differentiation favoring a new class of technicians and officials, reversing the tendency toward socialism.

It is hard to know, but this must be taken into account along with other indicators of where the economy is heading: retail food-price rises, the resort to competition in producer-distributor relations, elimination of low-profit enterprises, greater financial autonomy for enterprises, including the fixing of wage scales.

Efficiency, realism and "opening" are the Chinese government's slogans. The time to judge will be after their application: not only their quantitative (admittedly poor so far) results but their qualitative ones. That is, what they signify in terms of dependency and the building of socialism. □

AFRICA

ANGOLA



The Legacy of Agostinho Neto

When a man leads a people out of racism and colonialism to freedom, "Father of His Country" is the title history confers on him. Such was Agostinho Neto, President of Angola, who died on September 10 in Moscow.

When that man dies before his 57th birthday, with his country's agonizingly won independence barely four years old and with its old enemies colonialism and racism still hounding it, then indeed the leader is lost when his country most needs him.

Yet the road down which Neto led his country toward independence and socialism is irreversible. That is his great legacy, as one African

leader who warned that dependence must continue unless capitalism was eradicated. Otherwise the country would step from colonialism into neocolonialism, remaining under the Western heel with class differences and social injustice continuing within its borders.

For him and for Third World leaders of greatest vision, the work of emancipation had to be complete. Along with the armed struggle, there had to be a party of the working class—in Angola, the Popular Liberation Movement (MPLA) founded by Neto in 1962.

The capitalist centers got the point very well and sought to create an alternative to the MPLA



by any possible means. Thus the wellknown tie-ups between Holden Roberto's FNLA and the CIA and between Jonas Savimbi's UNITA and Portuguese and South African racists. Neither drew the masses; but playing games with tribal rivalries, militarily and economically backed by the West, and operating from frontier areas, they turned the decolonizing process into civil war. They were powerless to stop the MPLA, but then South Africa directly intervened with tanks to swallow the new nation into another white empire. And then President Neto called on socialist internationalism, which at a crucial moment for Africa joined the MPLA and defeated the racists.

Cuban troops, Soviet arms, communist intervention, red expansion in Africa threatening

Western civilization! All the stops were pulled out by Western propagandists. Yet they had not been noticeably embarrassed when South Africa's minority regime, repudiated by world opinion and condemned by UN, intervened to prevent Angola's selfdetermination by military force—though of course they would have preferred the FNLA and UNITA to do the job.

Implicit in Neto's decision was enlightened recognition of the true distribution of forces in the world. Within the so-called "Western system," which seeks to submit Third World peoples to its will, were significant progressive forces that could mobilize moral—and to a lesser extent material—solidarity against their own aggressive governments. With them Neto and other African leaders forged close relations, especially in Europe and, in Angola's case, with the former colonial country, Portugal. Nevertheless, apart from the socialist camp, there is no world center which can express solidarity to struggling African peoples in terms of arms and military knowhow.

The same is happening now in Zimbabwe. Not that the Angolans and Mozambicans yesterday or the Zimbabweans today care what ideology is stamped on the arms they receive: nothing better for them than to get support from Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Portugal, Belgium. It was after all those countries' armies that implanted colonialism in Africa; but their democratic governments are very careful about whom they help. Like the US, they manipulate the race problem in southern Africa with a diplomacy that safeguards their economic interests.

So for any understanding with the West, no way. But not so with the socialist countries. A polarization too real to be changed by subjective approaches. Only if world power relationships changed, and alternative centers appeared, could one speak of pluralism in favor of liberation. If Europe were united and independent... but even some progressive sectors in Europe want to stay within NATO, and view with jaundiced eye the identity of interest between Third World and socialist countries. The contradiction lies in them, not in the countries that accept socialist cooperation to win their liberation. This of course includes nonalignment, but there is no nonalignment without liberation first.

President Neto's illness prevented him from attending the Havana Summit, where there was a global controversy on the nature of nonalignment and a powerful campaign to disconcert the objective Third World-socialist country identity of interest. He should have been there to add his testimony to the debate. But he left the example of his bright and valiant life, that of an intellectual totally committed to his people, of a fighter who led the struggle for independence and then presided over the building of a nation. In the big decisions he always found the wise course, and all this has placed him in history as the Father of Angola and one of the great precursors of a liberated Third World. □



The Revolution Ten Years After

This most original process yields a positive balance

Pablo Piacentini

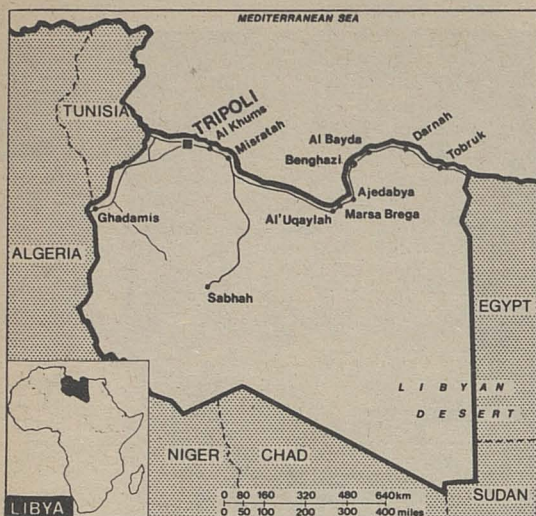
The Libyan revolution, which celebrated its tenth anniversary last September 1, is probably one of the most original in the Third World. Launched by the young Col. Muammmar Kaddhafi and a core of "Free Unionist Officers," it overthrew King Idris in 1969.

In the first place, it purports to be a third option (or universal theory, as Kaddhafi describes it in his *Green Book*), different from both capitalism and communism, that aims to achieve socialism and eliminate all intermediaries without the participation of a "guide-party," thereby ensuring direct government by the masses; secondly, it seeks to reconcile religion and socialism; and, lastly, in its ardent pan-Arab nationalism it is striving to amalgamate all the Arab

countries into a single nation and, from such a position in the Third World, to proclaim and fight for the rights of underdeveloped countries.

Today, after a decade of swift change and huge investments for development, the balance sheet seems, upon the basis of a visit to Libya and a look at its statistics, to be highly positive. Clearly, its road is a long one to attain the ambitious material goals set (not unexpectedly in any country starting out from extreme underdevelopment) and to achieve the desired popular organization and participation and creation of qualified cadres for substantive social and economic transformations.

Although some critics of the Libyan revolution think that the military origin of the regime



and its consequent "verticalism" present a serious limitation, we observed in Libya that Khaddafi's team was constantly urging the people to participate, and that channels have been opened for involving the masses in both political and economic decisions. Yet it is a process hard for outsiders to understand which has produced a whole gamut of judgments, much confusion when seen from remote cultural viewpoints (especially because of the Islamic ingredient), and more than usually grotesque distortions by Western media.

From Colonialism to Monarchy

A brief historical summary might be useful. Between 1911 and 1943, Libya was an Italian colony, and having been colonized late and under fascism to boot (Mussolini ruled between 1922 and 1943), its situation was even worse in some ways than that of colonies of more developed countries with an older imperialist tradition, like France and England. For example, besides zero economic growth during the colonial period, Libya had no professionals when it regained independence because Italy had prohibited all higher education.

Out of colonialism, the country moved into the monarchical setup which the great powers imposed in 1951 in order to preserve pre-existing structures, i.e., the feudal system on which foreign domination was based. Dependence then continued under a new guise, and even increased with US and British penetration as they installed large military bases.

No significant changes came until 1962, when oil operations began on a large scale. Until that time, the Libyan people was one of the poorest and most backward in the world with a gross national product of US\$50 million and a per capital income of US\$47. Since the organization of a mass movement capable of challenging the monarchy was impossible under these conditions, Kaddhafi sought a short cut to freedom.

After his apprenticeship as a student agitator in high school, he founded a clandestine movement divided into civil and military branches. Its members were prompted to join the army (which he did himself in 1963) and work from within until they were able to seize military power.

Having taken over, the Unionist Officers were faced with the enormous problem of mobilizing a revolution without any organization or professional cadres. But, fortunately for Libya, they had enormous financial resources available from oil exports, which made the great initial transformations possible without economic disturbances or affecting the people's standard of living as has happened in almost all Third World countries when transformations were undertaken.

Independent National Development

And so, during the first phase of the revolution the North Americans and the British were expelled from their bases, the oil business taken over (even though its operation remained in transnational hands), and banking, insurance, and foreign trade nationalized. These and other measures opened the way for a process of independent national development.

This strengthening of the state laid the basis for the possible emergence of a new bourgeoisie, albeit a national one. The Revolutionary Military Command (the supreme governing body of the first phase), however, put forward a new thesis—Islamic socialism—which negated such a turn. Two major pathways were opened in that direction: income redistribution together with the facilitation of welfare and services, and mass participation. Income redistribution is being sought through raising the real wages of the workers, providing low-cost housing, setting up fully equipped small agricultural enterprises, opening bank credit, stock-sharing by companies with their workers, extended education and, in general, public welfare programs in accordance with the people's needs. At the same time, development is being promoted through the implementation of many projects to establish basic industries and substituting imports of foodstuffs as well as manufactures.

The risk inherent in such a program, its virtues notwithstanding, lay—and will persist until the theoretical model is fully applied—in the emergence of a petty and middle bourgeoisie which might reproduce capitalist patterns and install itself on top of a proletariat made up by less-favored Libyans and foreign workers (some 700,000 who, although they receive broad ben-

efits, are excluded from the industrial reform by which Libyan workers are made partners in companies).

Kaddhafi's *Green Book* (in which he expounds his doctrine and theories) proposes economic and political participation by the masses as a means of avoiding this. In the second part of the book the slogan "Not wage earners but partners" is offered. Capitalist ownership is eliminated in companies of all types. The worker receives no wages but is remunerated out of company earnings (each worker, one share) after reinvestment and the state's share. Each company is run by a committee appointed by all the workers; a kind of self-management. One year after the change was announced on September 1, 1978, practically all industries and nearly half of commerce are under this system.

It is still too early to evaluate such a recent change but positive achievements are already evident in the transformation of business, judging by the evidence gathered (even in diplomatic circles unsympathetic to the Libyan revolution). According to the program, the complete elimination of capitalist-type trade will be achieved with the distribution of all consumer goods through 165 supermarkets (workers' cooperatives) all over the country. The reform is being rapidly implemented and by year's end 40 such supermarkets will be operating. The supply of basic goods at fixed prices—nearly 30 percent lower than those of private trade—is also improving the people's purchasing power.

Retail prices have been reduced by means of a simple mechanism: nationalization of foreign trade and the distribution of domestic and

Transformation in Figures

When Libya emerged from the colonial period in 1951, it was one of the world's poorest countries with an average per capita income of \$47 a year and a GNP of some \$50 million. But since 1962 the situation changed drastically due to its newly discovered wealth: oil exports rose from half a million barrels a year to nearly 1.5 million barrels a day in 1969.

Thus the country had enormous financial resources available but they were not used to promote economic development and social welfare by the monarchy. During that period before the revolution growth rates averaged only three percent for agriculture and seven percent for industry.

After 1969 the state begins to stimulate a rapid expansion in these sectors on which the economy must ultimately be based, resulting in an annual average industrial growth rate of 30.7 percent. GNP reached \$20 billion in 1978, which shows an average growth rate of 20.5 percent for the period, and sectoral contributions to the GNP have significantly changed: industry rose from 1.9 in 1970 to 3.3 percent in 1978; agriculture from 2.6 to

2.9 percent; globally, non-oil activities (including services) rose from 36.9 to 44.7 percent in 1978, a trend which is bound to keep up.

Agriculture has been given top priority in planning. In this predominantly desert country with a total area of 679,358 sq. mi. where only eight percent of the land was arable, 1.73 million acres of formerly arid soil have been recovered for agricultural purposes and there are plans to recover another 7.4 million acres.

Before the revolution there were some 300,000 housing units in Libya for 365,000 families (a deficit of 65,000), although 120,000 were merely shacks and 40,000 were in very precarious conditions. That is, more than half of the population lacked adequate housing and the gap was in fact growing, since during the monarchy an average of only 5,217 units were built every year. In the first six years of the revolution 110,200 housing units were built (an yearly average of 18,333) and by 1978 the government had built 200,000, thereby rapidly closing the gap. Besides, this has been done through a credit system

which allows every Libyan to own his house at a very low cost and eliminating the landlord-tenant relationship (abolished on the last anniversary of the revolution).

In 1970 there were 34 hospital beds and four physicians per 10,000 population; in 1978, 50 beds and 12 physicians for every 10,000. The goals of the five-year plan which ends in 1980 are one physician for every 750 people, seven hospital beds for every thousand people, and one physician, one nurse and one assistant for every 10 hospital beds.

The government's statistics show that 28.5 percent of the population is receiving formal education at various levels. Schools are being built everywhere. University scholarships include boarding, free medical services and a \$100-a-month grant. Education is compulsory for children between 6 and 12, and by 1985 secondary education will also be generalized. In 1968 there were 180,000 boys and 85,000 girls enrolled in primary education; in 1978 enrolment rose to 310,000 and 285,000 respectively. University students tripled in that period. □



Libyan workers at oilfield

The Jamahiriya

The new structure is organized through Basic Popular Congresses (BPC), which are open to all over 18 years of age. They are relatively small, with some 4,000 members each, and correspond to the electoral districts of liberal democratic systems with powers limited to geographical regions.

The BPCs appoint a ten-member working committee which carries out executive functions within its area. The BPCs form the Popular Congresses (46 nationwide), from which are chosen representatives to the People's General Congress (PGC), "the highest instrument of government and the country's supreme political authority, with all the rights and jurisdictions to study, discuss, and approve the state's policies, planning, etc."

Popular Committees are elected in all work units throughout the country, from factories and stores to rural enterprises and administrative bodies, and are in charge of management.

Besides appointing its own officers, the PGC also elects the People's General Committee, which is the country's administrative organ. Its secretary general becomes the head of government and other secretaries become ministers, thus the Committee functions like a cabinet under the PGC. □

imported goods by the state through the co-operatives, thereby eliminating intermediaries—importers and wholesalers in the case of imports (which account for most of consumption) and the wholesaler in that of Libyan goods. What is more, official prices are then respected.

Businessmen (some 60,000 in the entire country) are, to be sure, something less than enthusiastic about this reform. Although greatly benefited in these years by redistribution-induced expanded consumption, they must now conform to a system of equality with their former employees or else become direct producers. This sector is then now a potential opponent of the regime.

The channels of political participation are provided by people's congresses, a central institution of the Jamahiriya—the country's political organization, meaning "state of the masses." Kaddhafi, for whom the classical socialist system has authoritarian and centralist features, envisions a society without a government, in which the masses exercise power directly with no intermediation whatsoever.

Leader without Title

Until March 2, 1979, Kaddhafi was the Secretary General of the Congress, that is, head of the government, but he resigned to remain leader of the revolution with no formal title. He also heads the Revolutionary Committees, the political organization of the masses which is to stimulate their integration into the mainstream of participation. In an interview, Kaddhafi explained the change: "The piloting of the revolutionary course will no longer be a matter of posts, ministries or popular committees, but will be linked to the revolutionary forces and work with them for the revolution."

The military sector has fresh and so far little understood aspects. It arose out of the popular militia made up of men and women. Exactly how many members it has is not known but thousands paraded on September 1, showing off their military preparation and equipment.

On the eve of the tenth anniversary, on a TV program with some of the officers who were with him at the 1969 takeover, Kaddahfi announced the establishment of revolutionary committees in all units of the Libyan Armed Forces with the purpose of putting into practice the slogan "The entire people must be armed." He also offered a succinct explanation of the military transformation: "Now that the people have been given power, the time has come to arm them. The traditional army will thereby cease to exist. It will be the duty of all Unionist officers to participate in this historic action." Whatever its implications, the effects of this can not yet be judged.

A Tentative Interpretation

We have restricted ourselves so far to describing the theory of the Libyan revolution, its



Khaddafi

institutions and operation. Although we lack elements on which to assess the latter, we venture a tentative interpretation.

In view of the social backwardness it inherited, the Libyan revolution was unable, on taking power, to carry through the phase of direct mass participation which is now being stimulated. Its first stage (1969-1973) was centralist inasmuch as it implied a strengthening of the state. But considerable evidence shows that such a step was necessary, and the leadership undertook various measures to facilitate mass participation.

They included: 1) incorporation of the Libyan people into the mainstream of national life through redistribution of income and promotion of welfare; 2) training of cadres of all kinds and at all levels; 3) prevention of capitalistic patterns through self-management forms of ownership and by opening channels of political participation. These factors, according to its promoters, will lead to Libyan socialism.

Critics of the revolution, however, assert that mass participation will come to a halt at a certain level (where decisions that really matter are taken) and that this political structure is a device to gain acceptance of a military-technocratic bureaucracy. We refer here to criticism from the left, not spiteful attacks by the capitalist media which merit no serious consideration. These critics believe that their skepticism is justified by the fact that despite having renounced all legislative and executive functions, Kaddhafi and the small Military Revolutionary Committee, which assumed total power during the first stage, in fact remain the guiding force of the revolution.

This really implies an evasion of the objective conditions at the birth of the experience. Perhaps the opposite is closer to the truth, the masses today are not exercising all the possibilities of self-government proffered by the Popular Committees and Congresses. Consequently, considering the Libyan Revolution in the light of its origins and as an open process, it may be plausible that the distribution of income and services and the formation of cadres will give the Jamahiriya growing vitality and increase the direct participation of the masses at all levels.

It is difficult to foresee how far this upsurge will get and what its results will be, since Kaddhafi's goals do border on the utopian. The suppression of any form of state or government, full direct democracy, the elimination of professional armed forces and absolute equality, are aims common to all socialist variants but far from having been attained in any specific society up to now.

Let us simply say, then, that any advances Libya makes in that direction will be a contribution to other revolutions, but the viability of what Kaddhafi asserts in the *Green Book* remains to be seen. □

EQUATORIAL GUINEA



The End of Another Dictator

During the regime of the now overthrown Macías Nguema, this small country on Africa's Atlantic coast was sold to transnational interests while the population was brutally repressed

Carlos Comitini

AFRICA

When Acacio Mañé, Enrique Nvó and others formed the National Liberation Crusade in 1958, the resulting agitation caused the Spanish government to declare its Gulf of Guinea territory an overseas province. On the heels of this decree, the first Spanish Civil Guard units arrived in Africa. Ruthless repression of the independence movement in 1959 put many of its militants behind bars; others escaped to Cameroon and Gabon. Madrid sent in army contingents and Mañé and Nvó were killed. Provisionally freed in 1960, most of the political prisoners were re-imprisoned a year later for continuing their agitation.

The popular movement refused to lie down and in 1962 Generalissimo Franco sent Admiral

Luis Carrero Blanco (who was to die years later at the hands of the Basque ETA) to negotiate with the Africans. His failure to crush the revolt persuaded Madrid to give autonomy to the territory divided into two provinces: Fernando Po (the island of that name plus Año Bueno island) and Río Muni (the mainland fringe plus Corisco, Elobey Grande and Elobey Chico islands and adjacent islets).

Among pro-independence exiles who were authorized to return were Bonifacio Ondo Edu, Atanasio Ndongo and Jesús Alfonso Oyono. The MONALIGE (National Liberation Movement of Equatorial Guinea), the MUNGE (National Union Movement of Equatorial Guinea) and IPGE (Popular Idea of Equatorial Guinea) parties were

formed, and shortly thereafter the autonomy statute was approved by referendum.

Decolonization

Headed by MUNGE president Ondo Edu, an autonomous government was formed in 1964 to work with the Spanish General Commissariat toward "definitive independence." Leaders of all the political groups attended a "First Constitutional Phase" conference in Madrid. Prolonged discussion culminated in two draft constitutions representing different interests, one of which was to be chosen by popular consensus. One was the work of Spanish industrialist Antonio García Trevijano; the other, indirectly, of the Madrid authorities. Ondo Edu championed the latter, which was approved on August 11.

At the time when pro-independence militants were being hounded and assassinated, Macías Nguema, an official of the colonial administration, had been honored with the title of "Fully Emancipated" which gave him equal rights with the colonialists. Macías felt so foreign in his country that he hispanicized his Guinean name, Masié. Now, as Trevijano's protégé, he was for the first time in a confrontation with the Franco regime. But he had the backing of many nationalists and people with progressive ideas inside and outside his country; and Ondo Edu's alternative project had clearly been hatched in monarchical and ultra-conservative salons, while Macías's patron Trevijano was of the bourgeois liberal stripe. Nor was any revolutionary alternative offered.

A split in Macías's MONALIGE movement gave rise to the "Authentic MONALIGE", with Atanasio Ndong as its outstanding figure, and to the movement's defeat on the constitutional issue. On July 27, two weeks before the project was approved, Franco conceded independence to Equatorial Guinea under a decree known as the Law of El Prado. Then began the presidential election campaign.

The Candidates

One of the four presidential candidates was Ondo Edu, whose conciliatory policy won support from many village and peasant church groups, Guinean businessmen, and a sizable university student group headed by Manuel Nguema and Manuel Castillo. Also from liberal professionals, Autonomous Government officials, and an assortment of Spanish businessmen.

Atanasio Ndong, leader of the "Authentic MONALIGE" and considered the most knowledgeable candidate in international affairs, was backed by Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Castiella, by important Church, university and Spanish business groups, and by such politically prominent Guineans as journalist Saturnino Ibongo. Edmundo Bosio of the purely tribal "Bubi Union" got the backing of the Bubi and Fernandino tribes and of

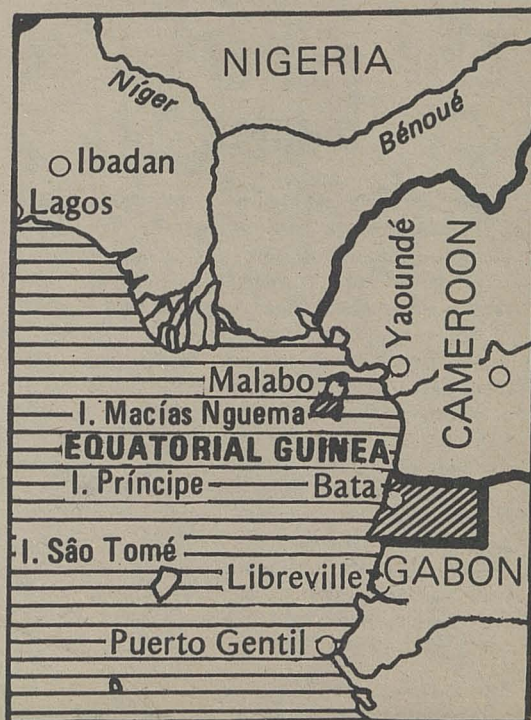
Spanish businessmen with interests in Fernando Po's capital Malabo (formerly Santa Isabel), all of whom wanted that island separated from the rest of the territory.

Macías, heading the "Dissident MONALIGE," conducted an anti-Spanish campaign but was actually the candidate most linked to Spain. Supporting him were Trevijano (as political adviser) and Francisco Armijó, Labor Minister of the monarchy, said to be his contact with other international personalities. While Macías changed his African name for a foreign one, Armijó changed his to Ndongo Osa to confuse the Africans. As promotion for Macías's campaign, Trevijano offered scholarships to certain students on his Ministry's behalf. Later these students quit their studies to take ministerial and other posts in Macías's government. Thus Norberto Nsue Micha became Education Minister, Pedro Bacale director of Bata airport—both to be murdered in short order by Macías. (Armijó sponsored pro-Macías gatherings in the Madrid home of Bacale.)

Also supporting Macías were the private enterprises now operating in Equatorial Guinea, numerous National Guardsmen, and unemployed people to whom Macías promised a "better life."

Grand Guignol?

Macías had lost most voters' confidence in the constitutional contest, and in the first round he drew even with Ondo Edu. An alliance was then formed with the "Authentic MONALIGE," the



"Bubi Union" and the "Dissident MUNGE," and in round two (Sept. 28, 1968) Macías was elected with 63,810 votes to Ondo Edu's 41,254. Due to the alliances and commitments, Macías had to share with enemies the plums in the ex-colony's first government. But well aware of his unpopularity, he reserved for himself the defense ministry, which along with the presidency guaranteed his remaining in power.

The internal struggle at his government's birth made his coalition short-lived. The inconsistency of the alliance, and the demagoguery of its leaders, were quickly apparent. The people saw storms ahead and Ondo had to ask Gabon for asylum. It was denied and, brought back to his country with the promise to respect his life, he was imprisoned in Blabich and murdered there.

Atanasio Ndongo, a coalition member likewise disenchanted with Macías, hastily planned a coup in Madrid on his way back from an Addis Ababa conference in 1969. Macías' henchmen got wind of this and warned Macías. Back in Guinea, Atanasio contacted some sympathetic military men in Santa Isabel, and in Bata won over National Guard and navy officers both of Bata and of Rio Benito.

Macías, on the alert, was spending no nights either in the presidential palace or in any of the official residences. But Atanasio's coup was already on the road: he had the presidential guard arrested and replaced by his own men, and waited in the palace for Macías to appear. Having

meanwhile concentrated his forces in an unknown spot, Macías stormed and took back the palace at 11 a.m. on March 5, 1969. Atanasio jumped from a window and fell with multiple fractures in the palace yard. The soldiers set upon him before sending him to Bata General Hospital, where he became the latest murder victim.

In view of Macías' calm performance, suggesting that he had a well-premeditated plan, many opponents of various tendencies were convinced that this was all a macabre Grand Guignol, staged as a pretext to exterminate his enemies: that the "coup" was a fake from the outset. That same day he decreed a state of emergency and, fearing rebellion by the National Guard, summoned and armed the Young Militias with orders to go into action against adherents of Atanasio Ndongo and Ondo Edu.

"The Ball of the Damned"

Under the Constitution, all opposition groups were represented in Parliament: together they held 52 percent of the seats. This looked risky to Macías, who closed the palace down and ordered its opposition members exterminated. Then he annulled the Constitution and staged a series of simulated coups to justify further assassinations. The government organ *Unidad de Guinea Ecuatorial* ran a series of articles by Daniel Oyongo under the heading "The Ball of the Damned," blithely recounting the murders in prison of 114 persons charged with attempted coups.

From the day of Macías' accession to power, the country had no place where those who objected to him could live. Seven-year-old children were also victims of repression, since Art. 4 of the statutes of the Unique National Worker's Party (PUNT), the political organization he founded in 1970, required all citizens above that age to belong to the party until death.

An Equatorial Desert

Under Macías' dictatorship Equatorial Guinea became a desert of unpeopled streets, schools closed for lack of teachers and students, churches transformed into warehouses for the products of Macías' farmlands. All roads except the one from Nkué-Efulan to Mongomó, Macías' birthplace, were abandoned to the weeds, and in areas with 30,000 or more inhabitants neither doctors nor sanitation existed. Guineans could not move within their country without government safe-conducts, and married women had to carry written permission from their husbands.

Under a so-called "credit" system, the people had to work without pay on big estates or in other sectors of the economy. They had nothing for their most essential needs, even for soap and salt. Assassination, torture, arbitrary arrest, rape of minor children and forced labor became the daily round; prison walls bulged with militant patriots.

From a country of 310,000 inhabitants, political and economic desperation had sent 120,000

Fall of Macías

Macías's terror was brought to an end on August 3 by "nonpolitical" army men. To minimize bloodshed they warned Macías to go quietly, but, according to form, he ordered still-loyal guards to resist and headed for Bata, the capital, at the head of 400 men. Guards opened fire from the presidential palace which, however, fell to the rebels after heavy artillery bombardment. Macías got within some 10 miles of Bata, but after prolonged fighting had to retreat into the jungle, where trace of him was lost.

He was captured 10 days later. Macías and seven of his officials, including the wardens of three prisons, were sentenced to death by a civilian-military court after a four-day trial. The dictator was convicted of genocide and his men of complicity. They were executed on September 29 in Malabo's jail.

fleeing into Nigeria, Gabon, Cameroon, and Spain by 1978.

Equilibrium

In 1970 Somalian, Ethiopian, Ugandan and Conakry-Guinean military specialists, requested by Macías through the Organization of African Unity, arrived in Bata. The Conakry-Guinean officer Mahamed Sibiñe took charge of training popular militias throughout the country. In 1971 an Equatorial Guinean delegation went to China for instruction in organizing militias, and another delegation was received by Chou Enlai, while at Macías's request Soviet universities welcomed Equatorial Guinean students. Macías himself visited China in 1977. For socialist-Western "balance" Macías surrounded himself with good advisers for his political and commercial dealings, the latter being mainly with Spain, the US, Britain and West Germany.

Despite Macías's frequent disparagements of Spain, that country normally covered Equatorial Guinea's budget deficit, amounting to some 750,000,000 pesetas in 1977. Spain also contributed the gold quota needed for Equatorial Guinea's admission to the International Monetary Fund, helped set up a National Bank, and guaranteed convertibility of the local currency, the *ikuele*. Today no sector of the economy remains in national hands. Spanish capital controls civil construction, mining, cacao, timber, and all banking.

Spanish airline Iberia took on the weekly food supply for Macías's larder, sometimes in flights bereft of passengers. Iberia also propped up the ruined Equatorial Guinean airline LAGE, and still maintains a once-a-week service which has never yet reached 10 percent of capacity.

Blood

Macías's administration challenges world records in the spilling of high and low-degree blood. Some 500 people are known to have been murdered, including 24 government ministers, four municipal governors, five mayors, 10 deputies, 30 National Guard soldiers, 22 village headmen, 14 managers of Spanish enterprises, 159 farmers, 28 youths and children (for presumed sins of their likewise murdered parents).

His first government, formed after independence, had the following losses by assassination: Vice President of the Republic Edmundo Bósio, Foreign Minister Atanasio Ndongo, Public Works Minister Jesús Oyono, Labor Minister Román Borico, Education Minister José Nsué, Justice Minister Jesús Eworo. The Interior and Health ministers, Angel Masié and Pedro Econg, were merely exiled. Only the ministers of Industry, Agriculture and Treasury—Ricardo Pelayo Erimola, Agustín Grange and Andrés Ikuga—stayed the course.

And, of course, the Defense Minister and "President for Life," Francisco Macías. □

The Opposition Speaks

Interviewed by **third world** correspondent Makwaia Kuhenga in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Eya Nchama, secretary-general of the National Alliance for Restoration of Democracy in Equatorial Guinea (ANRD), said: "We can't be sure this isn't just another palace coup. Macías's fall is a step forward, but we won't start cheering yet."

In addition to freeing of political prisoners (which has been done), ANRD is demanding the return of all exiles and refugees, dissolution of the repressive forces, trial of all responsible for atrocities, and fixing a date for an end to military rule through elections.

Nchama described his people as having "fled like rats through moonlit jungles to escape from Macías's jails, torturers and assassins." ANRD, he said, has the task of "politically educating the masses so they can take charge of their own destiny" and of drawing the Equatorial Guinean situation to world attention.

Nchama deplored the little that has been done to bring the various opposition groups together on



Eya Nchama

a common program. He favors talks between the opposition and the new government concerning transition to a democratic regime. For its part, FRELIFER (Liberation Front of Fernando Po) has put forward the same demands from exile as ANRD: a new Constitution, free elections, and annulment of all Macías's international commitments.

The Emperor Is Dead— Long Live the Emperor!

*France's President Giscard selects tyrant Bokassa's successor
and dispatches him to Central Africa with French troops—
a changing of the guard to ensure continued French domination*

Agustin Castaño

AFRICA



"Kissing Cousins"

The nature of neocolonialism has been usefully stripped bare by the grotesque episode of the fall of Bokassa I, self-styled Emperor of Central Africa. Much rhetoric has been spouted to convince the world that a colonial power such as France was abandoning its ambitions for overseas domination and embarking upon an era of cooperation with countries it had annexed. This dismal chapter in the African country's life turned it all into an indictment of French neoimperialism.

France's concession of independence to the Central African Republic in 1960 soon showed itself to be a formality. Almost all the Africans who subsequently administered the country were

more loyal to Paris than to their own capital, Bangui, and Paris continued running the show as in colonial days. If anything changed, it was economic relations—for the worse: exploitation of the republic's natural resources by French concerns actually intensified.

In 1965 the unblushingly pro-French David Dacko was President; on January 1, 1966, Jean Bedel Bokassa, army chief of staff, overthrew Dacko—the same man whom French bayonets have returned to power in 1979. The French establishment saw this changing of the guard as a mere matter of rivalries between its black footmen. Bokassa had given the metropolis a blood-pledge of loyalty by joining the French army to kill Asians on behalf of whites in Indochina, which earned him a captaincy and French citizenship. As "emperor" he never renounced the citizenship and continued collecting his captain's pay.

My Dear Cousin

Bokassa achieved widespread fame as a megalomaniac, a squanderer of public funds for his own benefit, and a vicious oppressor of his own people. He proclaimed himself President-for-life in 1972 and field-marshal in 1974, and three years later crowned himself emperor in a farce that boggled the world. But if anyone knew the sum of the horrors perpetrated by Bokassa, it was Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of France. And if anyone could have stopped them, it was the French government on which the "empire" wholly depended.

Yet Giscard sent a state minister to represent him at Bokassa's "coronation," covered the "emperor" with distinctions and treated him as a "cousin." Giscard liked to go on safaris as a guest of the "empire," and recently paid a call at one of the many palaces Bokassa bought in Europe, where Bokassa was staying on that particular junket to Paris.

A Pride of Giscards

Specific interests were reflected in this fond relationship between a democratically elected President and a dictator. Of the many French enterprises with concessions in the "empire," the most important was the forest-product concern affiliated with the Soffo financial group whose chairman for 40 years was Edmond Giscard D'Estaing, father of the President.

Formal political independence was followed by formal economic independence: these concerns were "Africanized," i.e., local partners representing the same interests were brought in. At the same time various new enterprises appeared on the scene, sometimes as "mixed" companies—in a manner of speaking. Cotton, for example, is dominated by the French Agache Villot group and the Central African state, with the latter in the minority. Tobacco is exploited by the French state enterprise Seita and its affiliates, forests by La Bois Océan and other French firms.

Uranium is a piquant case, introducing another member of the Giscard clan. The Swiss monopoly Alusuisse, which formerly extracted it, was partially displaced. The President's cousin Jacques, financial director of France's atomic energy commission, negotiated agreements for the uranium to be turned over to the Urca concern in which Jacques and the Rothschild group participate with 15 percent each, the Central African government with 40 percent and Alusuisse with 30 percent. A nice deal for France, extending the cousinship of the French and Central African heads of state from the symbolic to the economic.

Too Many Schoolboys

Time moved on without a sign that the French government knew anything of Bokassa's barbarities, until in May 1978 Amnesty International denounced the murder of some 100 schoolboys, ordered by Bokassa. Worldwide commotion. At first Paris continued on its innocent way, but confirmation of the report forced it to suspend economic aid to Bangui. At that point the "emperor" had become an embarrassment to France, since Central Africa's total dependence on Paris was obvious to all. France's prestige demanded a new façade.

So two months before the coup Giscard ordered a plan drawn up for Bokassa's dethronement. Just why his advisers came up with something so naked is hard to say. Certainly the fact that Bokassa's adversaries were all in exile, due to his ferocity against any civilian or military opposition, created some difficulties. But an internal coup would surely have been the best bet, avoiding—albeit hypocritically—the charge of colonial intervention.

A Cloud of Parachutists

No one bothered to look for an alternative government that could remotely be said to repre-

sent the opposition. Instead, the Paris sages plumped for direct military occupation and imposition of a President who landed in Bangui from the same plane that brought some of the French troops. On the night of September 20, the troops occupied the capital and planted Dacko back as President of what was now again the Central African Republic.

These details do not come from some angry leftist source but from Dacko himself. Arriving in a cloud of French parachutists whose participation Paris sought to play down, he showed singular indiscretion at a press conference. "I was brought to Bangui," he told startled journalists, "by a French Air Force plane, which reached the capital a few minutes before the declaration of Bokassa's deposal was read out. The operation had been carefully prepared and was baptized 'Operation Entebbe.' The presence of French troops in Central Africa, where they can stay for a long time, ten years if necessary, makes me happy."

Cash and Beer

Bokassa, on a visit to Tripoli at the time of the coup, transferred the grotesquery to Paris by heading his plane for that capital. As a citizen he could not be denied entry to France, but France would have been faced with trying him for his crimes. His presence was an embarrassment for which Giscard had no appetite. So in violation of his own laws Giscard made Bokassa take off for the Ivory Coast, where political asylum was requested.

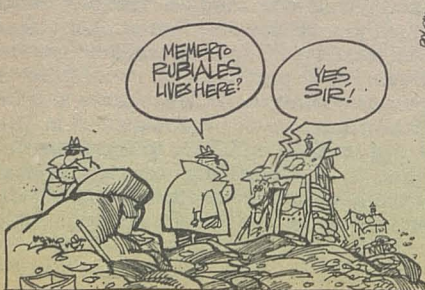
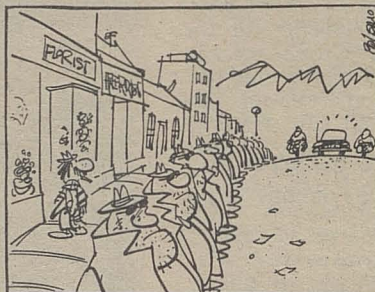
While refusing residence to the French citizen Bokassa, the French authorities barred the Central African leader Ange Patasse, Bokassa's former prime minister, from leaving to return home. His "documents were not in order," they said; "they are too," he vainly demonstrated. Anyhow Paris detained him until the stability of its protégé Dacko seemed to be assured, and unfurled what the press proceeded to label 'Operation Chloroform.' Cash was sent for the long-unpaid salaries of public employees, and beer was lavishly rained on the ex-empire, tranquilizing Central African anguish about the imposed President and—along with the troops—heading off any protest.

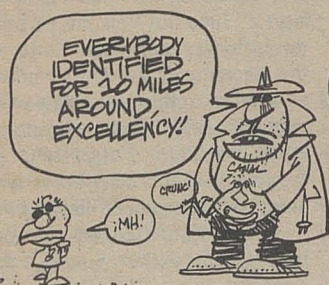
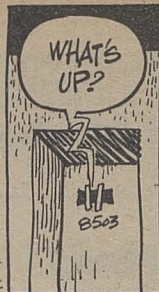
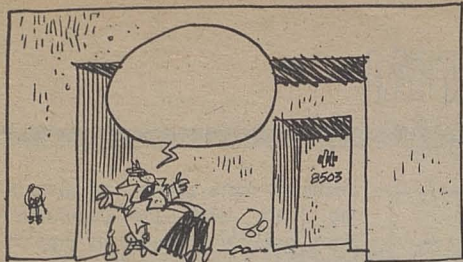
The situation would seem to be that, while there will be an attempt to avoid Bokassa's style of excesses, little has changed for the Central African people. Giscard's France has clearly announced that its troops are available for African intervention in protection of its interests and against African countries' independence and freedom. Giscard has assumed that function in Zaire, in Chad and in Western Sahara to fight liberation movements. In this particular case a universally detested dictator was removed, but the object is the same: to maintain the French empire in Africa.

□



CREATED BY ITT, ANACONDA COPPER CO.,
 EXXON, GENERAL MOTORS, GULF OIL,
 GENERAL ELECTRIC, IBM, FORD MOTOR CO.,
 DOW CHEMICAL, DUPONT, XEROX, LOCKHEED,
 CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, FIRST NATIONAL
 CITY BANK, BRADEN COPPER CO., ESSO STANDARD
 OIL CO., COCA COLA, CIA, PEACE CORPS... ETC
 ETC, ETC, ETC, ETC, ETC... ILLUSTRATED BY
 POLANSKY





TRICONTINENTAL PANORAMA

El Salvador: Now Where?



□ The coup d'état which in the early morning of October 15 ousted Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador has been unanimously interpreted by observers as a response to the Nicaraguan revolution and to the pre-insurreccional situation in this small Central American country.

However, not all the opposition forces agree on their evaluation of the likely orientation of the new military movement led by the young colonels Jaime Abdul and Adolfo Arnaldo Majano.

For Archbishop Oscar Romero, the opposition's most distinguished spokes-

person, the civilian-military government shows both good omens, such as the freedom of action now offered to all political parties and mass organizations, and bad ones, like the refusal to admit the existence of massive violations of human rights under the old regime and the delay in implementing the promise to liberate all political prisoners.

The "legal" opposition to Gen. Romero's dictatorship has come out in favor of the coup. Representatives of private enterprise, the Christian democrats and the social democrats (Mario Andino, Román Mayorga Quiroz and Guillermo Ungo, res-

pectively) form part of the governing Junta, while the Communist Party publicly expressed its support and has accepted positions in the Cabinet. The progressive ex-presidential candidates from the past two elections (both fraudulently won by the military party), Napoleón Duarte and Col. Ernesto Claramount, have also backed the new government.

Nevertheless, the three guerrilla groups—the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) and the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL) as well as their mass organizations—the Popular Revolutionary Bloc (BPR), the Popular Leagues (LP) and the Unified Popular Action Front (FAPU)—all maintain an uncompromising stance.

These groups have continued their armed actions and in the subsequent repression several of their militants have been killed. This has made the dialogue and pacification that the Junta professes to be seeking rather difficult to achieve.

Progressives who had hoped for at least a "time out" on the part of the revolutionary organizations to judge the sincerity of the Junta's promises of agrarian reform, reinstatement of relations with Cuba, freedom of union and political organization, and the freeing of prisoners, are somewhat perplexed by the guerrillas' actions.

The coup of October 15 was really a "coup within a coup," for it occurred just a few hours before another group—one of Pinochet's breed—was to make its move. Given that the principal rightwing leaders of the army are now in exile, that movement seems to have been beheaded. However, observers do not discount the possibility of a reactionary counter-coup if the Junta is unable to consolidate its power during the next few weeks by obtaining a broad consensus or a truce with the guerrillas. □

Militarizing the Caribbean

□ Little by little it is becoming clear why the United States launched a campaign to denounce the alleged presence of Soviet troops in Cuba. It was really a smokescreen, in part to distract the attention of world public opinion from a fact that is undeniably real: the Pentagon's decision to increase its troops in the Caribbean.

Since it must progressively abandon important installations in the Panama Canal Zone, the United States has sought to compensate for this by increasing its military presence in other parts of the Caribbean. The campaign against "Soviet troops" was no more than an attempt

to set the scene for this backstage drama. In Guantánamo and other bases, those responsible were already preparing to receive important contingents.

Reactions came soon enough: the governments of Guyana, Jamaica, Grenada and Santa Lucia condemned the move to increase US forces in a joint declaration released in Kingston. They repudiated Carter's attitude of considering the Caribbean to lie within the US's sphere of influence, and insisted on respect for the sovereignty of the nations of the region.

After warning that "a weak president is a dangerous president, precisely because he takes desperate

measures," Grenada's Premier, Maurice Bishop affirmed that the move would tend to slow the increasing unpopularity of Carter, responding as it does to "domestic considerations." Bishop called upon all the region's governments to apply the brakes to US maneuvers.

The Latin American press has given ample coverage to the story. The *National* of Barbados stated that the troop increase shows how frightened the United States is by the progressive changes in the Caribbean. The *Nuevo Venezolano* considered the "Soviet troops" affair to have been artificially stirred up to serve the interests of US foreign policy, while the *Jamaica Daily News* and the *Express* of Trinidad Tobago agreed that it was an attempt to make the Caribbean into a target range and return to the politics of "gunsboat diplomacy." □

Mexico: The Oaxaca Conference

□ Over 20 major political organizations met in Oaxaca (Mexico), on October 9-13, upon the invitation of Mexico's ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), to analyze jointly the international, and especially the Latin American, situation.

The meeting included representatives from the following organizations: Brazil's Labor (Trabalhista) Party; Colombia's Liberal Party; Costa Rica's National Liberation Party; Ecuador's Democratic Left and Concentration of Popular Forces; El Salvador's National Revolutionary Party; Guatemala's Democratic Socialist Party and United Front of the Revolution; Panama's Democratic Revolutionary Party; Puerto Rico's Independentist

Party; Venezuela's Democratic Action, Movement to Socialism and People's Electoral Movement; Bolivia's Left Nationalist Revolutionary Movement and National Revolutionary Movement; Dominican Republic's Dominican Revolutionary Party; Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front; Jamaica's People's National Party; and Mexico's Popular Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Mexican Revolution's Authentic Party and the Institutional Revolutionary Party.

These 22 political parties, representing 15 Latin American and Caribbean countries, signed the "Oaxaca Declaration," whereby a Conference of Latin American Political Parties was created. Aiming to achieve Lat-

in American unity as envisioned by the leaders of our first independence, the Declaration states that "none of our countries will be truly free unless all our countries are free" and that the only road to liberty is that based on respect for nonintervention and selfdetermination.

The Conference elected Gustavo Carvajal, president of the PRI, as chairman, and appointed six vice-presidents, two for each geographical area. For the Caribbean, Michael Manley of Jamaica, represented in Oaxaca by Upeon Ropocham, minister of education; and Francisco Peña Gómez of the Dominican Revolutionary Party. For Central America, Daniel Odúber, former President of Costa Rica, representing the National Liberation Party; and Tomás Borge, interior minister of Nicaragua, representing the Sandinista National Li-

TRICONTINENTAL PANORAMA

beration Front. For South America, Leonel Brizola, president of the Brazilian Labor Party, and Victor Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia's Nationalist Revolutionary Movement.

Besides the Oaxaca Declaration, the Conference endorsed various resolutions. A call was made for the dictatorial governments of Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay to grant full amnesty as a first step toward democratization in those countries, specifically demanding the liberation of Uruguayan Gen. Líber Seregni and Argentine ex-Presidents Héctor Cámpora and Isabel Perón. Puerto Rico's independence was backed, and support "by all means within our reach" was offered for Nicaragua's reconstruction and its government's decision not to pay the foreign debt inherited from the Somoza regime. The Conference reiterated Latin American countries' sovereignty over the 200-mile territorial waters and affirmed its opposition to any amendments to the Panama Canal treaties. The attempted coup d'état in the Dominican Republic, against President Guzmán and his democratic government was repudiated. It called for a "fair and quick" solution to the continent's border conflicts and supported Bolivia's demand for an outlet to the sea, while also pledging solidarity with popular and democratic political organizations in El Salvador and Guatemala, and condemning systematic violations of human rights in those countries. Messages were sent to three Latin American Presidents: Walter Guevara Arce of Bolivia, expressing the Conference's solidarity with the democratization process; President Joao Baptista Figueiredo of Brazil and his country's Congress, demanding full and unrestricted amnesty; and President Arístides Royo of Panama, congratulating him for "the victory of October 1, by which Panama regained full sovereignty over the Canal Zone." □

Victories for the Saharan People



□ The announced decision of the US government to provide the regime of Morocco's King Hassan II with armament, and its justification based on the "impossibility for Sahara to subsist as an independent state," could hardly affect the course of war in the former Spanish territory of Western Sahara.

With the signing of the peace treaty with Mauritania last August the Polisario (Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro) Front achieved a long-sought objective, namely the concentration of all its forces on the northern front against Morocco. As is wellknown, after signing the Madrid Agreement on November 1975, Mauritania and Morocco divided Western Sahara among themselves and Spain withdrew from its former colony in exchange for a cut in the exploitation of the phosphate-rich Bucraa mines.

However, the agreement overlooked the fact that the Saharan people was willing and ready to fight for independence. It had done so against Spain; now it would continue against its invading neighbors. The Polisario Front—which was forecast a short life by many—became the sole vanguard of the Saharans and started to organize the people in the

territory under its control—mainly women, children and the elders, for nearly all the men had joined the military forces.

The cruel desert war and the pervading blows of the Saharans against the Mauritanian economy finally convinced the government of that country that the cause of the Saharan people was historically inevitable. Thus the signing of the peace treaty opened a new and decisive period.

Four years of war, 25,000 dead and grave economic losses have seriously weakened Morocco's monarchy, allied with Israel and Egypt, South Africa, France and the US. Even the CIA has expressed its concern about the internal situation in that country, forecasting that unless the unforeseen happened—i.e., a military defeat for the Saharans—the king might well follow the Shah's fate within a year and that the next regime would not be pro-Western.

Meanwhile, the Saharan people are winning many military and diplomatic victories. Thirty-five countries have recognized and established relations with the Arab Saharan Democratic Republic and many more support the Polisario Front, made evident during the last UN General Assembly, where 90 countries voted for Saharan selfdetermination. □

media

"Making Revolution Through the Radio"

During the war, transmitters mobilized the people from boats and the backs of elephants. Vietnamese ingenuity continues in this period of reconstruction



Ly Van Sau, head of Central TV in Hanoi, talks to **third world** about the media in peace and in his own wartime experience.

—What part did the media play in the war years?

—We were fighting imperialism for three and a half decades, and since it was a people's war the media played a vital part, but as an undeveloped country we had to be very inventive.

Vietnam's own radio was born on Sept. 7, 1945, right after our revolution triumphed at the end of World War II. We had one small

station of very limited power, installed by the French in Hanoi, but couldn't use it long. The French came back in December 1946. Then it was total war and we had to move into the jungle, a place called Viet Bac which became the cradle of our resistance. The **Voice of Vietnam**, as we called our station, gave the people information and revolutionary education.

—How many hours a day could you broadcast from there?

Only two morning hours at first, very early to be ahead of the bombing raids. Later we broadcast news

bulletins from 7 to 9 a.m., reading them slowly like a teacher in a schoolroom; then briefly at noon, and then for three or four hours in the evenings. With equipment taken from the French we spread the network and started stations in the south and center of the country. The best known of the southern stations was the **Voice of the Rush Prairie**—a big marshy area southeast of Saigon. That was where we started broadcasting from boats.

—From boats?

—Yes, boats moving along canals. Light equipment, of course, but with plenty of power and it could be heard in Saigon. We had another station broadcasting from elephants—the **Voice of the South**. I was one of the people running that, in central Vietnam. The elephants moved through the jungle with the transmitters on their backs. It was efficient—our two elephants needed no gas or spare parts, and worked so well that after the war they were decorated with the Order of Resistance. One of them is dead now, the other's still around.

—How big was your audience?

—Well, it could cost your head if you were caught listening to our programs, and they generally had interference, but we know the network we built up reached all over the country. Of course there weren't all that many receivers in Vietnam, so we organized 'listener cells' to spread the news with mimeographed bulletins. That was quite a dangerous job. Everyone who could wanted to listen, and in some areas the people talked about "making revolution by listening to the radio." The programs told them what was going on in other areas and warned them about the enemy's tactics.

—What about press?

—Our party had a tradition of revolutionary journalism, putting out various publications which kept changing their names as they were banned. Our wartime revolutionary press was

media

printed in the jungle: the first paper was **Cuuc Quoc**, which means National Salvation—the organ of the Viet Minh. **Nhan Dan**, the organ of our party's central committee, came out all through the war and still does. The radio and press worked together; for example, **Nhan Dan's** editorial and the day's best articles were read on the early morning broadcast.

A 9-Minute Break

—All this while the French were there. Then what?

—After Dien Bien Phu we got back into Hanoi and set up the **Voice of Vietnam** there, but then of course Vietnam was divided in two. In the south the National Liberation Front ran the **Voice of Liberation** station from the guerrilla zone, and there was also the **Voice of Free Saigon**.

In the north, there was just one time when our radio stopped transmitting—December 1972. It was one of the war's toughest moments: a big American raid on Hanoi, and one bomb fell plumb on our transmitter. We were off the air for nine minutes. It took that long to change frequency and resume the program. We had quite a few stations by then, but today we have a network completely covering the country, with two powerful central transmitters. We're building four more now near Hanoi, two short-wave 250-kw., two medium-wave 1,000-kw.

14 Languages

—You also beamed Vietnam news and messages to Laos and Kampuchea?

—Yes, of course. Three programs actually, one news, one musical-cultural, one educational. But there was a special service for abroad.

We're now transmitting in 14 languages, including Spanish and Portuguese. Have been for some time.

—Why do you attach such importance to foreign broadcasts?

—It was a long war and we needed international solidarity—the whole world to know what we were like and were fighting for. And that goes for now because it's not over. We have a program of several hours for the Chinese people whom we consider our friends; we think they ought to know the facts. We beam it in Pekingese, Cantonese, and the most important dialects.

Popular Participation

—How did the people participate in your radio efforts?

—For one thing, by listening and passing the word along to people without radio sets. But in many other ways, such as helping us get equipment and supplying us with news, gas and spare parts. The **Voice of the Rush Prairie**, for example, was bought in Saigon piece by piece: a valve here, a transistor or resistor there. Risky against all the controls the enemy had, but it worked. A Vietnamese electronics engineer trained in France put the bits together in the jungle.

I remember many other ways. For the transmitter we ran in our jungle, people brought gas concealed in bamboo canes. Often it was young girls who did that.

—What is your radio setup now?

—We have a cable network that can reach into every home. The people took on the job of supplying bamboo and wooden posts, and often pay out of their own pockets for the materials needed to bring in **Voice of Revolution** programs. Somebody listens and passes it on to others working in the fields. We still rely on radio for the most urgent things: calling meetings, identifying current priorities, analyzing specific questions.

Radio is certainly the number one medium for us, but there are small villages without any receiver where

the people have an ingenious way of getting the news around: they build a high tower, a comrade shins up it and reads the main items from the newspaper through a megaphone. As it's quiet in the country and the people want to know what's happening, the whole village gets the message without quitting work.

Our newspapers aren't like yours. In your Mexico I gather they sometimes run to fifty pages. Ours only have four, but having no ads saves a lot of space. With us paper is scarce and sometimes only one copy reaches a community of 1,000 people. It passes from hand to hand till it's unreadable, but these megaphone "broadcasts" bring it to everyone.

Television

—You're head of the Central Television in Hanoi. When did TV start in Vietnam?

—Pretty late—in September 1970, and very much à la Vietnamese. We had just one camera which we built ourselves, with an optic we bought abroad and lenses adapted from cinecameras. With this device we started three or four experimental transmissions a week. We formed a group of comrades who, after the south was liberated and we acquired the enemy's TV stations, could run regular programs and are still doing it. Now we mostly import TV equipment and have a transmission center and eight stations. We need them because we don't have a microwave line. The main stations are in Ho Chi Minh City (ex-Saigon) and the one I'm in charge of in Hanoi. We use cassettes to exchange programs among the stations.

—Does your TV cover the whole country now?

—Theoretically; not in practice because there are so few receivers. We transmit for three hours in the evenings, starting with a children's program we call



"Little Flowers"—that's what children are called in Vietnam. Then news and information, then an orientation, documentation and education program devoted to science, medical advice, maternal guidance, etc.

Most of it is produced in Vietnam, but some stuff from outside. We end with a movie, a play, or a dance show. On Sundays there's also a morning program and we total some thirty hours a week. Our efforts to broaden this out are also very Vietnamish. We build the stations ourselves, buy equipment where we can, and set it up. But radio remains the chief medium for us and will be for a long time, because you have to sit down to watch TV but you can listen in even when you're working. Radio is such a part of Vietnamese life that people call it "my confidant," "my

guide," "my doctor." And it really is all that. People can write in to the radio for advice on anything that bothers them.

—Were you always a journalist, or was it the vicissitudes of politics that made you one?

—I'm a journalist—started when I was 19. My experience doesn't differ from most Vietnamese: we were a colonized country, and were deeply involved in the fight to change that. I'm from the south, and remained there till the party called me two years ago to run the Hanoi TV Center.

The enemy occupied the province where I worked and at 19 I joined the revolutionary militia. We fought from the jungle, understood the media's importance and started the clandestine paper *Thang*, meaning "Win." Four tabloid-size pages a week, litho-

graphed in a very crude way, handwritten in very small letters with a special ink. That was tough because you had to write backwards.

As a rule the paper we used came to us hidden in the pants of our female comrades, and the newspapers went back to the towns in the same pants. I had to write, print and everything. Later I had our jungle radio transmitter to run with others. I was also a correspondent for the Liberation agency which supplied news to all of the south, and as such I got to attend the Paris conference on Vietnam.

The New International Information Order

—What do you think about the ongoing discussions on a New International Information Order?

—We support the nonaligned countries' efforts to break the Western news agencies' monopoly, and joined in the talks about a pool of nonaligned agencies. Our own Vietnam News Agency is well developed, has contacts with many countries and is part of the pool. We have a special daily transmission for the countries in the pool.

We think that as a nonaligned country Vietnam should participate all along the line, as one way to show our independent role. The Havana Nonaligned Conference is the most important of all that have taken place to date.

—What have you learned from your Latin American tour?

—We've found great solidarity with our cause, especially from the Latin American generation that has grown up during our war, but also from old people, children and women. They don't have doubts about Vietnam. How can a people that has fought for so long have changed, as the Chinese say? We're the same people. What has changed is Chinese policy. Apart from the US and Canada, this is a Third World continent—and that creates many ties between us. □

Africa and the NIIO

*Our correspondent in Dar es Salaam interviews
Ndugu Isaac Sepetu, Tanzanian minister
of education and broadcasting*

Makwaia Kuhenga

How does the New International Information Order relate to the New International Economic Order?

—They are really one and inseparable, but the answer must derive from the fact that transnational news agencies of Western countries have a monopoly. If you have a monopoly of news, it makes a problem for those who don't. The logical consequence of the present one-way flow is an imbalance of news-gathering and communication, aggravated by the fact that in Western countries news is a commodity, something to sell for profit. All this makes it very hard for developing countries like ours to have their news transmitted to the developed world. So the call for a new economic order gives urgency to the call for a new information order.

—Will the Pan-African News Agency begin to break the dependence of our ex-colonial countries on transnational news services?

—It was that unfortunate dependence that made it necessary for the Organization of African Unity to start an all-African news agency, a project it's been working on for 16 years. Finally, last April African information ministers adopted a convention for it. African and other developing countries had endorsed the Nonaligned Movement's plan for a nonaligned newspool to eliminate that dependence. The Pan-African News Agency

will help project a correct image of Africa to the world.

—What was the scope of the agency as envisaged at the African information ministers' conference at Addis Ababa?

—Since the idea of an African news agency is as old as the OAU itself, it was certainly about time for that conference. Every delegation contributed its ideas and we got down to serious talk. Briefly, the object is to promote OAU's aims for the consolidation of African independence and solidarity, to circulate information that will help the struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and all forms of racism and exploitation. Now the OAU Summit in Monrovia has approved the establishment of the agency with headquarters in Dakar, Senegal.

—Considering the OAU's indecisiveness even on simple questions, do you seriously think the agency would operate objectively and become morally responsive to the African people's interests?

—I'd be the last to deny the incredible indecision shown by OAU on many burning issues which merely required it to reaffirm its moral integrity. A case in point was fascist Idi Amin's annexation of part of our territory in the Kagera salient. The aggression was clear as day but OAU failed to condemn it, thereby merely compounding the situation. One can only hope it will take a

serious attitude toward the African news agency so that it may live up to the African peoples' expectations. The agency should be a positive link between our peoples and the rest of the world, giving a positive image of the reality in our continent.

—Are the media living up to their challenge here in Tanzania?

—They're working under extremely difficult conditions and doing a good job in a modest way. As a young country facing immense development problems, we can't afford all the facilities our mass-media cadres need. We do have problems arising from the infancy of Tanzania's news agency SHIHATA and our School of Journalism. To live up to the challenge our journalists need more professional and political training. I emphasize political because we still have this dependence on transnationals. They need more political consciousness to interpret events in our country and the world correctly, in line with our national direction.

—What impressions did you bring back from your recent month in European socialist countries?

—I wanted to get acquainted with the journalists' associations, including the International Organization of Journalists, and with the functions of the mass media, in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Hungary and the Soviet Union. I must say I'm satisfied with this opportunity to learn from their experience. It became clear to me, for example, that the Tanzania Journalists Association has a lot to learn from these associations in countries with socialist principles similar to ours. They are seriously concerned about journalists' social welfare and professional skills and about the overall development of journalism. I think we have a lot to learn from them, but learning is not the same as copying. □

Alternative Voices

"We have achieved unity at the base. Now it's time to think about a political unity that could give the country an emergency government."

From the outset Chile's military junta made its position on the media quite clear: it closed down the whole left press and submitted radio and TV to iron censorship. In journalism, a more flexible policy has emerged in recent months: various opposition publications are appearing, some circulating only locally and others throughout the country. Some discordant voices may also be heard on radio and TV. **Radio Cooperativa** has an openly dissident daily news bulletin, but lost its licence to broadcast in the provinces. The Santiago Archdiocese's **Radio Chilena** broadcasts through a chain of provincial stations: the Archbishop's stand for human rights and democratic liberties is wellknown.

Dissident journals include **APSI**, **Solidaridad** (big worker and student readership), **Análisis**, **Haciendo caminos** (for campesinos), and **Hoy**, independent, clearly oppositional and with the largest national circulation in this field.

A First Victory

Juan Pablo Cárdenas, former editor of the Catholic University's organ **Debate Universitario** and president of the Chilean Journalists' Circle, now edits **Análisis**. He spoke to us about the "real unity" that is emerging among opposition groups. "One of its first consequences," he said, "was seen in the first elections held in Chile since 1973, for officers of various academic units in Santiago Uni-

versity. The opposition won 56 percent of the votes against about 30 percent for the official university group. Electoral propaganda was banned and the polls were run by government people, but the victory was resounding and was recognized.

"The Constitutional Studies Group, which aims to draft a new Constitution, includes all people from all opposition parties: National, Communist, Socialist, Christian Democrat and social democratic groups. The government constantly denounces it as having political ends, etc. Editorial teams of the alternative press are equally broadly constituted, not subject to political parties and often sponsored by the Church. Bit by bit, despite economic and distribution difficulties, they get more of a hearing.

"At first they only dealt with local matters, but the idea now is to bring in Chilean emigrés as columnists, to break the isolation of Chileans abroad from us who remain in the country. Chile is very isolated from world problems. There's practically nothing about them in the mass media. As for foreign periodicals, the ban on their importation was recently lifted, but previous authorization to circulate them is still required. Even in the case of the conflict with neighboring Argentina, dissidents and the general public knew almost nothing about the talks between the two governments. At that time many Argentine publications were banned."

We mentioned to Cárdenas the worldwide discussion about a New



Juan Pablo Cárdenas

International Information Order, i.e. the democratization of information.

Beginning to Organize

"In Chile," he said, "we know very little about that, but we try to make the discussion better known. For example it has been the theme of two seminars in the Christian Humanism Academy, started a year ago by 160 democratic journalists. The first was sponsored by the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET) and by the Latin American Communications Assn. for Development. Previously this international debate had only had a mention or two in **El Mercurio**, and then only to attack its defenders.

"Chilean journalists have begun to get organized, and we are pressing for early elections in the Journalists' Association, now led by government nominees who don't want elections. The government still forbids elections in professional associations, but having accepted them for students we think it may do so for us."

"My own publication **Análisis** is a journal of opinion, patronized by but not an organ of the Church. It's the first journal to promote political debate in Chile; the others go in more for information. The experience of 17 issues, with more than 130 politically significant writers, has been positive. We haven't avoided debate with official sectors but rather tried to stimulate it. Up to now it's they who have balked at appearing in media they don't control.

media

A New Kind of Press

"Our concern today is not to move back to what we had but forward to a new kind of press. The ultra-politicization of the press had much to do with the institutional collapse of 1973. We see such politicization as negative when it reaches the 1973 extremes. What we're aiming at now is that there should be journals controlled by journalists alongside of the big press which we don't control. We journalists are also learning to write in a different way, without adjectivalizing about adversaries. Learning to accent the substantive and give the qualificatives a rest. And I think what we're doing is good for an eventual political opening.

"We arrived where we are after very strong self-criticism: in that there's been a lot of progress on the Chilean left in these years. We aren't ashamed of recognizing our mistakes. Many articles by leftists in our alternative press have been both self-critical and very tough on the regime. We of the Journalists' Circle get together and map out a common strategy, although we then proceed to assorted roles. And many contributions to the alternative press have been picked up by the big press —and, of course, replied to.

"We of the alternative press don't have big ideas for the future. We do hope to get into the big newspapers, but the big newspapers of the future have yet to be created. Right now Santiago only has four dailies: three belonging to *El Mercurio* —*Ultimas Noticias*, *La Segunda* and the *Mercurio* itself— and the top-circulation, privately owned *La Tercera*. There were once 10 with circulations far exceeding all these four. *El Mercurio* has dropped from 350,000 to 120,000." □

SYMPOSIUM ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The independent monthly *New Outlook* of Tel Aviv is organizing an "International Symposium on the Middle East" in Washington on October 27-29, 1979. The object of the symposium is "to explore the road to a comprehensive peace in the Middle East through Israeli and Palestinian recognition of each other's right to selfdetermination."

The head of the ultra-Zionist Likud party in the Israeli Knesset (parliament) Avraham Sharir, denounced the symposium as "a knife in the back," and Interior Minister Burg called the participation of 16 Knesset members as "organized rebellion." *New Outlook*, however, reports "formidable support" for the symposium, and adds: "Begin's attempt to impose a total ban on the PLO... was bound to fail sooner or later. It failed."

desde México,
una revista para América Latina



Director: Carlos Quijano

**CUADERNOS
DE MARCHA**

reaparecieron en el exilio

**Un análisis de la crisis de América
Latina a través de estudios monográficos
inéditos,
realizados por especialistas de cada
país.**

Dirigirse a: CEUAL, A.C.

Apartado postal 19-131
MEXICO 19, D.F.



another Third World Journalists publication

The first edition of the **Guía del Tercer Mundo 1979** has just come out. It is conceived as an alternative to other almanacs and guides, which generally have a biased and distorted view of the history and socio-economic and political situation of Third World countries. It includes general information on the Third World, its problems, basic facts, the history of the Non-Aligned Movement, biographies of Third World leaders and much more, plus brief monographs and maps of the more than 130 Third World countries. (Mexico City: Periodistas del Tercer Mundo, 1979, 392 pp.)

guía del
**tercer
mundo**

Send me a copy of **Guía del Tercer Mundo 1979**.

Enclosed is a cheque for US\$ _____

addressed to **Periodistas del Tercer Mundo**.

Apartado Postal 20-572, México 20, D.F., Mexico City.

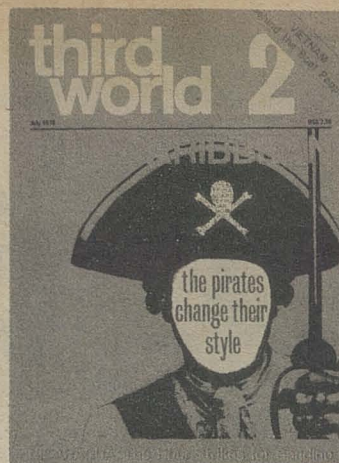
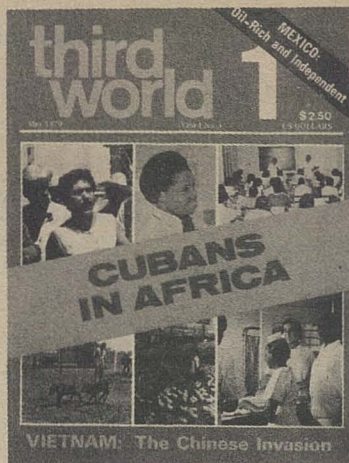
Name _____

Address _____

Prices (including air mail):

Latin America, Caribbean, United States and Canada: **US\$ 6.00**

Elsewhere: **US\$ 8.00**



third world is part of a global project wich aims to:

- provide alternative information on the Third World;
- promote awareness on the causes of underdevelopment and means to overcome it;
- support cooperation among progressive sectors throughout the world.

third world is the English edition of *cuadernos del tercer mundo*. Based in Mexico City, it is published by Third World Journalists, an independent nonprofit association of militant professionals journalists from over 40 countries.

**third
world**

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Send me _____ issues of **third world**. Enclosed is a cheque for US\$ _____ addressed to **Periodistas del Tercer Mundo**, Apartado 20-572, México 20, D.F.

Name _____

Address _____

Rates (in U.S. dollars, including air mail):

☐ 10 issues: \$22.00

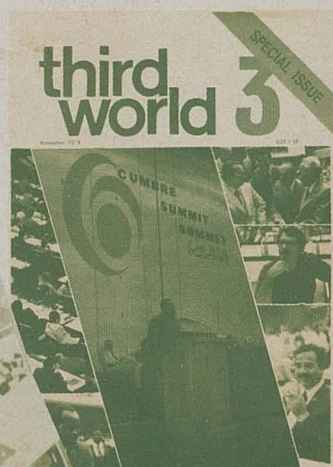
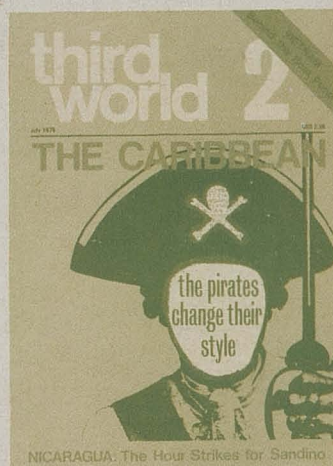
☐ 5 issues: \$12.00

☐ single copy: \$ 2.50

☐ back issues: \$ 3.00

alternative information in an independent magazine with a third world perspective

published in three languages



**third
world**

