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## Zimbabwe's Future Neocolonialism or Independence?

Interview with  
Wilfred Burchett



## Contents

LEADING EDGE .....	1
SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE OF ERITREA editorial .....	2
ZIMBABWE'S FUTURE - NEOCOLONIALISM OR INDEPENDENCE .....	8
LEFT PROFILE - WILFRED BURCHETT .....	30
IMPERIALISM AND HUMAN SURVIVAL book review .....	40
MBIRO - LITTLE GIANT - The Story of Sana na H'dada, PAIGC Cadre .....	46
LSM NOTES .....	56
BOX 2077 .....	59

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# Leading Edge

Since we published "Zimbabwe: Untangling the Web" almost two years ago, a lot has happened in Zimbabwe. In rapid succession came the formation of the Patriotic Front, negotiations in Geneva, qualitative expansion of the armed struggle, and the Smith regime's attacks on refugee camps in Mozambique and later Zambia. Today the web is much less tangled and the contending forces in Zimbabwe have not been so clear for many years.

Unlike several false starts toward unity before it, the Patriotic Front is working. Our informational tasks on Zimbabwe have become clearer and in January we decided to begin gathering material for an *LSM NEWS* article. We believed that something was bound to break in 1978.

A few weeks later Smith and his African allies announced the Salisbury Accords which have been touted as an "internal settlement." Once again Zimbabwe has risen to the top of the agenda. We intend our article, "Zimbabwe's Future: Neocolonialism or Independence?" to deepen our common understanding of day-to-day news reports on Zimbabwe by outlining the prospects for the future and de-

fining the tasks of supporters of Zimbabwean liberation.

Many of our readers already know who Wilfred Burchett is; some of you have read one or more of his 30 books or his reports in the *Guardian*. The purpose of our Left Profile in this issue is to show you something of the man behind the printed word. What are Burchett's journalistic principles? How did he become a journalist? Most important, what kind of a human being is Wilfred Burchett?

We have received many comments on our article on Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia: "Hurricane in the Horn." Since Ethiopia's decisive victory over Somalia, we believe it important to take a strong and clear stand vis-a-vis Ethiopia's continuing attempt to reconquer Eritrea. For this issue we have prepared a brief editorial statement.

Since our organization was founded 10 years ago, we have tried to peer ahead and predict the struggles and burning questions which will concern anti-imperialists in the months and years ahead. We have set up study teams on both Namibia and South Africa to define the questions and prepare analytical articles for future issues of *LSM NEWS*.

## Editorial:

# Support the Independence of Eritrea

In mid-May, Haile Mengistu Mariam, Ethiopian military leader, announced his army's largest military offensive to date against the Eritrean liberation movement. Such a move endangers the progressive achievements of his government and runs the risk of forcing the Eritrean liberation movement into alliance with reactionary, anti-Ethiopian, Arab regimes.

The Ethiopian regime is neither consistently Marxist nor is it fascist and reactionary. On the one hand, it has destroyed the old feudal order and organized large numbers of people to run their own lives, which have unquestionably improved materially. On the other hand, the Ethiopian regime has vowed to crush all Eritreans who demand independence from Ethiopia and has declared war against all Ethiopians who support that Eritrean right or call for civilian rule.

Many socialist and progressive governments came to the aid of Ethiopia in defending its social achievements from foreign aggression. Cuban, Soviet, and South Yemeni participation was essential in defeating last year's Somali

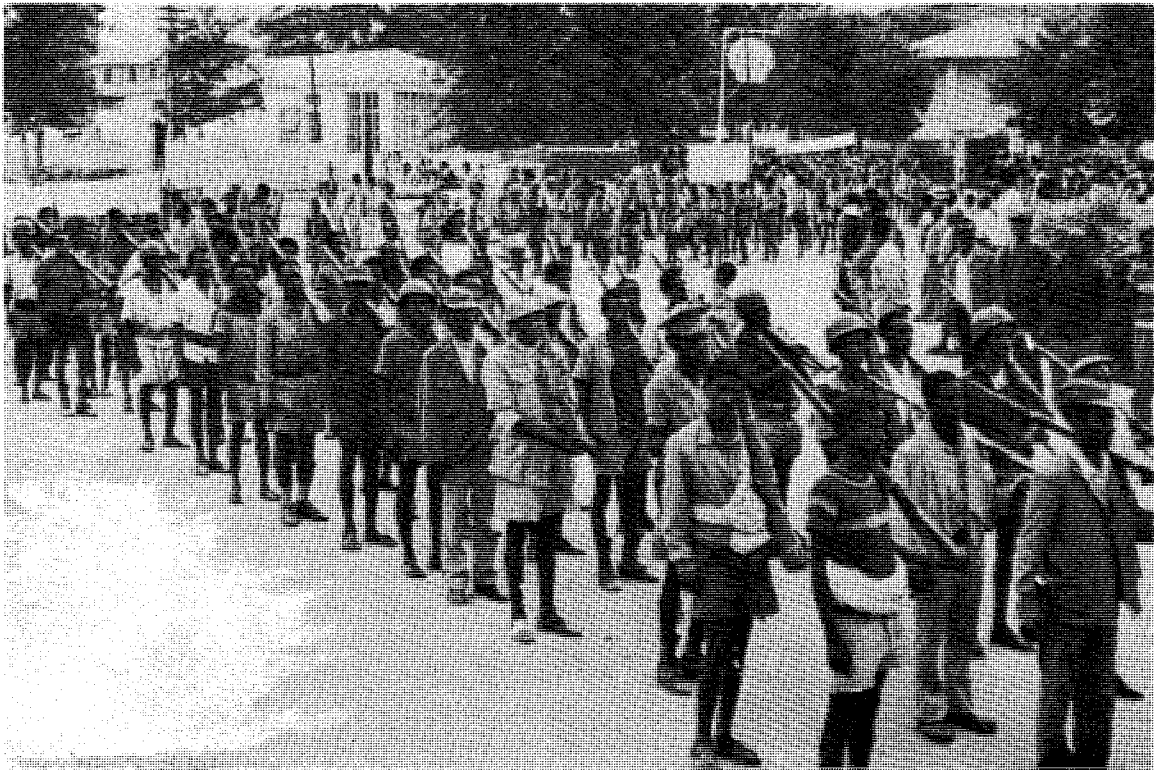
invasion; but these countries, at press time, have reportedly refused to fully commit themselves to a campaign against Eritrea. South Yemen has even removed all its troops from Ethiopia and resumed its support for the Eritreans. Apparently Cuba had troops stationed in Asmara, the Eritrean capital, and the Soviet Union has supplied large quantities of arms, including MIG fighters, since January of this year. But the sketchy evidence available indicates no direct Cuban or Soviet participation in a campaign to conquer Eritrea.

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THE ETHIOPIAN REGIME IS NEITHER  
CONSISTENTLY MARXIST NOR IS IT  
FASCIST AND REACTIONARY.

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In the meantime, the ELF and EPLF have begun to implement an agreement to coordinate their activities and begin a process toward eventual unification. The agreement provides for joint political leadership; joint committees on military affairs, information, foreign affairs, economic and social programs; and a unity congress to be held at a later date. The two Eritrean liberation movements control 90%



*EPLF fighters*

*EPLF*

of Eritrean territory and are determined to fight for every inch. The population unquestionably supports them. But so far, with a few notable exceptions, including both the Palestinian and Omani liberation movements, the ELF and EPLF have been denied recognition and support by progressive governments and organizations.

Nevertheless, the ELF has refused to denounce Cuba and the Soviet Union whom the front refers to as its "natural allies." The EPLF has issued strong criticisms but

reports no present Soviet or Cuban involvement in an Ethiopian campaign. The liberation movements have sent missions to Mozambique, Algeria, Malagasy, and other

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THE ERITREAN POPULATION  
UNQUESTIONABLY SUPPORTS THE  
ELF AND EPLF.

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progressive countries from whom they hope to win support. The ELF recognizes that "in Ethiopia there have been some changes. And there now is a revolutionary group inside the

ruling junta which strongly believes in the right of the Eritrean people for self-determination and national independence."

In both Ethiopia and Eritrea revolutions are unfolding in which desperately poor peasants and workers are building better lives for themselves. Ethiopia's plans for colonial reconquest could destroy both

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"STRATEGIC INTERESTS AND CONSIDERATIONS OF SECURITY MAKE IT NECESSARY TO REUNITE THIS COUNTRY TO ETHIOPIA, WHICH IS OUR FRIEND." - Former US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles

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these processes. For this reason we reprint below part of an editorial by Simon Malley, editor of the French magazine *Afrique-Asie* (no. 160 of 2 May 1978).

### **Eritrea: "No" to the War of Reconquest**

We support the Eritrean people's right to self-determination, freedom, and dignity. We support their inalienable right to end the flagrant injustice which began in 1950 when the UN General Assembly, at that time the docile instrument of the Western powers and their puppets, approved the US-initiated Resolution 390 A/V, which created a federation between

Ethiopia and Eritrea. Without consulting the Eritrean people; without a referendum under international control - in other words, contrary to the UN Charter.

Former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles explained imperialist strategy for the Red Sea area when he declared during the 1950 UN debate: "From the point of view of strict justice, the opinion of the Eritrean people should be taken into consideration. Nevertheless, [American] strategic interests in the Red Sea and considerations of security for the countries of the world make it necessary to reunite this country to Ethiopia, which is our friend." What Dulles did not mention at that time was that the United States had already begun the negotiations which were concluded May 22, 1953 with a treaty giving the US vast military facilities in Ethiopia as well as the Kagnaw station at Asmara (capital of Eritrea), one of the most important American bases in the world.

Certainly, Resolution 390 did not pass without violent denunciations from the Soviet Union, its socialist allies, and the few Afro-Asian countries which had managed to stay out of the Western fold. If my memory serves me, Andrei Vichinsky, leader of the Soviet UN delegation, fought against the American plan: "Such a resolution," he declared, "deprives the Eritrean people of

its right to self-determination as specified by the UN Charter. No Eritrean can accept this." . . .

This tour of history is important at this moment, as Ethiopian troops prepare to launch a vast military offensive against Eritrea, "with the aim of crushing the separatist movement." We recognize that the overthrow of the corrupt, despotic, bloody, repressive regime of Haile Selassie has started profound social and economic changes in this feudal country; that there is a truly revolutionary situation in Ethiopia; and that the Dergue includes anti-imperialist elements which are conscious of both the national and regional realities of Ethiopia and the constraints imposed by the complex international situation. It is because we recognize all this that we are compelled to sound an alarm, indeed, a warning - unconditionally and without hesitation.

We say "No!" to the war of colonial reconquest of the martyred Eritrean people. "No!" to the military solution that Mengistu's regime seems ready to begin.

Of course we know that our position is not shared by some political and intellectual groups. For instance, they say that from the moment the Ethiopian government set out on the anti-imperialist road, the national minorities should have tried to form a solid front with the Mengistu regime

to help it face plots against it by the West and the feudal pro-Western Arab interests. We have also been told that the imperialist and feudal forces have infiltrated the Eritrean liberation movements; and this could risk transforming an independent Eritrea into a permanent base for aggression against the progressive countries which border the Red Sea, such as South Yemen, Ethiopia, etc. Finally, we have been told that Mengistu must be given time to consolidate his regime so that he can later soften his position and make "big concessions to the fourteen provinces which make up Ethiopia." Have we not heard

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THE PHOTOS AND WRITINGS OF FIDEL CASTRO AND CHE GUEVARA CAN BE SEEN EVERYWHERE IN THE VILLAGES LIBERATED BY THE GUERRILLAS.

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about a law "in preparation" in Addis Ababa which would assure these provinces the right to internal autonomy within a federation or confederation?

Last year in Havana Fidel Castro personally told me that once the Ogaden situation had been dealt with, it would be possible for the Ethiopian leaders to adopt a more flexible attitude on the Eritrean question. The many Cuban cadres I talked to foresaw no possibility of Cuban participation in the Eritrean war.



*EPLF member in gun repair shop*

*Bruce Parkhurst*

All of them remembered that the most important cadres of the Eritrean resistance were educated and trained in Cuba, as well as in the Palestinian camps, in South Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and other progressive countries. Certainly some leaders are in the service of Arab reaction, but their number is small compared to the truly revolutionary Eritrean forces. And the photos and

writings of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara can be seen everywhere in the villages liberated by the guerrillas.

To those who defend - or might be tempted to defend - the military reconquest of Eritrea, our response is simple. . . . The Ethiopians will no doubt be able to re-occupy a large part of the country; agreed. But will this be a viable and lasting solu-



tion? Does Addis Ababa really think its army can eliminate a resistance which has lasted for 17 years, whose fighters are one with the population like fish in the water? And what is the nature of the Dergue's "socialist revolution" if, in order to liberate Ethiopia from centuries of feudal and oligarchic oppression and foreign domination, it continues to deprive the Eritrean people of their national aspirations? And how can Eritrea be considered a

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THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE MUST BE TO KEEP THIS REGION OUT OF THE CONTROL OF IMPERIALISM.

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"national minority" within Ethiopia?

Will not the prolongation of the conflict - and the bitterness and disillusionment which will eventually grow among the Eritrean fighters - be exploited by precisely the feudal and imperialist forces which the Ethiopian regime wants to crush? Do not the vital interests of Ethiopia necessitate that its leaders avoid making the Eritrean and Somali borders sites of permanent agitation and insecurity? And is not this "step forward" [independence for Eritrea - ed.] - in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist principles which the Dergue claims to respect - absolutely essential if the Dergue wants its revolution

respected by progressive and anti-imperialist opinion around the world?

We believe that the independence, sovereignty, and socialist options for the countries of the Horn of Africa will best be protected by the creation of a real union or confederation which can prevent this strategic region from falling under Western domination. But for this to become possible - and it is inevitable in the long run - it must not be imposed from above by brutal force, by war. What is needed is respect for the right of self-determination, as well as concessions, from all those involved. There must be free, direct negotiations between the Eritreans and the Ethiopians, between the Ethiopians and the Somalis, and among all the countries in the Horn. The primary objective of these negotiations must be to keep this region out of the control of imperialism, whose strategic interest is to destabilize all the revolutionary regimes and forces.

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# Zimbabwe's Future:



*Zimbabwe News*

**Neocolonialism  
or  
Independence?**

James McLaren gave Ian Smith a standing ovation when the Rhodesian Prime Minister denounced the idea of majority rule, "not now, nor in a thousand years." That was two years ago at a Rhodesian Front convention where ruddy-faced farmers and grayhaired businessmen, some in army fatigues, clenched their teeth and swore to fight to the last man, woman, and child.

Today McLaren discreetly instructs his African farmhands to supply the local Patriotic Front guerrillas from his storehouse. Still a member of Ian Smith's party, he has nevertheless learned to live with the bush war, just as he has adjusted to the idea of the Front's political leaders taking over the government buildings in Salisbury. That would be the end of the Rhodesia McLaren has always known, yet he will try anything to stay and keep his farm.

Near McLaren's Midlands farm one of the Rhodesian army's three Fireforce teams waits in a state of constant alert. At the first sighting of guerrillas, its three helicopter gunships with four commandos in each, a Dakota load of paratroopers, and a small Lynx

plane carrying napalm roar off to the action. Yet the guerrillas move easily about the region and have carried out several actions without taking any losses.

Three months after Ian Smith's "internal settlement" with three African leaders, the war is still felt everywhere. In some rural areas, tax collectors and other government servants have fled, farmworkers have left their jobs, and telephone links have been cut. Road traffic is by convoy under military escort. African townships around Salisbury and Bulawayo have been under periodic dusk-to-dawn curfews. Seemingly unable to halt the guerrilla offensive and lacking demonstrable support among the black population, the temporary white-black regime has won little international recognition.

Smith and his fellow settlers may have played their highest trump card, yet settled nothing. The other players - the Anglo-American bloc, the Patriotic Front, and those other African nationalists who are not mere servants of the settler state - are now trying to improve their hands before the next round of discussions.

But history is not decided

by a few great cardplayers and the fate of Zimbabwe hinges on more than negotiations at the top. No solution will work - and the present settlement is a good example - which does not address the aspirations and expectations of the millions of African people. Different classes of people have different needs and interests. The Patriotic Front now represents the majority of Zimbabweans and will likely win the war if long-standing internal differences can be resolved. A hard look at the unity of the Patriotic Front, along with a sketch of the classes it represents, tells a lot about the future of the country. Will we see a Zimbabwe on the "Kenya model" - one which serves a handful of Whites, privileged Blacks, and foreign corporations - or a socialist Zimbabwe which like neighboring Mozambique puts first those who have been last?

## Problems of Unity

The initiative is now with the Patriotic Front guerrilla alliance, whose recent military and political gains hasten the inevitable sunset of white rule. The Front's success is due largely to increased cooperation between its two parts, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

The drive toward unity emerges

from a history of conflict among Zimbabwean nationalists. From the time of colonial conquest in the late 19th century, the British manipulated ethnic differences between the Shona and Ndebele tribes and their various sub-groups. Competing missionaries - Presbyterian, Catholic, and Methodist - injected religious discord.

Starting in 1920 the first African organizations mainly attracted mission-school educated teachers, preachers, and clerks, who were content to seek better positions for themselves within the colonial system. The British, who understood the importance of creating a black middle class, promoted the virtues of parliamentary democracy so skillfully that some Zimbabwean leaders still engage in western-type election charades today when their country is engulfed by war.

But in the late 1950's, as independence became a rallying cry all over colonized Africa, hat-in-hand pleading for petty reform was upstaged by strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations calling for majority rule. A series of new organizations were successively formed and banned, culminating in ZAPU, which attracted thousands of members and established branches in both Shona (Eastern) and Ndebele (Western) areas. The leadership - many of ZAPU and ZANU's present leaders - came from all parts of the country.

The breakaway and formation

of ZANU under Ndabaningi Sithole in 1963 resulted from disagreements within ZAPU on whether to take the British seriously or deal instead with the UN, on whether to form still another legal organization after ZAPU was banned in 1962 or go underground, and other tactical questions seemingly reconcilable but in fact discussed in hostile tones. Even before the Smith government unilaterally declared

Rhodesia independent in 1965, both ZANU and ZAPU had begun to prepare for violent resistance, but enough personal bitterness and suspicion had accumulated to block any collaboration between the two organizations.

The isolation of imprisonment and exile exacerbated initial differences. While ZAPU leader Nkomo and ZANU's Sithole and Mugabe languished in Smith's prison camps, their

*Leaders of the Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe*



*Zimbabwe Review*

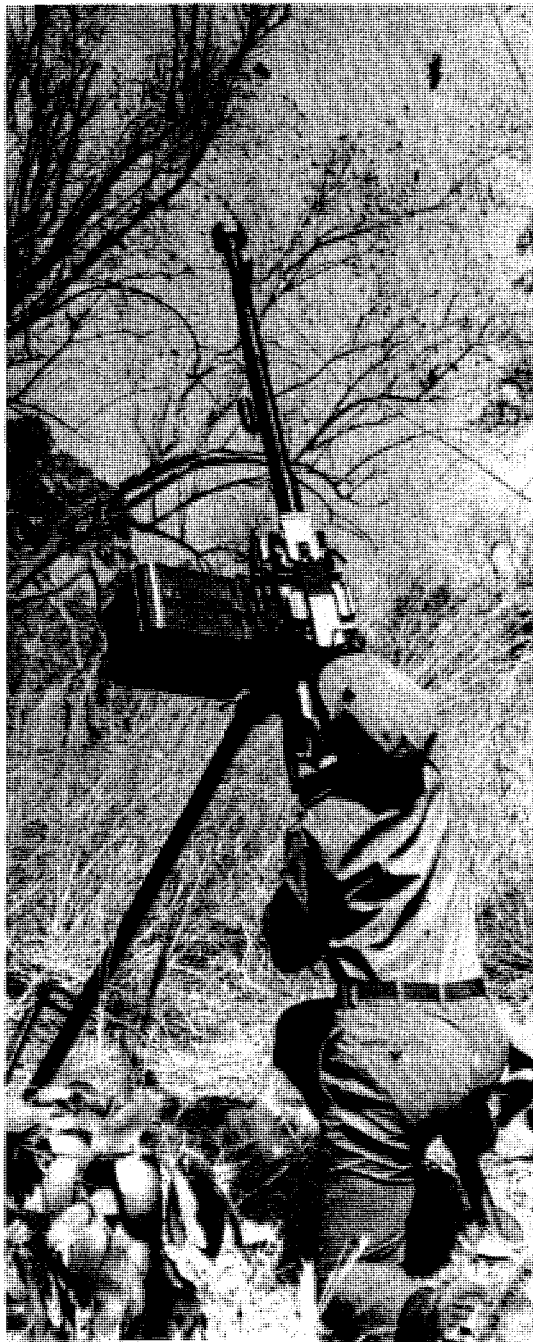
organizations fell into disarray. Ethnic divisions again became a factor, ZANU drawing its militants mainly from the eastern and ZAPU mainly from the western part of the country.

The Sino-Soviet split further polarized those leaders who had gone into exile to rally international support. Polemics on "revisionism" and "social imperialism" neither helped the African movements nor hurt the white regime.

ZAPU's forays into the northern and western regions in 1967-1969 exposed few cracks in the white armor. ZANU's 1972-1974 campaign was far more successful but lost momentum when the organization was torn by internal conflict in which some 160 were killed including National Chairman Herbert Chitepo in 1975. ZANU fighters and most of their leaders were arrested in Zambia as the country's President, Kenneth Kaunda, sought "detente" with South Africa.

## New Alignments

But detente failed, Mozambique won its independence, and the CIA - South African adventure in Angola backfired. A tide of radicalism, inspired by MPLA and FRELIMO's victories, washed through Zimbabwean nationalist ranks. Mozambique now gave them a precious rear base; Zambia and other African countries resumed support.



Zimbabwe Review

Zimbabwean fires on Rhodesian plane

The trickle of young recruits fleeing across Rhodesia's borders to join the movement swelled to a torrent. South Africa, the Smith regime's ominous patron, had tasted defeat on the battlefield in Angola and retreated to consider its own longterm prospects.

It was time to rethink strategies. The British and Americans who had watched Portuguese colonial intransigence botch things elsewhere were determined not to let the Rhodesian hardliners dig in. Kissinger took up "majority rule" as his slogan, warning the US Congress that the whole of Africa might "become radical and move in a direction incompatible with Western interests."

Anthony Crosland, Kissinger's British counterpart, convened the Geneva Conference in late 1976 to prevent the Zimbabwean conflict from running its violent course. "If the issues were settled on the battlefield," Mr. Crosland told a meeting of NATO foreign ministers, "it would seriously lessen the chance of bringing about a moderate African regime in Rhodesia and would open the way for more radical solutions and external intervention on the part of others."

It was not hard to find Zimbabwean "intermediaries" to push a neocolonial option. Many veteran nationalists had neither aligned themselves with the guerrilla war nor been affected by the recent

radicalization of the younger people. Some had been politically dormant since the early 1960's while others, like Bishop Muzorewa, led organizations espousing non-violent change. Such men were later joined by others long imprisoned, such as previously deposed ZANU leader Sithole. To Geneva they travelled to jockey for high positions in a post-Smith Zimbabwe.

The British-led rush to the conference table was precipitated by a new wave of guerrilla actions starting in early 1976. Initially, the campaign aimed at joining ZANU and ZAPU military units under the name of the Zimbabwe People's Army. But hostilities in some of the camps forced ZAPU to withdraw its units to build a combined guerrilla and conventional army of its own. ZANU fighters continued operations in the regions where they had fought in earlier years.

The fighters of both ZAPU and ZANU, conscious of their collective power, opposed anything short of a political and military takeover. Fighting a war filled with hardships, pain, and death, they viewed with hostility the schemes of Bishop Muzorewa and his associates to "reap where they had not sown," as an African peasant put it. The formation of the Patriotic Front prior to the 1976 Geneva talks was at least partly due to the fighters' pressure on their

political leaders.

In the 18 months since then the polarization between the Front and other nationalists has become complete. In the eyes of the Front, the "internal settlement" is nothing short of high treason. By the same logic, Smith's African partners now have the most to lose by an eventual Patriotic Front victory. When the Guerrillas enter Salisbury, Muzorewa is reported to have said, "we'll be the first ones to be put against the wall."

### Transforming the War

Starting as a fragile tactical alliance, which many predicted would not last, the Patriotic Front has gradually transformed the character of the liberation war. Fighting between ZAPU and ZANU militants is now strictly prevented and there is evidence of collaboration between the two organizations' troops when they meet inside Zimbabwe. While ZANU used to carry the brunt of the military burden, predominantly in the eastern regions, ZAPU guerrillas have recently stepped up their actions to further disperse the hard-pressed Rhodesian forces. The fighting now covers three-quarters of the national territory, according to Mugabe.

Collaboration has met resistance within both organizations. Conservative ZAPU members, enjoying legality within Zimbabwe, long pre-

ferred a peaceful settlement to the escalation of the war. Within ZANU, as well, there appears to have been intense conflict over the question of unity, with some cadres worried about their party's purity of "line."

And there are still tactical differences. ZANU reportedly emphasizes the military tasks of the Front and wants unity to begin "in the field." Nkomo, on the other hand, has so far insisted that unity is primarily a "political," as distinct from military, question.

Nonetheless everyone is talking about the same thing: unity. As Mugabe recently told a Mozambican weekly: "If we start to train together, with the leadership present to raise political consciousness, at the point when we take Zimbabwe we will have prepared the terrain to unite not only the armies but also the parties."

### African Classes

At first glance Zimbabweans seem homogeneous since most want more and better paid jobs, the return of settler confiscated land, and a democratic voice, none of which can be achieved without an end to white minority rule. But to define the interests of Zimbabweans beyond "majority rule" demands a deeper analysis.

Advanced British capitalism penetrated its colonies far more effectively than did,



say, the Portuguese in theirs. Because the British stole African land and employed the resultant "free" laborers in industry and civil administration, class divisions among Zimbabweans are well developed by African standards.

*Semi-proletariat:* Peasants and workers, who make up 95% of the African population, supply the troops for the present guerrilla war. They have been leaving the country to join the Patriotic Front abroad at the rate of more than one thousand per month. Inside the country, the Front's cadres work among villagers who, despite frequent and brutal retaliation by the regime, harbor militants and help carry supplies. The motivation for this support is not hard to find: a 30% infant mortality rate, dietary and communicable diseases, and an average life span of only 45 years.

Half the country, including the best farmland, has been expropriated by a quarter million Europeans, leaving the inferior half to the seven million Africans. The settler state limits their herd size, sets the prices of their produce, and prevents them from growing specific cash crops. Transportation and communication networks mainly serve settler farm areas.

The intent of colonial land policy has been twofold: eliminate competition for white farmers and force Africans into wage labor. No

longer able to live from farming alone, 60% of adult men today work for wages in the foreign-owned mines, in factories, shops, or on plantations. Still, the average \$50 a month salary does not make ends meet and so these workers periodically return to farm with their families in the reserves. Sharing their time between the countryside and the towns, they feel the contrasts of white urban luxury and black rural misery and

*Tobacco grading warehouse*

*LSM*



experience the entrenched racism of their white bosses. These worker-peasants have developed a high level of working-class consciousness. They are a firm base of support for the revolution and spread its ideas as they migrate back and forth between the countryside and the city.

*Rich African farmers:* Some African farmers are relatively wealthy and employ labor from outside their own families. Before 1965 the wealthiest third of these farmers owned over half of all the land set aside for Africans and produced 70% of African-grown corn. Still, because of the tremendous restrictions on African farming, even the richest earned less than Africans employed permanently in industry.

"Rich" farmers could become a support base for a "moderate" black government but only if institutionalized settler advantages were at least curtailed. Under the Smith government, however, restrictions have tightened and African farming has further deteriorated. Understandably, the African Farmers' Union opposed previous settlement proposals which have stopped short of radical land reform.

*Urban Proletariat:* The big cities, Salisbury and Bulawayo, pound, blast, and hum with the activity of African wage-laborers who form a small permanent proletariat. Manufacturing, construction, and



*Cotton spinning*

UN

transportation workers earned an average of \$693 in 1975 (compared to \$7,953 for Whites). Unions are generally outlawed for Africans, except those such as railway and textile unions which won official recognition through hard-fought strikes in the late 1940's. African workers' support for independence erupted in 1972 in strikes against the Pearce Commission proposals which aimed at gaining international legitimacy for the Smith regime. The principal demands of these urban workers have been for the right to organize and for wages on which their families can live.

African demands for higher wages have by and large been ignored by settlers and foreign-owned corporations alike. To placate African workers, a neo-colonial government would have to make major concessions, including some that would jeopardize white privilege and decrease industrial profits.

*The "declassé":* Destitute landless peasants and educated youth unable to find work form a "declassé" or "lumpen" element. Many of these desperate lumpen join the Rhodesian army, which is over 60% black. Many others, frustrated and angry with the regime, join the Patriotic Front.

*African middle class:* With an eye to the future, Britain trained potential ruling elites in its colonies before retiring its flag from African soil. In Zimbabwe 50,000 Africans -

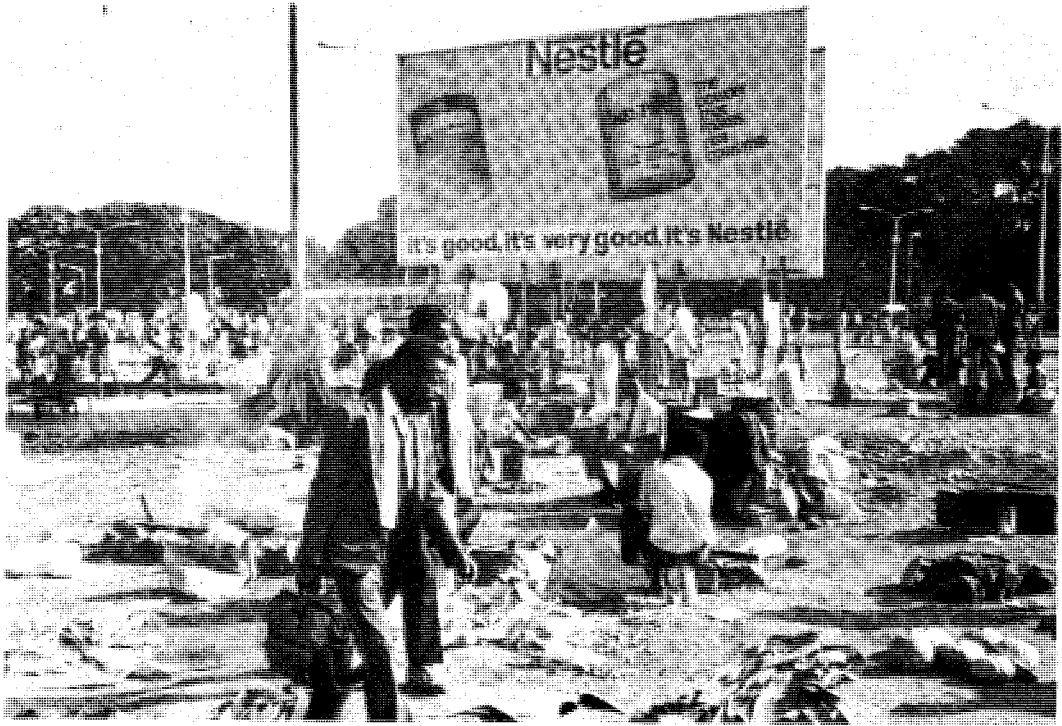
almost one per cent of the population - have obtained education beyond basic literacy; 5,000 hold university degrees - a large number compared to neighboring African countries.

As with all other Zimbabweans, the "petty-bourgeois" are also locked into an inferior position by the settler state. Only a few of them are hired by the civil service or the foreign corporations, both the preserve of white employees. As a consequence, about half are unemployed while most Zimbabwean university graduates live abroad.

"Many, like myself," explains ZAPU cadre Temba Moyo, "had good education and no physical handicaps whatsoever. Yet none of us earned enough to save even a few shillings a month. Every penny went for necessities. We realized that under the settler regime our material prospects were bleak. So, we thought, it was necessary to try to end this system."

At one time Moyo's aspirations might have been realized through a neocolonial arrangement. But the intransigence of the Smith regime dashed the hopes of the educated Africans. In the towns they observed more closely the opulence of settler life and felt more keenly the "color bar" than did the rural population. Their experiences steeled them for a long fight.

At least as many educated Zimbabweans have taken another



*Harare township market, Salisbury*

*LSM*

course. They prefer to stay in that shrinking area called "the middle," waiting for the battle to be fought out before they step in to enjoy the spoils of independence regardless of who leads the new government. Still others want only to "Africanize" - not revolutionize - the state.

Because of its social role and prestige - many are teachers and clergy - this group exerts influence far greater than its size. Within the Patriotic Front, Mugabe, Nkomo, and many other cadres share this background with Muzorewa and Sithole.

## Salisbury Stakes

Whoever wins Zimbabwe wins big. Zimbabwe supplies the capitalist West with many minerals such as chromium. The country is also very suitable for cash-crop agriculture and has a relatively developed industrial base. Britain and the US control manufacturing; mining is shared by these two plus South Africa. The Anglo-American bloc is thus not a disinterested mediator.

In spite of international sanctions, foreign economic

penetration has increased since Smith's government broke away from the British in 1965, and multinational agribusiness is now encroaching on farming, the settlers' last preserve. Initially sanctions against the country forced diversification of industrial production, bringing fat profits to parent companies overseas. While production increased, the British and US governments did not press for political change.

The balance sheet was altered by ZANU's effective 1972 - 1974 military campaign. Defense expenditures shot up, foreign capital balked, tourists stayed away. Imports could no longer be financed as before. Industrial production plummets as skilled per-

sonnel serve time in the army or emigrate to escape conscription. Some factories and plantations have closed altogether and prospecting for minerals has halted. The gray-suited magnates in London, New York, and Pittsburgh boardrooms now show less concern with the ultimate fate of the settler population than with acquiring new and more durable caretakers for their Zimbabwe operations.

### **The Settlers: Lame Ducks of the Colonial Past**

In the early years of this century thousands of Britons, attracted by a temperate climate, rich farmlands, and cheap labor, emigrated to Rhodesia. Some made their

*Settlers at shooting practice*

*LSM*



## Rhodesia's Colonial Legislation

*MASTER AND SERVANT ACT* of 1901 outlaws unions for most African workers.

*LAND APPORTIONMENT ACT* of 1931 limits the size of African farms, prohibits Africans from selling cattle for export or from growing tobacco, and gives much of the best land to Europeans.

*NATIONAL LAND HUSBANDRY ACT* of 1951 redivides the land giving still more to Europeans, abolishes African communal land ownership and restricts the number of cattle Africans can own.

*LAND TENURE ACT* of 1969 gives still more land to Europeans and further restricts the right of Africans to sell their crops.

*UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATIONS ACT*

*AND PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT* of 1959 bans nationalist organizations and orders the arrest of their leaders.

*LAW AND ORDER MAINTENANCE ACT* of 1960 permits the arrest of nationalists.

*MUNICIPAL ACT* permits the segregation of public facilities.

*AFRICAN EDUCATION ACT* makes education compulsory for Europeans but not for Africans.

*EMERGENCY POWERS ACT* of 1974 permits detention without trial, collective arrest and fines, forced resettlement, censorship of press.

*INDEMNITY AND COMPENSATION ACT* of 1975 grants immunity to public employees for harm done to citizens to prevent terrorism.

wealth by farming while others staffed the colonial civil service and worked for British companies. More recently, they have been joined by a flood of other Europeans seeking the good life of stables, servants, and swimming pools.

In 1923 Britain granted the settlers "internal sovereignty," which most importantly included control of the army and police. But because of foreign domination in the key mining and manufacturing sectors of the economy, an autonomous Rhodesian bourgeoisie never developed. When in the mid-sixties Britain prepared to decolonize, the threatened settlers responded by declaring full independence, yet they have remained mere administrators and farmers, dependent on foreign corporations and governments. No

longer useful to these foreign interests yet with much to lose themselves, the settlers have only the crudest means to resist being pushed off to the scrapheap of history.

Seven and a half thousand white farming families have the greatest stake in preserving the status quo. They are the only sizeable group of Whites to have lived in the country for more than a generation; they have the deepest roots and the greatest reluctance giving up their privileges. Economic sanctions since their break with Britain have hurt them and the government subsidies keeping them afloat are now threatened by the cost of the war. Many white farmers can no longer make a profit.

Rhodesian civil servants, workers, and the few entre-

preneurs might find it easier to live with majority rule than with the war. Still they resist the transfer of jobs and relaxation of restrictions which would undercut their privilege. The recent dismissal of the African co-minister in charge of police, Mr. Hove, who demanded swift affirmative action in bringing more Africans into the police force, reflects their uneasiness.

The pressures of the guerrilla war weigh heavily on white Rhodesians. Their economic worries are growing, the death toll is climbing; it is no longer a question of riding out the storm. Many will leave if the Front takes power; some like James McLaren, will stay to see how they can manage.

Few are willing to live on a par with Blacks.

## US and British Options

Ian Smith and his Rhodesian Front party have not so far met significant opposition from either liberals or ultraconservatives. Smith's strategy in defense of white power has been straightforward: hold on to as much as possible for as long as possible.

Only the war, and resulting economic problems, plus South African and Anglo-American arm-twisting forced his regime to make any concessions at all. The Salisbury Accords which would perpetuate the essence of the old system [see box] may have been the settlers'

### Salisbury Accords ("Internal Settlement")

1. Assembly of 100 members elected by voters over 18 years. All vote for 72 seats reserved for Blacks. Europeans have 28 reserved seats of which 20 are elected preferentially by white voters; 8 are elected by all voters from 16 candidates nominated by white Assembly members. These provisions hold for at least 10 years or two parliaments whichever is longer. The declaration of rights specifically mentions protection from deprivation of property and protection of pension rights. The judiciary, public service, police force, defense forces, and prison service will be maintained. Pensions can be remitted out of the country.
2. Transitional government to bring about ceasefire and handle the composition of military forces. (Restruc-

- turing of military leaves Europeans in full control.)
3. Transitional government to release political prisoners, remove discrimination, create climate for free, democratic elections, draft a new constitution based on this agreement, and set up procedures to register voters.
4. Executive Council includes Smith, Muzorewa, Chirau, and Sithole and makes policy decisions. Ministerial Council has equal numbers of black and white cabinet ministers; each post is shared by one white and one black. The Rhodesian Parliament continues to exist to pass electoral legislation, pass the budget, enact legislation and the new constitution, and to nominate 16 Whites for election.
5. Independence day will be 31 December 1978.

## Anglo-American Plan

1. Surrender of power by Smith regime and return to British colonial authority.
2. Orderly and peaceful transition to independence in 1978.
3. Free and impartial elections based on universal adult suffrage.
4. British-established transitional administration authorized to organize elections. The British-appointed Resident Commissioner (Lord Carver who fought the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya has been designated) has all legislative powers and can suspend the bill of rights. Existing colonial laws are validated. The present judiciary, the police force, and part of Smith's army are maintained.
5. The UN has a political and military presence during the transitional period.
6. An independence constitution is to specify that one-fifth of the members of the National Assembly are reserved for Europeans. This cannot be changed for 8 years or 2 parliaments. A bill of rights will exist for at least 4 years but can be suspended for up to 2 years.
7. Zimbabwe Development Fund provides protection from expropriation of property without compensation and protects pensions. Both pensions and compensation may be remitted abroad. The fund is financed by the US (40%), Britain (15%), and others.

last hope to preserve their African paradise. If the agreement continues to founder, international capitalism's heavies will have to find a way to remove Smith from the helm.

Anglo-American corporations control enough of the Rhodesian economy to soften the blow of a possible settler exodus a la Angola. Conversely, any government which might want to break Zimbabwe's dependence on the West will have to find new sources of fuel, machinery, spare parts, and technical expertise; new foreign markets for the country's products; and new con-

tributors of the credits and financial assistance that will be needed to get the economy on its feet. Imperialism's strong base in South Africa exerts tight control over Zimbabwe. Two of the country's black neighbors, Zambia and Botswana, too, find themselves in hock to capitalist institutions such as the World Bank.

Granted, the relationship is not totally one-sided; the Western powers need Zimbabwe's minerals and their corporations could use its industrial base to profit from trade with surrounding African countries. For this they need enough skilled Europeans in place to





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## Two Kinds of Nationalism

make the wheels of foreign-owned enterprises and the government machinery turn smoothly. They also need skilled and loyal Africans, whom they are willing to pay well.

The Anglo-American interest, in short, is "stability," that euphemism which better reads "exploitation as usual." Their proposed solution to the conflict [see box] removes some conspicuous fangs of settler rule but leaves most of its teeth intact. The Anglo-Americans have persuaded South Africa of their plan's merits and the African "frontline" supporters of the Patriotic Front have cautiously recognized it as a "basis for further negotiations." Both the British and the US keep their lines open to Smith, Muzorewa, and Sithole. Their hopes vis-a-vis the Patriotic Front are, as reported by the *New York Times*, to somehow entice the "more flexible" Nkomo to break with the "adamant" Mugabe and join the Salisbury group for a new set of talks.

Still they appear careful not to alienate any party; "stability" will best be served by a political settlement which can bring about a ceasefire and gain international recognition. The exact terms are less important since the Western powers already have the economic muscle to keep any radical deviation in check.

The pressures of the past year have crystallized the differences between the various black leaders and organizations. Chief Chirau remains under Smith's control with a negligible following. Muzorewa and Sithole both retain some credibility among Zimbabweans as nationalist leaders and do not depend on the Salisbury Accords for their political futures though their alliance with Smith has rapidly reduced their popular appeal.

Muzorewa in particular has tried to build his image as caretaker of African interests within the present interim government. He and Sithole both appear to have support from well-educated and skilled Africans who would immediately benefit from independence. Others who would benefit are also behind them: Muzorewa's recent visit to New York was hosted by Union Carbide, the largest American investor in Rhodesia. Neither the Bishop nor Sithole have so far articulated any program of changes to be implemented following Zimbabwe's independence.

By contrast ZANU and ZAPU make clear that independence will signal a socialist transformation of Zimbabwean society [see statements by Nkomo and Mugabe following this article]. True, the population density and the strength of the Rhodesian regime relative to other colonial governments

prevent the two organizations from practicing their doctrines in fully liberated areas as did FRELIMO in Mozambique. But the growing numbers of peasants and workers who now make up the Patriotic Front guerrilla forces are clear on their reasons for fighting: they want land reform, better wages, the right to organize, better social services - without which "majority rule" remains an empty phrase. The Front's ability to articulate and serve these needs will ultimately determine the nature of Zimbabwe's independence.

Meanwhile the Patriotic Front has not abandoned the idea of negotiations. While the war strengthens the position of the Patriotic Front, it also imposes great suffering on the population. Therefore the Front cannot afford to ignore any opportunity for a less costly solution. But as ZAPU has stated: "While such discussion is in progress, the armed struggle will continue to rage as ever before."

### Is Socialism Possible?

Behind the raging war and diplomatic jockeying looms this question: will capitalism survive Zimbabwe's independence? Or, viewed from the opposite end: is a socialist transition possible at this stage?

An agreement involving the Patriotic Front and the Anglo-American partners could produce



TO THE PEOPLE — LEGAL UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFERING

a ceasefire within the next year. The US and Britain will try to win their Zimbabwean partners - Muzorewa or some other national figure - a share of state power. The other share will be held by the Patriotic Front partners.

The Front might thus find itself in an uneasy coalition with reactionary settlers, a conservative bureaucracy, foreign corporations with backing of their governments, and a wide range of anti-Front Zimbabweans. In that case, the contest for Zimbabwe would hardly be over; as in

Angola, it would have just begun.

In the bush the Front is at least on more solid ground. Smith's few concessions so far have been filled with the noise of talks, yet always preceded by the music of shells. Nkomo recently predicted a military victory for the Front in "six to ten months," in which case there would no longer be occasion for negotiations.

Unity within the Patriotic Front is the key factor in any case. Alone, neither ZAPU nor ZANU can defeat the combined neocolonial forces. Renewed fighting between their two large guerrilla armies would destroy all hope for a socialist Zimbabwe for a long time to come.

The Western press is rife with speculation that the Patriotic Front is about to break up. The Front, the story goes, is a two-person arrangement with Mugabe, an intransigent, hardline Marxist, having little in common with the pragmatic powerbroker, Nkomo. Such stories have created confusion and division among some American supporters of ZAPU and ZANU.

It is hardly surprising that incidents occur - militants defect or fight among themselves - which can be seized on by opponents of Zimbabwean independence as proof positive that the Patriotic Front will not last. ZANU's Mugabe commented: "The problem of unity is that we cannot all of a

sudden form unity between parties which were separated and, frankly speaking, fighting each other for 15 years."

But, as Mugabe went on to explain, the old suspicions are gone and not only at the top. The construction of unity between ZANU and ZAPU is a protracted process, but it is a process which has now begun. In the unity of the Patriotic Front lies all the hopes, aspirations, and the future of the African people of Zimbabwe. To preserve and extend that unity and to carry it into battle is no easy task. But it must be accomplished if Zimbabwe is to begin the long climb out of the pit of colonial misery.

Have You Read  
The Organizer?

Growing up in rural Zimbabwe, Temba Moyo finds his aspirations blocked by the racist policies of the white Rhodesian regime and channels his discontent into the nationalist movement. Moyo's activities as Youth League activist, political prisoner, underground organizer, and ZAPU guerilla fighter illustrate the problems and growth of the liberation movement. The autobiography was edited by Ole Gjerstad and published in 1974. For your copy, send \$2.45 plus 50¢ postage to LSM Information Center.



Robert Mugabe

Robert Mugabe - *Afrique-Asie*,  
no. 158, 3 April 1978.

The towns of Bulawayo and Salisbury no longer escape the actions of our guerrillas even though Smith now has imposed a strict curfew around the capital. The northeast of the country (Motoko and the area around Mt. Darwin) . . . is practically liberated. In the Gutu region (north of Fort Victoria) the peasants have stopped paying taxes, bridges are destroyed, telephone lines cut, the colonial administration completely dismantled.

The land should belong to the State which is the protector of the people's interests. I'm speaking of a people's state which will promote the establishment of collective farms which will

play a role for the African farmers but not build up a privileged class. In other words, they must be integrated into the overall social system. That is our first point of departure.

In addition there will be full participation from the people in leading and controlling these new structures. To whom should the profits go? That is another question we have to answer. In the beginning, each person will receive the fruits of his labor; later we will start a process by which the profits come back to the people in their entirety.

I believe that though some settlers may adapt to the situation, the majority will probably prefer to emigrate, to Latin America or some other place. What I do know, however, is that it is not a question of Africanizing the colonial state but of destroying it. . . . Whites cannot be treated as a separate group. That would negate the non-racial society we want to build. Whites must be integrated with the people: Africans, Coloreds, Indians, and so forth. In short, Whites must be ready to take part in the new society as members of the population with no consideration to the color of their skin or their historic privileges.

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JOSHUA NKOMO in Lisbon - June 1977

Comrades, we in Zimbabwe, as part of the people of Southern Africa, have made up our minds that talking to an imperialist is like talking to a rock. . .

I have been talking for the last 30 years and finally I ended up in prison because of talking. But my comrades of ZAPU and ZANU carried out the armed struggle.

Then our friends of the Front Line States said to us: "Comrades, we have made it possible for you to get out of prison and talk to these people after ten years of war." We knew that it was impossible talking to Ian Smith. But it was important - this talking with Ian Smith, which came about as a result of our friends in the Front Line States demanding that all of us leaders imprisoned, be released.

We took the opportunity of coming together and forming a solid front. In 1975, we of ZAPU and ZANU decided that to be able to defeat the enemy, to be able to crack the rock without talking to it, but putting dynamite into it and cracking it, we had to come together. On the 10th of October 1976 we formed the Patriotic Front. . . .

[We] once worked together, parted ways, and now have realized that having worked separately, we could not put sufficient TNT into this rock to crack it. We brought in



Joshua Nkomo

UN

the two TNT's - ZAPU and ZANU - together; we have now placed it near this imperialist hard rock and the fuse is on.

The situation in Southern Africa is very complicated, they say, as there are white minorities who have built the country. Built the country? Our country was there before they came. Built or exploited the country? Which? Exploited the country of course. Now we are being told: "Be careful, be very careful. If you push the white people, they will get away with their skills." Get away with their skills? Skills are made. Why are our people not skilled after hundreds of years of colonization? Does it take a hundred years to make a skilled man? This is why these hypocrites must be thrown overboard, even if our people have no skill.

We started off with one gun, and now we have formidable armies. Nobody can take them away from us. We mean to finish the job, Comrades, within a very short space of time. Mr. Mugabe and myself are agreed that it is time we concluded the job and removed the fascist Ian Smith.

---

## Can the People of Zimbabwe

### Count on You?

To give the Zimbabwean people real control over the quality of their lives, the Patriotic Front is building a health care system. The Front must provide medical care for its fighters, for 100,000 refugees in camps in the front-line states, and for people living in liberated territory.

Under colonialism there is only one doctor per 100,000 Africans. Malnutrition is widespread; and malaria, tuberculosis, dysentery, and parasitic infestation are of epidemic proportions. Add to this the wounds of war, the increased susceptibility of people uprooted from their homes, and intentional spreading of typhoid and cholera by

Rhodesian forces - the problems are of immense proportions.

To meet these needs, the Patriotic Front is appealing for medical assistance. Bay Area community and political organizations have responded by forming the Zimbabwe Medical Drive Coalition and the parallel Black Community Task Force to raise \$50,000 in medicines and supplies.

"For every 30¢ you contribute," says the Coalition, "we can buy a vial of penicillin; \$15 buys a half pound of quinine to treat malaria; \$100, IV tubing for an entire ward; and \$3,000, a mobile medical van."

THE CAMPAIGN NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT. SEND IN YOUR DONATION TODAY.



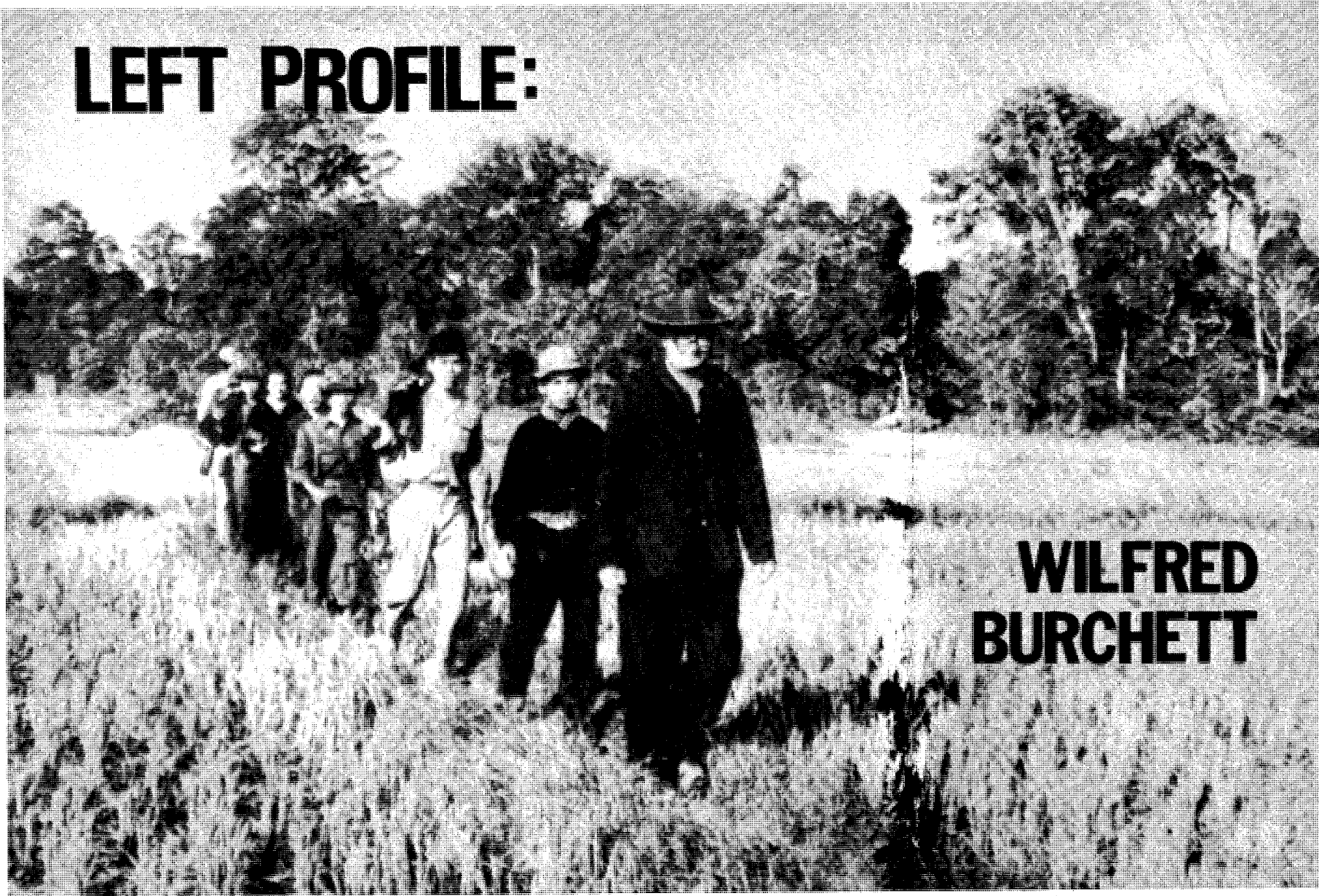
### **Build the Zimbabwe Medical Drive**

A war of national liberation is raging in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The Patriotic Front, which leads the struggle, is responsible for the health care of the liberation fighters, the refugees in Mozambique and other countries, and the people in the liberated areas of Zimbabwe. We are a coalition of Bay Area progressive groups and individuals who have committed ourselves to raising \$50,000 to buy medical supplies for the Zimbabwean people. You can help by sending your tax deductible donations to the:

**Third World Fund/Zimbabwe Medical Fund, P.O. Box 14362, San Francisco, Ca 94114.**



# LEFT PROFILE:



**WILFRED  
BURCHETT**

*Liberated zones, Vietnam 1975*

*Guardian*

Going places where people make history, Wilfred Burchett has traveled thousands of miles on six continents to get the facts on struggles for national liberation and socialism. In 40 years as a people's journalist, Burchett has written 30 books along with regular articles for the *Guardian* and Paris-based *Afrique-Asie*. His work has earned him the confidence of revolutionaries throughout the world and made him a target of exotic CIA schemes to silence him.

Burchett's writing on Indochina moved many young Americans to participate in the anti-war movement. We have continued to follow his firsthand accounts of African liberation struggles as well as his recent critiques of Eurocommunism. LSM recently interviewed Burchett while he toured the US for the *Guardian*.

Wilfred Burchett is a husky, jovial man who easily establishes rapport with people. Over bottles of Foster's Australian beer, and in a very Australian accent, he enthusiastically answers our questions, sometimes pursuing them into a maze of interesting detail.

How did Burchett establish the credibility which has given him access to revolutionary leaders in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, and Mozambique? From our own

experience, we know that a person does not just walk in off the street to interview leaders of liberation struggles.

"I first came to the notice of people like Ho Chi Minh," he explains, "by my reporting on the negotiations in Korea. Day after day I denounced the horrible American position there. After my stint in Korea I decided to go down to Vietnam to see what was going on before I went to the 1954 Geneva Conference. I wanted to know and see on the spot the situation in Indochina before I started to write. Ho Chi Minh knew me from my articles on Korea and I had immediate entree."

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"MY ROLE IS TO GO TO THE PLACES WHERE HISTORY IS BEING MADE."

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When no commercial publisher would print Burchett's first book on Vietnam, *North of the 17th Parallel*, the Vietnamese themselves published it. "Every interesting visitor to Hanoi was given a copy of that book," says Burchett. "And a lot of those interesting visitors were from liberation movements." So Burchett was not surprised when - on their first meeting - Angolan leader Lucio Lara pulled out a worn and marked-up copy of *North of the 17th Parallel* acquired on a clandestine visit to Vietnam.

## From Information Into Action

Burchett considers it a waste of his time to write for the bourgeois press where, at most, his readers might find his articles "interesting." He feels a great responsibility to "bring the truth to those who need it and not make mistakes that will lead them astray." But he makes no pretense at bourgeois "objective reporting" or "telling both sides." With 99% of the Western press writing in chorus, Burchett sees his role as throwing his typewriter on the other side of the scales. For instance he always felt that the Vietnamese were "thoroughly right" and believes it would have been hypocritical for him to try to present a French or American case.

"My role," Burchett explains, "is to go to the places where history is being made, where people are engaged in struggles for their independence, their national liberation, and bring the facts to the sort of people that are going to transform information into action."

But Burchett refuses to write irresponsibly. When the *Guardian* sent him to Beirut to cover the Palestinian movement, he found he lacked the background necessary to interpret the politically complex state of affairs and asked the paper

to assign someone else. He was concerned that his readers, accustomed to his reliable reporting from Korea and Indochina, might automatically accept what he wrote as gospel truth.

### Independent Radical Journalist

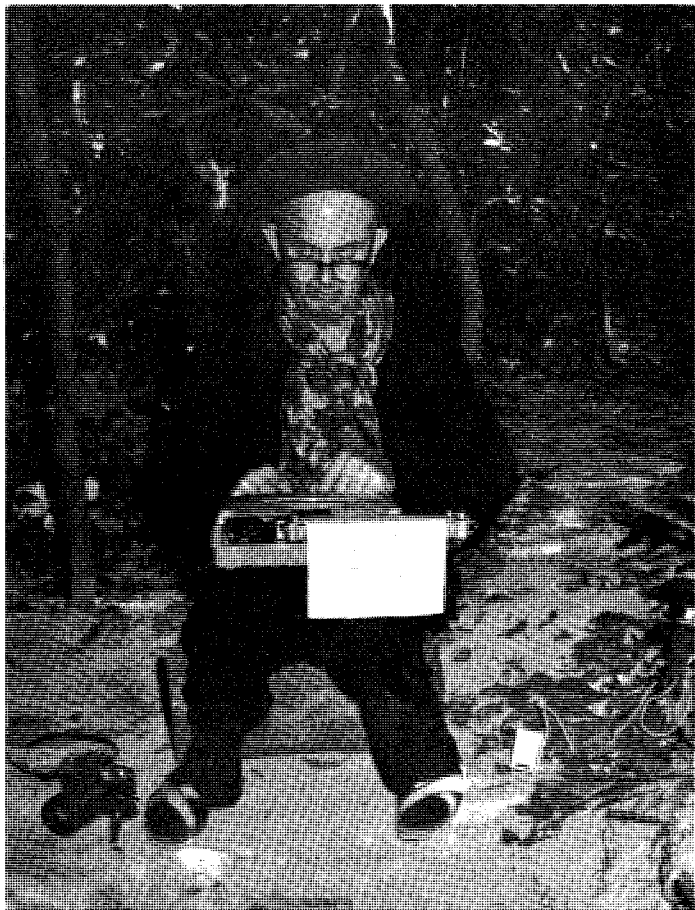
Whether he's covering Vietnam or Angola, Burchett presents the facts as he sees them and not as dictated by any outside influence such as the Sino-Soviet conflict. Bu Burchett has lived in both China and the Soviet Union and has given each critical support. In describing his attitude toward the split, Burchett recalls his visits to Vietnam.

"The first thing would always be to go and have breakfast with Ho Chi Minh. Very informally, we would chew over the whole world situation. And in the course of one of those early conversations, when the split had become evident, Ho said:

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BURCHETT PRESENTS THE FACTS  
AS HE SEES THEM AND NOT AS  
DICTATED BY ANY OUTSIDE  
INFLUENCE.

---



*At work in the Vietnamese jungle*

'We are deeply distressed about this. Our position is to do nothing which will increase the divergency and dissension. And if ever we can do anything which will reduce the differences, we will do it.' I found this coincided with my own viewpoint to within millimeters."

When Burchett began to cover Angola in 1975, he found the

Chinese refusing to support the MPLA, the only genuine liberation movement. China denounced the Cuban troops that assisted MPLA as "mercenaries." Burchett considers Cuban actions in Angola a good example of socialist internationalism, strikingly similar to the great sacrifices China made in Korea twenty years earlier.

---

"ALTHOUGH I MAY GET FLAK FROM ONE SIDE OR ANOTHER, I WOULD NEVER BETRAY MY READERS!"

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But Burchett did not rush his criticisms of the Chinese into print. First he tried contacting friends in the Chinese government with whom he had "that sort of relationship." He was surprised and disappointed to receive no response. In order to write accurately on Angola, Burchett felt he had to criticize the Chinese position. "I wrote a very critical article of Chinese foreign policy all the way from Chile to Angola - at a cost to my friendly relations which had existed for 30-odd years."

"Although I may get flak from one side or another," he comments, "I would never betray my readers!"

### **Under Fire by the CIA**

Most of the flak, though, comes not from sectarian critics but from the CIA and

its cohorts. Bourgeois "objective" journalists apparently fear even a single journalist presenting the other side. Why else has the CIA - with recently revealed close links to journalists - tried to bribe, slander, kidnap, and even assassinate Wilfred Burchett?

In Korea they offered him \$100,000 to switch sides. In Vientiane, Laos, they tried to poison him and later sprayed the Vietnam-Cambodia border area near Mim Moc with poisonous chemicals in a scheme to capture and interrogate him about the location of US prisoners of war. These schemes - likely to succeed in a James Bond film - fortunately failed in real life.

During Burchett's recent speaking tour in the US, an attack was launched from another source. The Hearst press and John Birch Society revived an old discredited charge that Burchett is an agent of the Soviet intelligence service, the KGB. The "evidence" is so flimsy that Burchett had a fine time needling his critics.

### **Breakfast at Kissinger's**

The US government took a different approach when Henry Kissinger invited Burchett to breakfast in 1972. The US had just unilaterally broken off secret talks with the Vietnamese and Kissinger was

apparently worried that he had made a mistake. He seemed to consider Burchett close enough to the Vietnamese that the breakfast invitation would serve as a signal that the US might resume talks.

But the Vietnamese, in good faith, had kept the talks secret even from Burchett who went to the breakfast purely out of curiosity. He told Kissinger that it seemed no one in the State Department had bothered to read the Vietnamese Seven Point Proposal which offered the US much of what it said it wanted.

"Frankly, I think the Seven Points are a bore," said Kissinger.

"Well," Burchett responded, "it seems a greater bore to be stuck with that regime in the South."

## Making of a Journalist

Again and again Burchett stresses the importance of seeing things for oneself, rather than relying on news reports, press releases, and communiques. In fact, it was the discrepancy between his own experience in pre-war Nazi Germany and reports on Germany in the Australian press which got him started as a journalist.

"I left Australia at the end of 1936 with the idea of fighting those fascists in Spain," Burchett explains, "but never made it in because

I didn't have any credentials. I was a very naive boy from the countryside and thought it enough to sell the farm, buy a ticket, and present myself as an ardent enemy of fascism."

In London he took a job as a clerk with a travel agency specializing in helping Jews to emigrate from Germany. There he also married a Jewish refugee.

In November of 1938 the Nazi ambassador to Paris was assassinated. Hitler responded with vicious attacks on Jews, and Burchett's new brother-in-law, still in Germany, disappeared. At the same time, the travel agency's communications with its Berlin office were cut.

Burchett, who spoke German, went to Germany to find his wife's brother, get him out, and help other Jews. He managed to get out twenty or thirty, including his brother-in-law.

At the same time, Burchett explains, "The premier of the Australian state of Victoria, Menzies, was in Germany and later he began making speeches in Australia about how clean the highways were, how the trains ran on time, and how the only stable, viable country in Europe was Germany." Hitler was a man of peace, Menzies' story went, and persecution of the Jews and concentration camps were absolute nonsense.

When he returned to Australia in 1939, Burchett was outraged when he saw Menzies' comments



*Reeducation center*

*Guardian*

reported in the newspapers. He bombarded the papers with letters describing the repression and intensive military preparations he had seen in Germany. He warned that war was certain within a few months. Though none of the letters were printed, the editors remembered him when war broke out and asked him to write articles on Germany.

"Then Menzies became Prime Minister of Australia," continues Burchett, "and started the same business about Japan, that it was the one solid country in Asia and it was very mistaken to suggest that Japan was going to enter World War II."

Burchett wrote more letters challenging Menzies. He wrote

about his stop on the way back to Australia at New Caledonia where he witnessed Japanese prospecting for strategic minerals. Again Burchett went unpublished.

During this period Australian dock workers militantly refused to load war materials for Japan even though Menzies called in the police and army. Greatly affected, Burchett determined to prove what Japan was up to.

"I wrote a book about the Japanese in New Caledonia and got enough out of it to finance a trip up the Burma road into China, having a look at what was going on in Malaya, Singapore, and Burma - all of which reinforced my certainty that Japan was

going to come into the war," Burchett recalls.

He wrote free-lance articles for Australian papers. Then the London *Daily Express* offered him a job as war correspondent in the China-Burma-India theater when war broke out in the Pacific.

Burchett learned from these early experiences that "it's not bad to enter into journalism because you're simply burning to say something, especially on a terribly important issue. And there's no more important issue than peace and war."

After the war he was sent to Berlin. "The cold war started and I was not at all convinced that all the fault for it was on the Soviet side. As the *Daily Express* correspondent, I was at the center of everything, very respectable; American generals would take me into their confidence quite sure that I was one of them.

"But I and a lot of my colleagues from Reuters and BBC were absolutely appalled. There was no question that the United States really wanted to get a war going in Europe towards the end of 1948. That was a period in which the strategic objective of American policy was defined as 'Operation Roll-back.' And they did their best; it was only the very strong nerves of the Russians that kept them from falling for all sorts of provocation."

There was a new society de-

veloping in Eastern Europe which the Western press totally ignored. Burchett decided to go and see for himself.

He spent a year in Budapest for the London *Times*. After this assignment, Burchett decided to break with Fleet Street - home of the bourgeois press - for good.

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"IT'S NOT BAD TO ENTER INTO JOURNALISM BECAUSE YOU'RE SIMPLY BURNING TO SAY SOMETHING."

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When he heard about the Korean War, Burchett immediately suspected that General Clay's failure to spark a war in Europe had been moved to Asia by Douglas MacArthur. Burchett covered the armistice talks as a correspondent for *L'Humanite*, the French Communist Party newspaper.

Burchett now lives in Paris where his daughter studies Asian history at the Sorbonne. One day she brought home a reading list which included three of her father's books. Burchett took pride in this; his books not only serve the immediate needs of the struggles they describe, they are also lasting sources of valuable human lessons. Burchett's own favorite titles include *Vietnam: Inside Story of the Guerrilla War*, *Vietnam Will Win*, and *China, the Quality of Life*.

At age 66, Burchett maintains a rigorous routine. Normally he writes from 4 a.m.

to 1 p.m., then rests or visits friends. Though he is currently writing his memoirs, Burchett adamantly denies he is retiring. "Some people are anxious for me to get it all down just in case I should suddenly fall under a bus," he jokes.

But whether he gets it all down or not, a generation of radicals, anti-imperialists, and socialists owes a great deal to Wilfred Burchett. The man on the spot has brought us knowledge of the pivotal struggles of our time. We rely on him for accurate information. He relies on us to act decisively.

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## Namibia: SWAPO Fights for Freedom

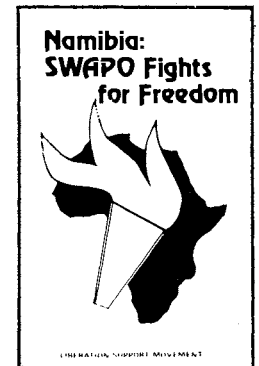
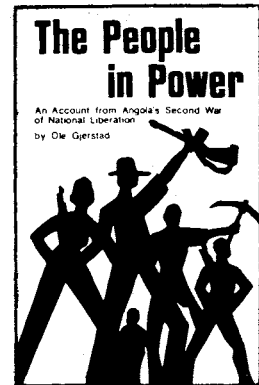
This collection of articles, interviews, and documents of and by SWAPO's president, the Central Committee, a political commissar of the People's Liberation Army, women combatants, a labor organizer, and other activists is the most in-depth current information available on Namibia and the liberation movement. The introduction by LSM covers the history and political economy of Namibia.

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## **Book Review:**

# **Imperialism and Human Survival**

Malcolm Caldwell: *The Wealth of Some Nations*, London, Zed Press, 1977.

Life in the industrialized countries is decaying. No longer only the moral judgment of a few prophets of doom, it is a process that doctors, social workers, psychologists, teachers, and police chiefs throughout Europe and North America desperately try to understand.

They point to frightening rates of drug abuse and alcoholism, growing malnutrition in the urban centers, falling literacy levels in the public schools, and a long list of other social deficiencies in North America and Europe. The largest US cities face bankruptcy, and social assistance programs are cut back by all sectors of government. Politicians scurry to cater to the much-publicized middle-class backlash.

Malcolm Caldwell's provocative contribution in *The Wealth of Some Nations* is to place this decay in its proper perspective. He shows how human life, despite the tech-

nological wonders of our age, remains subject to basic laws of nature. He demonstrates how the bloated and irrational organization of life in the industrialized - he calls them "overdeveloped" - countries rests upon a degree of exploitation of people and resources which cannot last for long. Natural and social factors converge to reverse the "Western initiative" that has dominated world history over the past four hundred years.

## **Fuels and Food**

Caldwell's first concern is to show his readers the "objective natural limits" to the growth of a civilization like ours which bases its very existence on the tapping of non-renewable resources. His concern is well-placed because many people, including many socialists, believe that - with or without the Revolution - our future holds more and more of the labor-saving gadgetry and consumer goods which have come to characterize our epoch. Such people ignore the fact that the main

energy source upon which our present existence is founded will soon be depleted.

Until a few hundred years ago, humans made few improvements in the process of food production. The world's population grew slowly and in some periods even declined. Starting with the Agricultural Revolution in Europe 250 years ago, innovations appeared. Better machinery, transportation, and refrigeration led to greater production. The application of fertilizers and, later, pesticides, to the soil raised protein yields to levels previously thought impossible.

These innovations, which made

possible the explosive population growth of the past 200 years, moved food production from a dependence upon sunshine to a dependence on materials stored in the earth. Gasoline, plastics, synthetic fibers, fertilizers, and pesticides - all derive from fossil fuels: sediments of organic matter which have been transformed into coal, oil, and natural gas by a process that started 400 million years ago.

The problem, of course, is that fossil fuels are in finite supply. The very organization of life in the industrialized countries has become tied to this resource which, according

*Zimbabwe*

*UN*



to the National Academy of Sciences, will only last "about a century" if present trends continue. Other major power sources (solar and nuclear) are available but exist in forms that corporations are unable or unwilling to utilize in economically and socially acceptable ways.\*

Caldwell drives home the point by showing how our reliance on fossil fuels flies in the face of one of the basic laws of the universe, the Second Law of Thermodynamics: the total energy available in any form other than heat (e.g. chemical, mechanical, electrical, and electromagnetic) can only be used up, never increased. Thus it makes some sense to use the fossil fuels for their unique chemical properties. But when they are used for power, "the original free energy has been dissipated so diffusely in the form of heat, smoke, and ashes that it has become irrecoverable for human purposes." It took millions of years of sunlight energy to build up our supply of coal and oil but only hundreds to burn it up.

### Overdevelopment and Protein Imperialism

The capitalist countries that

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\*We do not intend to deny the feasibility of using the sun's energy in heating. We are primarily referring to solar cells for generating electricity.

depend most on coal and oil are also the most wealthy and the most powerful. For this very reason, political more than economic, Europeans and North Americans continue to resist the required reorganization. Colonial and imperialist exploitation of other peoples and their resources (including fuels and raw materials) has taken place for so long that we take for granted that it will continue indefinitely.

Since the rise of capitalism and industrialization and their attendant expansion throughout six continents, personal income and wealth in the "metropole" have increased phenomenally. All sectors of the population of the advanced capitalist countries, including the working class through its economic struggles, have benefited materially.

Concern for the powerless and for future generations is irrelevant; decisions are based on what is directly and immediately in the interests of those who wield power here and now. In short, the present momentum is too strong for fundamental change to be expected from those now in power.

Nevertheless change - unplanned and unwanted - is on the agenda: "A large number of the conventional indices of development have begun to reverse direction in recent years in the rich countries." Caldwell's statistics show that, in the richest countries, life



*Mother Jones*

expectancy is dropping, people spend a growing proportion of their incomes on food, and the nutritional value of the diet is declining.

Since World War II, for instance, Americans have reduced their consumption of dairy products, vegetables, and fruit by 20 - 30%, while increasing their consumption of "sugary snacks and soft drinks" by 70 - 80%. Similar figures concerning general health conditions, pollution problems, and school performance reinforce the impression that in some ways, "progress" has come to a halt. In other words, conditions we thought would always improve are starting to get worse.

"Cancerous bureaucratic multiplication" is another warning signal to our way of life.

More and more people make their living by performing non-essential "services" for each other; fewer actually produce anything. Between 1961 and 1974 the ratio of non-industrial to industrial employment rose 34% in the UK, 19% in France, and 14% in West Germany. In the US, the number of blue-collar workers and farmers has risen 4% over the past 30 years compared to 112% for white-collar and service workers.

This situation in the capitalist metropolises has been made possible, first, by machinery and work methods which have raised the productivity of workers and, second, by imperialist exploitation of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Development engenders underdevelopment in the poor countries where life is a complete reversal of that in the rich ones. While the "non-productive" occupations flourish in the latter, more and more Third World workers toil to supply Europe and North America with fuels, raw materials, and, increasingly finished manufactured goods.

In 1970, for example, Third World countries produced 64% of the world's bauxite but consumed only 6% of the finished aluminum. While Europe consumes 386 pounds of fertilizer per hectare of land under permanent crops, Asia's share is 45 pounds, Latin America's 38 pounds, and Africa's a meager 17 pounds. The amount of meat consumed in the US alone could be used to make up 90% of the

protein deficiency of the entire world. Yet because of the domination of capitalist agribusiness and trade mechanisms, both Africa and Asia export high-protein vegetables, meat, and fish and import high-carbohydrate foodstuffs. "From the earliest period of European expansionism," Caldwell writes, "we should note a kind of protein imperialism whereby the people of the rich countries . . . take the [high quality] food out of the very mouths of the poor and replace it with low quality foodstuffs."

### End of an Era

Today, the scarcity of fuel for modern machinery and the growing impact of liberation movements in the poor countries signals the end of an era. As oil and coal become increasingly difficult to obtain and new regimes in the Third World keep a larger share of raw materials for themselves, overdevelopment will become impossible to maintain.

The present decay within the metropole, though difficult to evaluate in political terms, can only accentuate the crisis of imperialism. In the future, the decisions made in the West "will increasingly consist of reactions and adaptations to pressures from . . . the countries of the Third World." Caldwell notes that the people of the advanced capitalist countries will have to choose between a long and slow decline

into something like the "dark ages" and a revolutionary reorganization of their society.

Caldwell rejects fatalism by drawing on his experience as a scholar specializing in Asia. China, North Korea, and the countries of Indochina show how people can indeed live comfortably within the limits imposed by nature. More and more people are becoming conscious of the crisis, he argues, yet he emphasizes that the necessary adjustments will be painful and their direction uncertain. As living conditions continue to deteriorate, against whom will people's dissatisfaction be directed?

His honesty in posing questions and rejection of dogma



add strength to Caldwell's analysis. His conclusions will provoke many readers, but his thorough research will make it difficult to simply shrug off Caldwell's message.

The one notable exception to his non-dogmatic method concerns Caldwell's scattered references to the Soviet Union. Because the USSR has adopted a policy of industrialization and technological development in many ways similar to that of the West, Caldwell regards it as an overdeveloped country, "regardless of the prevailing relations of production."

But the discussion of overdevelopment is based entirely on data on capitalist countries of the West and Caldwell's unsupported statements that the USSR fits the same pattern are not convincing.

Comments such as, "the USSR frequently engineers barter type agreements, holding down the exchange value of (imported) raw materials," or "they actively cultivate imperialistic neocolonial relations" are never substantiated. In a time when nonsectarian and nondogmatic study of the nature of the Soviet system is important to socialists everywhere, Caldwell's off-handed "observations" are of no help.

There are weaknesses, too, in the organization of the manuscript. The reader is frequently sidetracked from the main line of argument only to return pages later feeling lost. A different editing of the text

would have made Caldwell's important contribution more accessible to nonacademic readers.

But these flaws do not outweigh the value of Caldwell's provocative reinterpretation of human society and its means of survival. The questions Caldwell raises will be with us for a century or more and are certainly fundamental problems of the world's transition to socialism. Those who ignore them will be rudely jolted by future events.

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# mbiro, little giant

## The Story of Sana na N'Hada

*Most of the world first learned about the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau through the incisive speeches and writings of its late leader, Amilcar Cabral. Cabral's strength as a leader was above all rooted in his closeness to his people; his ability to understand and articulate their frustration with colonialism, their aspirations for freedom, their willingness to sacrifice. "Our people are our mountains," Cabral responded when asked how the PAIGC guerrillas of his small flatland nation could challenge the colonial power.*

*But only a few Guinean people have been able to tell their stories about colonial oppression and the liberation war. Therefore, in early 1975, only a few months after the last Portuguese troops had left the now liberated former colony, LSM members Chantal Sarrazin and Ole Gjerstad visited Guinea-Bissau to*



*record the people's own history. For three months they criss-crossed the small country by jeep, foot, and canoe; sharing food and housing with the people who still give the Guinean revolution its force.*

*In collaboration with PAIGC and the government of Guinea-Bissau, LSM Press is preparing to publish the results of this visit. Our forthcoming book, To Live Better and in Peace, contains six autobiographies related to our team. The stories are those of women and men, old and young, educated and illiterate, guerrilla*



leaders and peasants.

The following are excerpts from the story of Sana na N'Hada. Born 28 years ago in the village of Enxale, Sana's early life paralleled those of most other poor peasant boys. He was thirteen when the liberation war engulfed the Enxale region. After spending several years in the forest and training as a medic, Sana was sent to Cuba for general education and training as a filmmaker. He returned to his country and filmed the last years of the war. Today he works for the Department of Information in Bissau, the capital city.

\* \* \* \* \*

One day soon after the rains started, I came home after locking up the animals. Dad had just arrived from the fields, but his hands were red and swollen. Mom was all upset, crying and wanting to know what had happened.

But Dad was in great pain. "Just get me some salt water, quick." He dipped his hands in the bowl and just sat there for a while. "If you want to know, go and ask the *cipaios*,\* I don't know why they beat me."

Apparently some drunken *cipaios* had come by the field while Dad was working and had beaten him with a *palmatoria*†

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\*Police, generally Africans.

†Paddle with small conical holes which pull in the skin of the palm of the hand causing intense pain.

for no reason at all. It was the first time I had seen my father in a condition like this, and it upset me so much that I cried all night. A week passed before he could work again.

A couple of months later, around the middle of August, I spent the night at Grandpa's hut with a friend. In the middle of the night my friend started shaking me, "Sana, get up, hurry!"

This was no hour for games, so I just turned over. "Go away, let me sleep."

"If you don't get up, we'll leave without you," he insisted.

When I got outside, everyone was ready to go. In the distance I heard gunfire. We walked to the forest with me making up the rear, confused and reluctant. I had no idea what was going on. We stayed in the bush until we heard no more shooting. The tall grass was wet and cold, and I was shivering by the time we got back home.

The following morning the Portuguese sub-lieutenant sent all the *cipaios* in Enxale to gather the elders at the military camp. There were about one hundred families in our village, but only three elders went. "I'm not going," my grandfather said. "I don't know what has happened, but I'm sure it's bad news." My father agreed.

Only later did we hear that a group of guerrillas had at-

tacked the camp during the night. The *tugas*\*\* responded by firing in all directions and shot up many of the nearby *morancas*.†† The people fled to join the guerrillas. Now, the Portuguese wanted revenge; two of the elders who reported to the camp were beaten to death and the third barely managed to escape.

That evening all women and children in our part of the village left for the forest. The men stayed behind to look after our property. The rain had been pouring without stop for several days and the fields were flooded so we had to use the road and the hillside trails. The tall grass and bushes cut deep into my skin. Some older boys checked to see that the road was clear. My mother carried my two year old sister while I helped my little brother along. I still didn't understand why we had to go through all this; I'd much rather sleep in the warm, dry hut.

\* \* \* \* \*

We didn't have time to leave [the camp in the forest -ed.] before the next raid came. It was about five in the evening and the women had started to prepare supper when four Fiat

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\*\*African term for Portuguese soldiers.

††Living compound of an extended family made up of several huts for sleeping and cooking.

jets appeared. This time they were right on target; the first bombs fell very close. People were screaming and running around. I was terrified from the noise; I still didn't know that planes could kill like that. When the Fiats left, a group of B-26 planes took over. One of our neighbors was running across the open space in our direction when they came in just over the treetops. "Down, down," we shouted, "the pilot will see you." But the first plane had already let go with its guns and dust came up all over.

When the noise finally died down, I got up, still shaking. Somebody was sobbing in the shelter next to ours, and when I went over to look, I found a pregnant woman with a baby in her arms. The woman was dying; the child had been hit in the hand. Another woman had a broken jaw. I ran back to my mother, almost beside myself with fear. Mom, however, didn't give me much comfort. "You, the eldest one," she said with scorn, "the one responsible for the family, and now you are scared."

That night I couldn't eat or sleep. At five a.m. we got up, prepared our food for the day and went to another village. We could see the planes attacking Malafu village once again.

When we returned after dark, our shelters were in ashes. Still, the planes had not finished their work. Just as we

were trying to rebuild some kind of shelter from the remains of the first one, the B-26 came roaring back. This time Mom made no sign to leave. "I'm tired of running; I'm staying right here." She picked up my baby sister and held her close.

But I panicked completely. I saw a woman running for the bush and my little brother followed her instinctively, screaming in terror. I headed in their direction, but the woman chased us away. "Shut up, go some other place."

I looked at her, my eyes wide open. I was at once so angry and afraid that I ceased thinking. I just grabbed my brother around the head and pressed him close to me. We stayed like that during the whole attack; upright and out in the open.

That night brought me no sleep either. I really hated that woman. I could not understand why she had chased us away like that. It was as if all the terrible things happening were her fault.

\* \* \* \* \*

During this time [after one year or so in the forest -ed.] Caetano Semedo, our commander, told me to teach the other boys gymnastics. I directed a group of 19 younger boys, and one of my pals had a group of 21. Every day we lined up for exercises. We also learned to handle "weapons" - except that we

had nothing but sticks.

Of course, we really wanted to learn to shoot. Caetano, however, wouldn't let us; we would just be knocked flat, he said. So we kept pestering him. We also wanted to go watch an ambush. "That way," we said, "we'll learn to fight."

"You're crazy," he said. "Go away."

But one day he finally changed his mind. He gave an old, heavy rifle to one of my friends and pointed into the forest. "Fire!" Caetano said. "Shoot all you want."

The shot knocked my friend flat off his feet and the rifle went clanging to the ground. When I saw this, I tried to sneak away - discretely. But Caetano had me by the arm. "Ah, you better try it, too," he laughed. "Today you're going to shoot, my friend."

He gave me a lighter weapon, a G-3 Portuguese automatic, but even that was too much for me. I couldn't hold it still enough to take proper aim, and when I pulled the trigger, I fell backwards into the arms of a guerrilla standing behind me. As we boys trudged away from the place, our heads bent in embarrassment, Caetano knew that he would have peace for a while.

\* \* \* \* \*

At the end of 1964 Caetano changed his quarters to another base in the Sara region. He took five of us boys with



*Sana with Caetano*

*LSM*

him for "staff." He called us by number. I was number 26, i.e. the 26th man on the base, ranking below all the guerrillas and the adults. One of my friends was number 18, another one 36.

During the day we stood guard outside Caetano's shelter. To get there you had to pass between the other guerrillas' huts to where we blocked the entrance. Anyone who wanted to see Caetano had to tell us the nature of the visit. The boys at the first position would then tell another "little officer" stationed at Caetano's doorway. The reply would re-

turn by the same route. If Caetano said, "Send him in," we would escort the visitor into the hut and stand at attention while the two of them conducted their business. We guarded our assignment with great jealousy.

\* \* \* \* \*

In late 1965 I was sent to Mores to become a first aid assistant. When I got there, after a long and dangerous walk through a zone controlled by the Portuguese, I arrived one evening and was taken right away to see Simao Mendes,

the cadre in charge of the first aid course. He carefully read my papers, then looked at me. He was upset. "I asked for a strong man," he said, "for somebody to carry wounded people. But you... you couldn't carry anything! You don't belong here; you're going back."

What he said was true, but I was offended anyway. It was always the same problem; when it came to combat - too small; for nursing - too small. I was tired of hearing that. I was going to answer Simao Mendes, but one of his assistants signalled me to keep my mouth shut.

Simao, of course, had reason to be angry. It was essential that our medics could get the wounded to safety in a hurry; many of the battles were at close range, and when the Portuguese found blood, they tried to follow the track. But at that moment, I didn't want to understand.

Simao's deputy, Joao da Costa, came over. Simao showed him my papers. "What are we going to do with this?" he snorted, pointing my way. "How many wounded do you think that one could carry?"

Joao da Costa was looking at me. "How old are you?" he asked.

"Seventeen," I lied. If I told them I was fifteen, I would be sent back for sure.

"You're not telling the truth," da Costa said sternly. "How far did you go in school?"

"Third year of primary."

"Hmmm. We'll see tomorrow," he finally said. He probably would have to wait to convince Simao.

\* \* \* \* \*

There were so many wounded. The fighting at Mores was getting worse and worse. At the end of every day, after seeing nothing but blood and wounded and dying people, I sat in my little shelter and wondered what I was doing in this place. I didn't like to treat people when they were yelling and screaming all the time. I lost my appetite - though there wasn't much to eat anyway. For a week I cried every day. I didn't know anybody here at Mores. Caetano was far away and so was my family. And all the other medic students were older than I. So I sat in my hut, feeling abandoned and crying with loneliness.

After ten days or so Osvaldo Vieira arrived at the base. He was the chief commander of the Northern Front and we had met one year earlier in Sara. At that time he promised to send me to Conakry to flying school, but he must have forgotten.

He was surprised to see how much I had grown. He could hardly believe it was me. After that, we spent much time together; we talked about all kinds of things. Finally I had someone I knew.

At the end of our six-week

course, we had examinations. I came out with the highest marks despite the fact that I had arrived two weeks into the course. That day, Joao da Costa was very pleased with me. Chico Mendes, too, the chief political commissar of the North, was all smiles. He called me *mbiro* - the invincible man, a little giant. This made me very happy. Now I had three friends: Osvaldo, Joao da Costa, and Chico Mendes.

\* \* \* \* \*

Three Cuban doctors had arrived to work with us. The bombings were heavy now, and every day there were many wounded and killed. After one raid on Iracunda, a woman was brought to us. She had been cut up by shrapnel and her intestines were hanging out.

The Cuban whom I was working with decided to operate on the spot. "If we send her to the border, she'll die on the way," he said. "These aren't the best of conditions, but we have no choice."

This was the first time I took part in an operation. Before I had always watched from a distance. I was very curious to see what the doctor would do.

I started to set up the operating table under a big tree so that we would be covered in case of a raid. But the doctor protested. "We have to be in the open or we'll get

dirt all over," he said. Even when I tried to explain, he insisted. He had never been in a raid, this doctor.

Well, he had just opened the woman's belly completely when the Fiats arrived and started bombing all over. The patient was under anesthesia. A woman nurse and I cut the ropes that held the stretcher to the table and carried the stretcher off into the thicket. The doctor held a sheet over the exposed stomach to prevent leaves and dirt from falling into the wound. Our white sheets and the silvery table were as visible as snow. I was sure all the planes would aim their bombs straight at us.

Fortunately the raid lasted only half an hour, and we managed to finish the operation before the anesthesia wore off. But during the night, the woman got delirious and fought to get up. I had to call a friend to help me keep her down. The doctor wanted to do another incision, then move the patient, but for four straight days the planes never gave us a break. On the fourth day the woman finally gave up and died.

We all felt very depressed about this, especially the Cuban comrade. In a way, I felt responsible for his problems here - all the bombings, the impossible working conditions, the lack of food. He was a foreigner and yet he shared all our suffering and privations. I think we all felt that way about the doctors

who came to work with us.

\* \* \* \* \*

In 1970 [in Cuba -ed.] all the students went to the countryside to take part in the Ten Million Ton Harvest. We lived with the Cuban cane workers. We also met the Venceremos Brigade, the second contingent of young Americans who came to work in Cuba. It seems to me I talked non-stop for the four days we spent with them. They asked a thousand questions, and I talked, talked, talked - about the struggle in Guine, about our history, about the problems of Africa.

I still remember Duncan McQuichan from Philadelphia; there were comrades from New York, Oregon, and Arizona. Some were Mexicans and Puerto Ricans. Then there was a girl whose father worked in the armaments industry.

When she told me that her father wanted the Americans to fight in Vietnam because his job depended on it, I was shocked. I began to understand something new at that point, but the fact that simple working people could want war to save their jobs - this was very difficult for me to cope with. There must absolutely be another way of making a living than by manufacturing arms.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ivan, one of the Vietnamese

students, became my best friend in Cuba. Ivan was only his *nom de guerre*, but nobody ever called him by his real name. I don't know whether he was from the South or the North, because the Vietnamese never made that distinction; they always insisted there is only one Vietnam.

Ivan had never known peace until he arrived in Cuba. He was born during the war and none of his relatives were alive; his parents, his brothers, his uncles - all had been killed in the war. Ivan himself had been wounded three times.

Every Saturday there was a Vietnamese film at the school and Ivan would take me, but I never learned enough Vietnamese to understand well. We studied Spanish together, and on Sundays we played soccer, ping pong, and chess. When I wrote letters to my family, Ivan always added a few sentences for himself. Every week he asked if I had had an answer. He seemed very worried about my family.

Before I left Cuba, Ivan gave me a gift, a small diary that he had made himself, with his name and mine in Vietnamese. That is a souvenir I want to keep with me for the rest of my life.

\* \* \* \* \*

My first solo mission as cameraman [back in Guinea-Bissau -ed.] was to film the attack on the Portuguese bastion of Guidage, near the bor-

der with Senegal, in May 1973. I was stationed with the artillery, and our job was to neutralize the long-range gun at another camp which was part of Guidage's support system.

My assistant - a young boy - and I were heavily loaded with film, batteries, and the camera. We were down in a deep trench, next to the rocket launcher commanded by Samba Limane, who is today Minister for Agriculture and Livestock. Our battery was to begin the attack which was set for midnight.

"Are you ready?" Samba Limane asked. "Here we go."

I began filming as our weapon roared with fire and thunder. The blue smoke made it difficult to get clear pictures. The earth behind the weapon was burned black.

We fired five rounds before the Portuguese caught on. But they needed only a couple of rounds to zero in their deadly 155 millimeter howitzer. One shell landed only ten meters from our trench. We heard it coming and were flat on our stomachs when it exploded. Even so, my mouth, nose, and ears filled with dirt and I was completely deafened. Everybody was shaken up. The enemy dropped four shells like that right on us, and it was a miracle that nobody was hurt. I protected my camera with my body.

Then it was our turn once more. Each of our three rocket-launchers fired 15 rounds,

interrupted by return salvos from the Portuguese. At dawn we were out of ammunition, and Samba Limane gave the order to retreat. The Portuguese kept hitting us as we slowly withdrew. When they fired a round, our group hit the dirt until the shell had exploded. I was totally deafened and could hear nothing, so I watched the others closely; when they went down, I followed; when they got up, so did I.

\* \* \* \* \*

On 11 October [1974, after the final agreement for the Portuguese to withdraw -ed.] I arrived in Bissau, the capital of my country, for the first time. There were three of us who were to report to the Information Office. Portuguese troops filled the streets. I felt very tense.

The Information Office was not yet open so we sat down in a sidewalk cafe. The place crawled with Portuguese soldiers. On the floor next to us a shoeshine boy was crying. He had shined the boots of one of the soldiers who, instead of paying, had poured a glass of water over the boy's head. The soldier, a fat guy, was still in his chair, laughing.

One of my friends asked the waiter for a glass of water. When it arrived, he gave it to the boy. "Pour this on his head," my friend said.

The boy, naturally, looked hesitant. But when three of



us got up to back him up, he finally mustered all his courage and threw the water in the fat soldier's face.

The place suddenly went dead quiet. The soldier looked stupefied, his uniform shirt soaking wet and water dripping from his face. Nobody moved. I was perspiring heavily; the revolver, hidden under my shirt, was itching against my skin.

But nothing happened. My comrade quietly told the soldier to pay the boy, who took the money and promptly disappeared. I could feel a hundred pairs of eyes in my back as we, too, walked out of the cafe, close together.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sometimes I wonder what my life would have been like if there had been no PAIGC, no liberation struggle. I would surely have still been at Enxale, growing rice, exploited and mistreated by the colonialists, working without pay and beaten for nothing.

I would have known nothing about politics. How could I? Most of the colonialists themselves knew nothing; even Africans who went to study in Portugal came back knowing nothing about the world situation. If there were no PAIGC, I would not have studied or known anything about filmmaking. What has happened almost seems miraculous. And it is the same for most of our people.

My dream is to become a very good filmmaker. I want to help create films to show the world what has happened in our country - how we lived under colonialism and how we managed to regain our freedom and dignity. Those of us who fought in the struggle already know this, but there are many people in our country who are still not clear on what it all means. And we want to teach our children, too.

In the same way, there are many people in the world who don't know what we have gone through, we and the other peoples of Africa. If we want them to be on our side, if we want to work together, then we must help inform them. This is what I hope to do with my life now that my country is liberated and at peace.

# LSM Notes

## Why Zed?

At a time when most capitalist publishers are cutting back their radical titles in favor of bigger money-makers, it is good to find someone with the guts to go ahead and fill the gap. Zed Press of London is off to a smashing start with Malcolm Caldwell's *The Wealth of Some Nations* (reviewed elsewhere in this issue). Zed's catalog includes books on the political economy of imperialism, on women in Africa and Asia, on South Africa, Israel, and on US imperial history.

Dedicated to producing texts on revolutionary situations, we at Zed intend to provide literature of a varied kind, from different Marxist standpoints, to contribute both to theoretical debates and to the actual political struggle. . . . Our commitment is to publish authors equally from the periphery and from the core of the international capitalist system.

Oh, yes. Zed is what the British call the last letter

of their alphabet.

Write: Zed Press  
57 Caledonian Road  
London N1 9DN

## Apartheid at the Tee

South Africa's participation in the recent Davis Cup tennis match in Nashville drew a sizable protest. Keith Haight, an American member of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, writes of a similar event coming this July in Kerry County, Ireland, where a South African team has been invited to play in the World Cup Golf Championship.

Along with the South African multinational Rothmans, the tournament is being funded by ITT, Colgate-Palmolive, American Express, Time-Life, and Pan American. Four or the five US multinationals have substantial investments in South Africa. The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement feels that the tournament violates the spirit of UN sanctions, International Anti-Apartheid Year, and the strong feelings of many Irish citizens.

Says Haight: "By now we Americans are hardened to our multinational corporations making policy in Third World countries. Ireland, however,

is accepted as a civilized nation, and many prominent Americans would resent the 'old Sod' being treated as a banana republic by five US multinationals."

Haight points out that Ireland enjoys a favorable reputation among Third World nations because of its colonial history. Many well-informed Irish citizens worry that African boycotts or economic sanctions against their country could result from such a tournament being held in Ireland.

"Ireland may be an independent republic," Haight remarks, "but US multinationals are apparently willing to help run her foreign policy."

For more information:

Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

20 Beechpark Road, Foxrock  
Dublin 18, Ireland

### Do You Copy?

The African People's Solidarity Committee has launched a fund-raising campaign to raise \$1000 to purchase an electric duplicating machine for the African People's Socialist Party. The party's newspaper, *the Burning Spear*, was a major target of the Nixon Administration's COINTELPRO program of harassment and sabotage. At presstime the campaign is less than halfway toward its goal. Contributions may be sent to:

APSC

P. O. Box 71

San Anselmo, CA 94960



### Resources

*This is the Time: Interview with two Namibian women is vital to understanding African feminism and Namibia. The personal experiences and views of two SWAPO members were recorded by Carole Collins of the Chicago Committee for African Liberation. Available from the Committee at 1476 West Irving Park Road, Chicago, IL 60613 or from LSM. \$1.25 each (including postage), 28 pages, photos.*

*Zimbabwe Information Group Bulletin. A recent back issue (#7) includes an expose of the Carnegie-Mellon plan to train Zimbabweans in the US for*

neocolonial duties. Subscription rates: Individuals - \$6 air mail, \$3 surface; Organizations - \$8 air mail, \$5 surface for five copies each issue.

Zimbabwe Information Group  
1 Cambridge Terrace  
London NW1 4JL

*Turnover*, a magazine of food issues. Get their back issue on apartheid, 50¢ each.  
558 Capp St.  
San Francisco, CA 94110

*RIPEH/The Review of Iranian Political Economy and History*. Semi-annual. Individuals \$3 per year, Institutions \$6 per year. P. O. Box 961  
Georgetown Univ.  
Washington, DC 20057

*Dhofar Letter*. Published 10 times per year in English. Airmail subscription 35 Danish Kroner (about \$6), five copy subscription 50 Kroner (about \$9). Send an international postal money order to:

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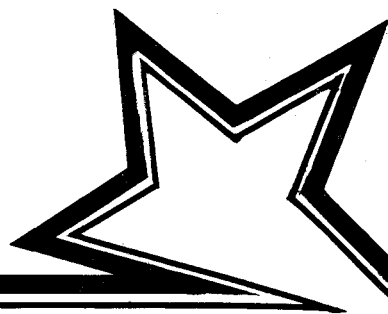
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# BOX 2077

## Disagreement on the Waterfront

I've studied the 1934 West Coast maritime strike in some depth so was interested to learn of some of the more recent political work in the union. I do disagree with the way Larry Wright came to his pessimistic conclusions about the potential for radical consciousness or even internationalist consciousness in the ILWU. It seems to me that he accurately talked about the limitations of Southern African support work as the primary or initial issue to be worked around on the longshore. However, it doesn't make sense to me to be so pessimistic based on an issue which so immediately threatens longshoremen's jobs. What about other issues? Mechanization, organizing unorganized workers or others - were those issues to be worked around in politicizing ways, people might later on be able to transfer their new understanding to the need for solidarity with South Africa which would then override considerations of losing a little work due to less shipping on

boycott days. It doesn't seem wise to me to choose one of the most threatening issues as a starting point. My hunch about the article was that LSM's analysis of the need for US workers to be squeezed more by declining imperialism for them to be open to radicalization got in the way of a thoroughgoing analysis of radical potential on the docks. Nevertheless it's tremendously refreshing to read about someone's concrete political practice - very rare these days. I hope to see more in your journal and pamphlets.

In Solidarity, BB, Oregon

## On the Dilemmas of a Horn

I think [your Horn of Africa article] is a useful, honestly and independently thought out piece. Unfortunately none of us have been able to deal with the very basic question of the extent and reality of the revolution in the various rural areas of Ethiopia, simply because we don't get the reports that can provide the

data for that analysis. Maybe the Markakis and Ayele book will do that when it is published. The continued refusal of the Dergue to deal with the national question in a favorable way is clear, but just what is happening in the heartland of Amhara or Oromo areas - real relations between peasants, government officials, former landlords, etc. - is, to me at least, almost entirely an unanswered question. (Two research reports from Scandinavian Institute of African Studies from 1977 deal with 1976 information - Michael Stahl on land reform in Wollega province and Johan Holmberg on Grain Marketing & Land Reform, but since then?)

A luta continua,  
BM, North Carolina

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# Back issues of LSM News...

**Sino-Soviet Split** presents the case for critical nonalignment with the Soviet Union and China regarding international line. The article evaluates the foreign policies -- in theory and practice -- of China and the USSR and puts forward LSM's independent line of support for genuine national liberation movements and socialist revolution.

**13: Summer 1977**

**Socialism Dawns in Africa** The liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola have formed Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties. We explain how socialist ideas developed in the movements and the class basis for socialism in the liberated colonies. This issue includes "Internationalism on the Waterfront," an evaluation of anti-imperialist work in the longshore union in the San Francisco Bay Area.

**14: Fall 1977**

**Hurricane in the Horn: Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia** provides the analysis underlying our support for the Eritrean national liberation struggle and an open assessment of the Ethiopian and Somali regimes.

**15: Winter 1978**

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