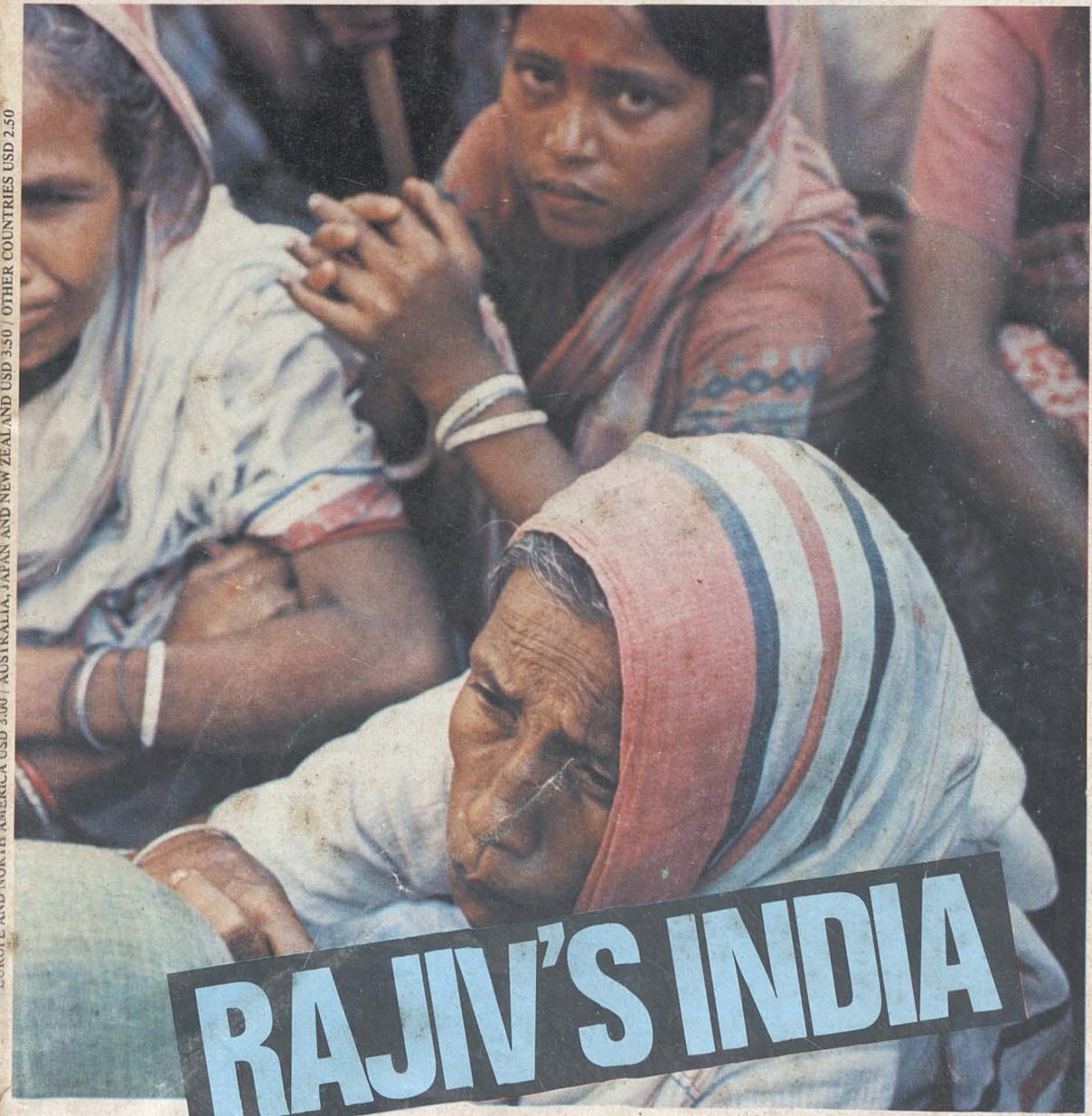


# third world

*South Africa:  
the death squads*

Bimonthly • Number 2 • June/July – 1986

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## RAJIV'S INDIA

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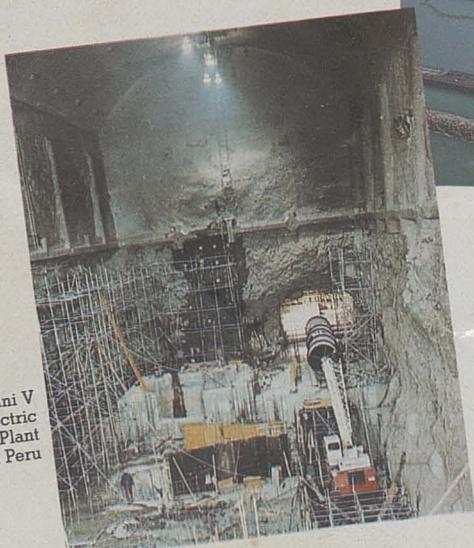
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## A LANDMARK REFERENCE SOURCE

# Talking about *Third World*

As this third issue of our bimonthly magazine goes to press, we would like to thank our readers and friends for the words of encouragement and support they have addressed to us. We are especially interested in their suggestions and criticism, since they help us to improve our publication.

Some of the letters we have received have prompted us to comment on our operational methods and criteria. First, there is the matter of style. Since our articles are written by journalists from different countries and with different backgrounds, there is an inevitable difference in style between them. In editing such articles, we try to keep our English as simple as possible, so that they can be easily read both by those in English-speaking countries and those for whom English is a second language, such as our readers in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East.

Second, there is the matter of translation. Our originals come in various languages, especially Portuguese, Spanish and French, in addition to English. In the process of translation, some of the articles' original flavor may be lost. We try to keep them as close as possible to the original version, even though the final result may sound a bit odd for some of our readers.

## To the Reader

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*Many nations are racing against time to build their future now.*

*It is only natural that they seek the support of those who have a similar vision of that experience.*

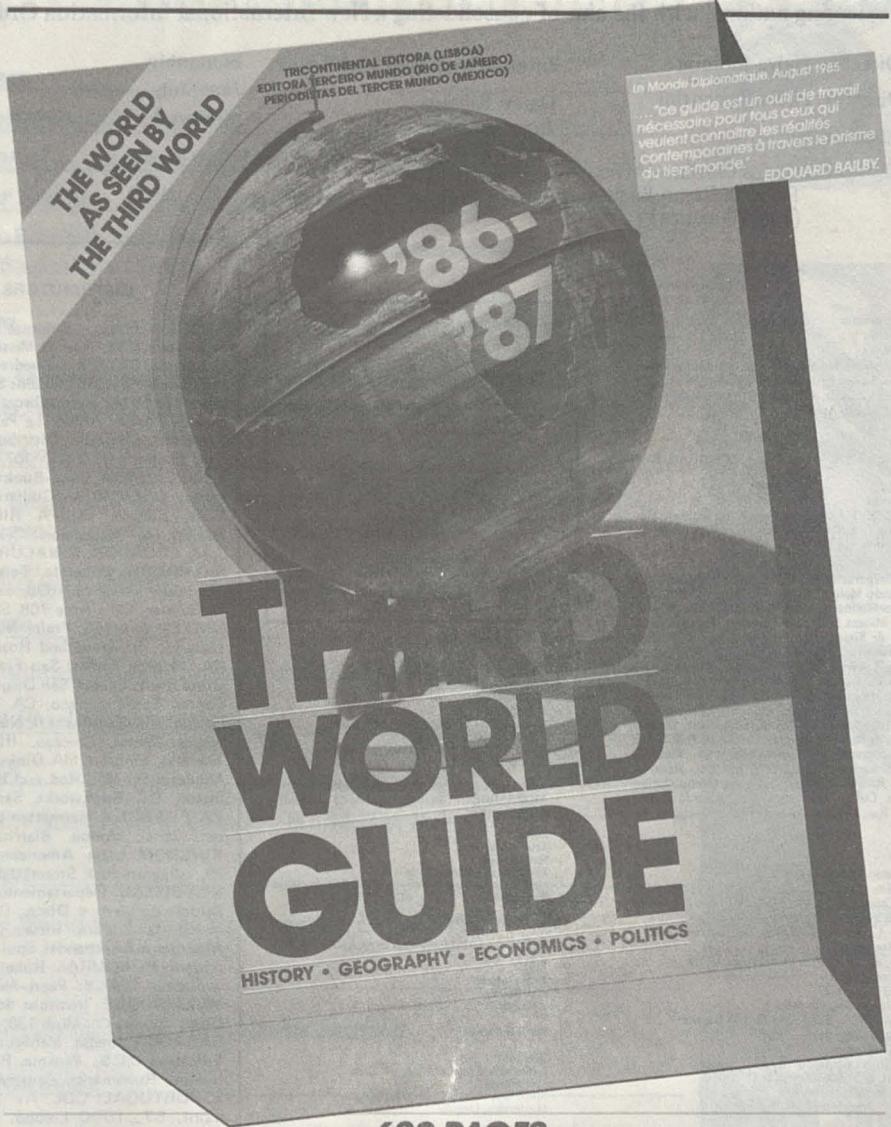
*— José Conrado Norberto, President of the Brazilian construction industry*

Our editorial staff and contributors also come from different cultures and environments. This gives our magazine something like a multinational character. It is not, as one might think, a Brazilian magazine written for the Third World. Though our headquarters are located in Rio, we try to make our every issue as global as possible. A perfectly balanced choice of topics is, of course, hard to attain, and we count on our readers' criticism to correct any shortcomings and omissions.

Then there is the matter of price. The price charged for our magazine at the newsstands is high, considering that many of our readers live in countries where foreign exchange is scarce. We have adopted a differentiated price schedule, so that our readers in Europe and the United States can pay a slightly higher price than those in other areas. The formula, however, is not perfect. Our plans for the short term are to run regional printings so as to reduce our price and facilitate payment in local currencies. Finally, there is the matter of editorial policy. Like our editions in Spanish and Portuguese, our English edition keeps a very clear position on certain issues. For instance, we side with those who would like to see the elimination of the apartheid system in South Africa,

who stand for Namibian and Saharan independence, who believe that the Palestinian people have a right to their own homeland. In Latin America, we side with El Salvador's democratic and nationalistic struggle and Nicaragua's revolutionary experiment, just as we support a return to democratic rule in Paraguay and Chile. In Africa, we stand for the right of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to rule themselves without the interference of foreign pressure and aggression. In global terms, we side with those who wish to preserve natural resources against the predatory action of transnational enterprises, as well as with those who are trying to establish a more equitable international economic order, and a new information order under which the Third World can participate more fully in the dissemination of news. Lack of neutrality on these issues, however, does not mean lack of objectivity. Only by being objective can we keep a clear view of world affairs. In our reporting, we have no intention of remaining *outside* or *above* the events which currently affect the Third World. We couldn't: we are right in the middle of them. Our outlook and feelings are therefore essentially different from those of the European or US press. We hope it is a fresh — and refreshing — outlook for our readers everywhere.

# A LANDMARK IN REFERENCEBOOKS



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- A THIRD WORLD POINT OF VIEW

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White Terror in S.A.



Resistance as culture in Uruguay



The secrets of a very secret society



*Our readers are invited to write to our magazine, expressing their opinions and criticism. Letters on specific themes will also be welcome, provided they are concise and of general interest to Third World readers. Such material may also be reproduced in our Spanish and Portuguese editions. Please address your correspondence to third world magazine, Rua da Glória 122, sala 105, Rio de Janeiro 20241, Brazil.*

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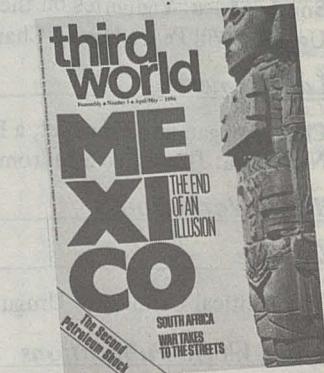
Thanks for sending me a copy of third world's experimental issue. The Third World struggle goes on. Thanks also for the copies of the Third World Guide in English and Spanish, which have already been put to use in our library.

**Gerrit Huizer, Third World Center, Katholieke Universiteit, Nijmegen, Holland**

We received a copy of the English-language edition of third world magazine, and I must say I am very impressed. Your magazine is of particular interest to our Institute, which is specifically concerned with developmental issues in the Third World. ... I would like to see some articles on the South Pacific, an area that is often neglected in development journals.

**Susan Hobbs, International Development Institute, Indiana, USA**

Many thanks for the first issue of third world. ... (It) is well printed, and the articles are of topical interest. I think (your publication) will fill a long felt need in the Third World. ... At many points the translation could have been better. ... On page 50 we have 'Baviera' instead of 'Bavaria' ... but altogether this is



a splendid effort, and we look forward to future editions.

**Prem Chandran John, Asian Community Health Action Network Madras, India**

We regret this and other mistakes or omissions in our first two issues. On page 11 of issue n° 0, please read "all of us" instead of "all of us in the West". Also the author of the 'Viewpoint' article on page 50 of issue n° 1 is Neiva Moreira

It is always valuable to have authentic Third World 'voices' coming through the North. It is particularly valuable to have translations of articles in Spanish, Portuguese, etc. As an aid agency, (we appreciate) articles on the causes of famine in Africa and (similar) social analyses.

**Elizabeth Rendall, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development London, England**

To the Editors:

We have just received third world's experimental issue (number zero), an extremely interesting publi-

**third world**  
Number 1 • April/May 1986

THE END  
OF AN  
ILLUSION

SOUTH AFRICA  
WAR TAKES  
TO THE STREETS

The Second  
Petroleum Shock

# A Third World Viewpoint

third world is different from other publications on Third World affairs. Our offices are not located in Europe or in the USA. In terms of technical resources, this may be a disadvantage. But there is also a fundamental advantage: we can feel, interpret and reflect more clearly what happens in the Third World because we live here, and what we report is part of our daily experience.

Our editors, correspondents and contributors share a cultural heritage and a professional background stemming from a common struggle to emphasize and promote Third World values. Because we live through local Third World conditions, we can more easily detect any distortions and misinterpretations which often appear in foreign analysis of Third World events.

We are not a magazine on the Third World, but of the Third World. Our publication has been in existence now for more than ten years, and has gradually grown into four different editions in two languages Spanish and Portuguese. We have now added a fifth edition in English. As our reader, you are invited to share in our efforts by becoming a subscriber and a friend. See further information on the back of this page.



# third world

Bi-monthly magazine

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## Sudan: Coping with War in the South

Though the election and inauguration of the new civilian government in Sudan has put an end to a long-standing military rule, Prime Minister Sadiq el Mahdi's regime can survive only if the civil war being waged in the south is quickly brought to a halt. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has demanded the resignation of the Mahdi administration and its replacement by a provisional government. A Constituent Assembly would then grant a greater power share to the south, thus ensuring peace.

The SPLA demand was voiced by Colonel John Garang, who leads the rebel group, at a meeting with Mahdi's envoys in Addis Ababa last April. Garang is in control of most of south Sudan, where 12,000 guerrilla fighters keep regular Army troops under permanent siege. For most observers, the situation in the south is almost as serious as during the 1956-72 civil strife which nearly split the country in half.

The state of war prevailing in the Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria provinces prevented most of the area from voting in the general elections held in early April, leading to the victory of Mahdi's Umma Party. The elections were restricted to north and central Sudan, which won 264 out of the 301 seats in the new national parliament. The 37 vacant seats should have gone to the three southern provinces.



Mahdi's Umma Party got 99 seats, followed by the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) with 64 seats. A coalition between these two won them the right to form the new government, with the Umma Party supplying eight ministers out of a total of 18. The DUP elected six cabinet members, while three nominations went to a coalition of southern parties, and one to the Sudanese National Party (SNP).

A full third of the Sudanese population of twelve million people live in areas that are strongly influenced by guerrillas. An agreement between Mahdi and Garang seems very unlikely as long as the SPLA leader

insists on a provisional government. On the other hand, unless peace is soon arrived at, the new civilian government may be unable to recover the national economy. Oil production in the South, which represented one of Mahdi's greatest economic hopes, is practically standing still, while agricultural production has fallen apart as a result of the war.

Mahdi's government also faces the serious risk of foreign intervention in the civil war, as Arab countries in the Middle East may choose to support the Islamic propositions put forward by the Umma Party, while rebels in the south may establish a closer relationship with the revolutionary regime in Ethiopia.

A thirty-year-long rebellion in the south is a threat to the new Sudanese government and may invite foreign intervention

## Zimbabwe: Mugabe Closes in on Goals

**□** Few Zimbabweans still doubt that Prime Minister Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) will achieve its two main goals for 1986 — the establishment of one-party rule and the abolition of the 20% allotment of parliamentary seats set aside for a white minority that constitutes only 1% of the total population.

Analysts in Harare, the capital, say Mugabe may even achieve his objectives without the help of the 100,000 white Zimbabweans or the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) of his arch-rival, Joshua Nkomo. During the 1985 elections, the white community elected 15 followers of former rebel Premier Ian Smith's Conservative Alliance of Zimbabwe (CAZ) and five "independent" white candidates. Mugabe accused the white voters of rejecting his "policy of reconciliation."

"Those whites who have not accepted the reality of a political order in which the Africans set the pace have to leave the country," the enraged prime minister said.

During celebrations of Zimbabwe's sixth anniversary of independence last month, Mugabe promised to change the constitution this year to remove the "obnoxious racial features" of the Lancaster House agreement by abolishing the special white seats.

Although the provision is guaranteed until 1990, it could be changed with the approval of at least 70 members of the country's 100-seat House of Assembly. During the 1985 polls, ZANU-PF won 63 seats — seven short of the goal. ZAPU won 15 seats. A merger of the two parties would have given Mugabe the crucial votes. ZANU-PF officials accuse ZAPU of dragging its feet. How-

ever, Mugabe may now realize his dream even without Nkomo's help.

On May 5, a senior ZAPU parliamentarian, David Kwedini, defected to join the ruling party after accusing the ZAPU leadership of "lacking courage" to respond to Mugabe's call for party merger. Observers say if more opposition MPs defect, Mugabe may easily garner the 70 votes he needs to abolish the white privileges and — probably — erase ZAPU from Zimbabwe's political map.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister Enos Nkala has denounced the worldwide human rights group, Amnesty International (AI). His May 5 statement renews an anti-AI campaign which began late last year after the group charged that hundreds of Zimbabweans had been arrested and tortured for political reasons. The government denied the torture charges and claimed that detainees were involved in armed rebellion.

Nkala said he received letters daily from the group seeking assurances that the human rights of specific detainees were being respected. Recently AI voiced concern about the detention of former Deputy Minister Jane Ngwenya and ZAPU leaders Joseph Ncube and Elias Hananda. "They are not even under arrest," Nkala said of the three. Justice Minister Edson Zbogo said Ngwenya "is alive and well in her job as a director of cooperatives."

At the same time, Nkala announced the release of ZAPU MP Edward Ndlovu, who had been arrested along with seven others ZAPU members on charges of plotting to overthrow Mugabe's government. The state has withdrawn the charges against Ndlovu.

(Africa News)



Mugabe and Nkomo may reach a long-awaited agreement

## Israel: A Worsening Economic Crisis

□ The economic crisis in Israel has become so acute that even some Labor leaders such as Gad Yaakobi, Minister for the Economy, have for the first time clearly come out in favor of cuts in government spending on settlement projects in the Occupied Territories.

Many leading Israeli economic concerns and social services are in heavy debt, and will go bankrupt unless the government backs them financially. Solel Boneh, the largest construction firm in Israel, which is owned by the Labor-dominated Federation of Labor ("Histadrut"), is in debt for US\$500 million; Kupat Cholim, the country's largest national health fund service, also owned by the Federation of Labor, has a debt of US\$400 million; Zim, the

national shipping company, is in debt for several hundred million dollars. In all of these firms and social services, as well as elsewhere in the country drastic cuts in the workforce have been implemented. For example, 3,000 workers of Solel Boneh, 60

touch this holy cow. Tensions between Israel and Syria, in and out of Lebanon, together with American warmongering in the Mediterranean (bombing of Libyan military installations on March 25 and mid-April) have been used by the Israeli military establishment and its political supporters as arguments against cuts in defense spending. With the peace initiative currently at an impasse, largely because



Israel's economic crisis may reduce support to West Bank colonists

percent of them Arabs, have been laid off from work recently. Several thousand workers of the country's largest textile concern, Atta, became unemployed when the firm folded several months ago. It is obvious that the government will under no circumstances allow the national health fund or the construction firm Solel Boneh to fold, because doing so would have the domino effect of bringing about the faltering of numerous other concerns.

Slashing the enormous Israeli defense budget, which is estimated at more than 20 percent of the overall national budget for 1986, could foot the bill for practically all of the country's economic and social ills, but no one in the government — Labor or Likud — dares to

Israel/US refusal to budge on the Palestinian question, political tensions in the region will remain, as will the enormous defense outlays.

Economics may therefore succeed in doing what elementary moral values and political realism have failed to do — force Israeli leaders to ease their grip on the Occupied Territories. No amount of American aid, now standing at US\$ 3 billion a year, can alleviate the country's economic ills. The financial bankruptcy of Jewish and Arab municipalities, faltering economic concerns, and the steep rise in unemployment are factors which Labor-Likud politicians will not be indefinitely able to shut their eyes to. (The Other Israel Newsletter)

### THE LEBANON WAR: US\$ 5 BILLION

Haim Barkai, a leading Israeli economist, has estimated that the war in Lebanon cost Israel at least US\$ 5 billion, broken down as follows:

- 1) Direct costs — US\$ 2.25-2.5 billion
- 2) Medical and rehabilitation expenses — US\$ 150-200 million
- 3) Repairs — US\$ 100-150 million
- 4) Military reserve — US\$ 500-700 million
- 5) Production losses — US\$ 250 million
- 6) Foreign debt — US\$ 1 billion
- 7) Arms development — US\$ 250 million.

## Phillipines: The Moros Bide Their Time

□ The Philippines may have succeeded in getting rid of a corrupt dictator, but the country's deep-rooted problems continue to haunt the new regime. Long before it was "discovered" by Magellan in 1521, the 7,000-island archipelago was inhabited by a motley population of Malayans, Indonesians and Chinese,

regimes which followed each other since the country became formally independent in 1946. Their aim is to establish a nation of their own, apart from other Filipinos. Now they are getting ready for yet another armed struggle, this time against "Cory" Aquino herself, unless she agrees to let them have what they want.



The Moro guerrilla struggle will go on until self-government is attained

who were later joined by the Spanish, British, Japanese and Americans. Early in the 16th century, Muslim migrations from Borneo settled in a number of islands to the south. Called *moros* (Moors) by the Spanish, they consistently refused to submit to any rulers in the archipelago, no matter who they were. They resisted conversion to Catholicism, and in time resorted to arms against both foreign conquerors, including the Japanese in 1941-45, and all of the local

Nur Misuari, president of the Moro National Liberation Front, discussed the present stage of the Moro struggle during a recent interview with *third world* magazine.

*For many centuries now, the Moro people have unsuccessfully fought for their independence. In your opinion, what makes you different from other Filipinos? Why do you wish to establish your own republic apart from the rest of the country?*

—The Moros are 14 million people living in a territory that has traditionally been their own. They occupy over 116,000 square kilometers in such island groups as Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Palawan, Kalamanian, etc. They speak their own language, the Bangsa tongue. They have their own culture, their own entirely different ethnic groups, and above all their own religion, which is Islam. We have actually installed our own republic, Bangsamoro, in March 1969, though it has failed to win world recognition, and our government leaders are now living in exile. In the meantime we have sought to organize ourselves, putting together an 80,000-strong liberation army, and creating our own administrative institutions.

*How do you finance your liberation movement?*

— Most of our revenues are generated by the *zakat*, a Muslim voluntary tax. In addition, we get assistance from other Muslim organizations and certain Muslim countries.

*Which countries?*

— Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Libya.

*What kind of assistance do you get from them?*

— Humanitarian aid and financial resources.

*Where do your weapons come from?*

— Most of the weapons we have were seized from regular Philippine troops in combat with Moro fighters in the past 40 years.

*Since you joined Philippine opposition forces to destabilize the Marcos regime, why don't you come out in the open now*

and try to find a solution to the Moro problem by negotiating with the Aquino government?

— We are waiting for the Aquino government to consolidate itself. We hope "Cory" Aquino will eventually grant us independence. We have emissaries in permanent contact with the leaders of the current Manila regime. But we are not overly confident. Links between the Philippines and the United States remain very close, and Washington is not ready to accept Moro independence. Thus we keep our people ready to fight in the mountains, though our attitude towards the current Manila regime is one of peace — at the least for the time being.

*The Aquino government has announced a general amnesty, and is willing to grant political and administrative autonomy to the areas under Moro control.*

— This is not enough. Even Ferdinand Marcos recognized the rights of the Moro people in the 1974 Tripoli Charter.<sup>1</sup> Having struggled for so many centuries, we do not see our independence as negotiable in principle. All we can negotiate are the terms and dates, nothing else. It is up to "Cory" Aquino to recognize the Moros as an independent nation.

*And if she doesn't?*

— If she doesn't, we will proceed with our armed struggle. (Alberto B. Marantoni)

<sup>1</sup> In the Tripoli Charter, signed in December 1986 by the Marcos government and the Moro Liberation Front, the ousted president pledged to respect the autonomous nature of most of the territory now claimed by the Moros. In 1980, however, the Philippine government repudiated the agreement.

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**FEIRA INTERNACIONAL**

**INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR**

**MAPUTO 29. AGOSTO A 7. SETEMBRO**



# Chernobyl's Dramatic Lessons

The world has not yet recovered from the nightmare of the Chernobyl nuclear plant meltdown. As a matter of fact, the discussion over the effects of the accident has hardly begun.

The Western powers and mass media were quick to take advantage of the disaster to vent their anti-Soviet feelings, though this time it was Moscow's bureaucracy or a dubious concept of national security that justified their ranting.

Hans Blix, the Swedish director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), reproached Western newspapers for turning their reports on Chernobyl into a sort of "macabre show." The UPI sent its European editor to Moscow to determine how and why it had been duped into estimating at 2,000 the number of victims in the accident. Actually, editor Barry Jones wouldn't have to leave Washington to find out the reasons for such an exaggeration: the Western press has always made a point of magnifying Soviet failures.

Nevertheless, the Soviet authorities certainly attempted at first to hide the facts about Chernobyl, hoping perhaps that the effects of the accident might be restricted to their own territory. A vain hope, as they soon found out. An airplane crash or less important news may be kept in secret for a long time, but not such a major nuclear disaster as the one that hit the Ukrainian plant. A number of European countries were soon on the alert against unusually high levels of radioactivity on their own soil, and the truth had to come out.

This was perhaps the most dramatic lesson to be learned from the accident. As uncontrollable

winds threatened to expose one-half of the world to radioactive fallout, it became clear that nuclear energy cannot be treated as any one country's domestic affair, and that technical and scientific advances must inevitably be shared by all countries if their safety is to be preserved.

The Chernobyl accident was perhaps the most spectacular demonstration of this simple truth, but certainly not the only one. Even after the disaster at Three Mile Island, other US nuclear plants have been on the verge of similar catastrophes. Less than a month after the Chernobyl meltdown, another nuclear accident occurred in Dungenesse, England. The British government's behavior was not very different from that of the Soviet authorities. Mrs Thatcher was eager to hide the facts, claiming the whole thing had been just a "minor accident." A public opinion survey carried out by the BBC found that over one-half of the British people do not believe in official news when it comes to nuclear affairs. And at the world's largest nuclear waste recycling plant at La Hague, northwest of Paris, five workers were wounded in what the French Atomic Energy Commission also labeled as a "minor accident".

Such a large number of mishaps in so short a time suggests that both Eastern and Western nuclear plants are far less safe than the authorities would have us believe, and that, with more or less secrecy and censorship, public information policies do not differ greatly across countries. This has worried the International Atomic Energy Commission (IAEC) into reviewing, at a meeting scheduled for next August in Vienna, all of the safety codes and alarm systems adopted worldwide.

Immediately after the Chernobyl explosion,

but not ruled out. The accident might even only raise the possibility of a conditioned mind.

official US spokesmen assured the US public that a similar accident would never happen in the United States. Yet technical studies have shown that this is not true. Safety standards in both US and European nuclear plants are not very different from those enforced at Chernobyl.

One way or another, mankind was suddenly made aware of what its fate can be if the nuclear race is not placed under strict international control. The Soviet disaster caused vast damages in the country: over 90,000 people had to be evacuated from nearby towns, 100,000 students who had been exposed to radiation were transferred to far-off areas, and the number of injured or dead people exceeded one hundred. And now a roaming, wind-blown radioactive cloud hovers over our heads, giving us a mild but clear notion of what can be expected in the event of a nuclear conflict.

International clamor against the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes has already caused some governments to cancel or reduce their nuclear programs, and may eventually prove stronger than the huge economic interests behind nuclear projects. In Europe, the coming elections will certainly reflect public concern over the risks posed by nuclear plants, and sooner or later the same will happen in the United States. Many US citizens agree with the ecologist who said after the Chernobyl accident, "I wish we hadn't been so right in our warnings against the nuclear danger." What to say of the Third World? This time we were lucky enough that the winds blew away from us, but our turn may come. French nuclear experiments in Polynesia — which were met with strong protest on the part of underdeveloped countries — have resulted in an unusual amount of radioactivity above the Brazilian atmosphere. Nuclear experts in developing countries that, often unnecessarily, have embarked in atomic exploits warn against the serious risks of nuclear

programs that do not meet the required safety standards. Similar warnings have been heard in India, Pakistan, Egypt, Argentina and Brazil, though they often go unheeded. Third World countries do not have the same advanced scientific and technological resources of the industrial North. Yet, if in spite of these resources, a tragedy such as that of Chernobyl can happen in the Soviet Union and a major accident such as that at Three Mile Island can occur in the United States, what will happen in Brazil if a similar leak or meltdown occurs in Angra dos Reis, or in India if one of its nuclear plants goes awry? In the case of Brazil, several scientists, among them physicist José Zatz, have warned that if an accident similar to the one at Chernobyl were to happen in Angra dos Reis (which is a possibility given the characteristics of both plants), the ensuing radioactivity would extend within a radius of at least 500 kilometers — that is, it would hit the two largest metropolitan areas in Brazil: Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. And there would be no way to quickly dispatch a population of 20 million people from the contaminated area.

Third World nuclear experts might well learn a lesson from Chernobyl. They should take a firm and brave stand, evaluating their countries' nuclear programs and correctly informing their countrymen with respect to the risks they are exposed to.

Chernobyl must not be dismissed as just one more unpredictable accident, a theme for academic discussion, or one more incident in the ideological war between East and West. It must become the subject of serious reflection and unprecedented mobilization, to ensure that nuclear programs are reviewed, and that the economic interests behind the nuclear warheads of the Star Wars program do not expose mankind to self-extermination.

Cover Story

# INDIA GROWING PAINS AND RIFTS



*Having failed so far to do away with its colonial legacy of ethnic divisions, Rajiv Gandhi's government faces an increased economic gap between million wealthy or middle-income people and 700 million beggars. For the government, the solution is to leap into the 21st century with the help of sophisticated technologies — a risky move in which the Indian Prime Minister has only two options: easy IMF aid or arduous self-reliance*

When Mrs Sha Bao Begum divorced her husband, she could hardly have imagined that her failed marriage might eventually shake the entire constitutional and legal structure of India. Since Mr and Mrs Begum were a Muslim couple, the divorce took place under Islamic law. But when her husband failed to pay her alimony, Mrs Begum resorted to a civilian court.

Mr Begum argued that under the Sharia, or Islamic law, his economic obligation towards his wife ended one year after the divorce. From then on, he pointed out, the Muslim community's own institutions would take care of the needs of any divorced, widowed or single women who lacked the support of a family. The case was taken up all the way to the Indian Supreme Court, which early this year decided that the husband must pay alimony. The law, contended the Court, must be the same for everyone.

Yet Indian law, at least where family affairs are concerned, is far from being the same for all. The members of the 1947 Constituent Assembly adopted the old British policy of different laws for different communities; thus, though independent India now has a single penal, commercial and labor code, different religion-inspired legislation applies to family affairs among Hindus, Muslims, Catholics and Buddhists.

Laicity is one of the basic principles of the Indian state. The intention of the members of the



*The simultaneous impact of a serious economic crisis, ecological disasters and separatist movements have made it necessary to review the destinies of the "world's largest democracy."*

regard to the "Sha Bao affair," especially since one-half of them are women, yet the Indian Prime Minister rushed to intervene in favor of the country's Islamic leaders. On February 21 he presented an urgent bill to the Lok Sabha (Parliament) reinstating the Sharia's power to decide on future alimony claims by divorced Muslim women.

If Rajiv Gandhi's intention was to avert further problems with the Islamic community, his attitude only contributed to revive an old issue. In addition to the predictable opposition of feminist leaders, his bill was criticized by Indian intellectuals and most of the press.

The memory of India's "birth trauma" — the partition of its territory — is only too recent. The country nurtured non-violence ideals as it entered independent life amid terrible clashes between Hindus and Muslims that took a toll of many million

constituent group was to gradually approximate community laws on marriage, divorce and heritage into a single, common law.

But major sectors of the Indian Islamic community rejected the Supreme Court decision, which they viewed as discriminating against their community and traditions. For them, the Indian state was again proving to be dominated by a Hindu majority—intolerant of all kinds of minorities.

It is not clear whether this is the opinion of the majority of the 80 million Indian Muslims with



Violence in the Punjab has led to the worst crisis in Indian history since independence



Michelangelo

dead. Religious rivalries were responsible for the idea of creating Pakistan as an Islamic state apart from old British India, and were an indirect cause of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, by a Hindu fanatic who believed he was too soft with Muslims. These selfsame rivalries have continued to shake India to this day.

#### The Khalistan war

There are roughly 15 million Sikhs (disciples) in India. They are the followers of a guru (master) named Nanak who founded a monotheistic religion 500 years ago which condemns the caste system, as Islam does, but believes in reincarnation, as Hindus do. The Sikhs have fought hard to preserve their identity vis-à-vis Hindus and Muslims, and opposed the British in 1845 when the latter incorporated Punjab into India.

Probably only a few of them viewed with seriousness the extremist idea of creating an independent Sikh state called Khalistan on the border between India and Pakistan. But mistakes made in handling the "Sikh problem" turned the case into the worst crisis of independent India.

The rest is history: on June 5, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi ordered the Army to invade and take over the Golden Temple in Amritsar, which was being used as a last sanctuary by Sikh rebels in a Punjab submitted to martial law. A total of 325 people died in an encounter in which both sides used artillery guns.

It couldn't be said that Indira Gandhi had any prejudices against the Sikhs. The operation was not targeted against a community, but against political and military groups which challenged the state's authority with the consent or tolerance of religious leaders.

Many Sikhs, however, did not see things this way. The unbridled violence and the invasion of their holiest of temples was for them a sacrilege. They included Beant Singh and Satwant Singh, the

two Indira Gandhi's Sikh bodyguards who killed her on October 31, 1984.

"I did what I had to do," said Beant Singh as he delivered himself to the Prime Minister's security guard, "now you do what you must do." He was quickly put to death. In the following days, at least 2,000 Sikhs were killed on Delhi streets, while their taxis and shops were set on fire and their daughters and widows were raped before the funeral piles where their bodies were being burned to ashes.

Such reaction was not an expression of spontaneous hatred. Two independent probing committees agreed to ascribe the street violence to the ruling National Congress Party. An official commission is still investigating the crimes, but no suspect has yet been arrested.

While aroused crowds took to the streets to lynch anyone wearing a traditional Sikh turban, Rajiv Gandhi, Indira's only living son (his brother Sanjay had died in an airplane crash in 1980) was promoted from his position as a mere member of the House of Representatives to the post of Prime Minister, in a move which dispensed with his formal election as the leader of the ruling party.

With the country still shaken by Indira's death, extraordinary elections were scheduled to take place in less than two months. The Congress Party won 401 of the 527 seats being disputed at the polls — an unprecedented majority vote in Indian political history.

"We hated Indira," a Bombay journalist told me, "and we didn't believe that any 'outside hands' had intervened in her murder. But what is now happening in Punjab looks like a threat to Indian national unity."

The middle class — "the 20 percent that counts," according to the same journalist, though other estimates put it at only 100 of the 780 million population — never forgave Indira for her authoritarian ways during the years of the "emergency" rule (a sort of state of siege), nor her tolerance of the corrupt, demagogic and violent methods with which Sanjay planned to extend the "dynasty" initiated by Indira's father Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yet this same social segment — which includes public servants, liberal professionals, businessmen, small entrepreneurs, officers of the Armed Forces, and university teachers and students — knows that it owes its very existence, either directly or indirectly, to the state and therefore to Indian unity.



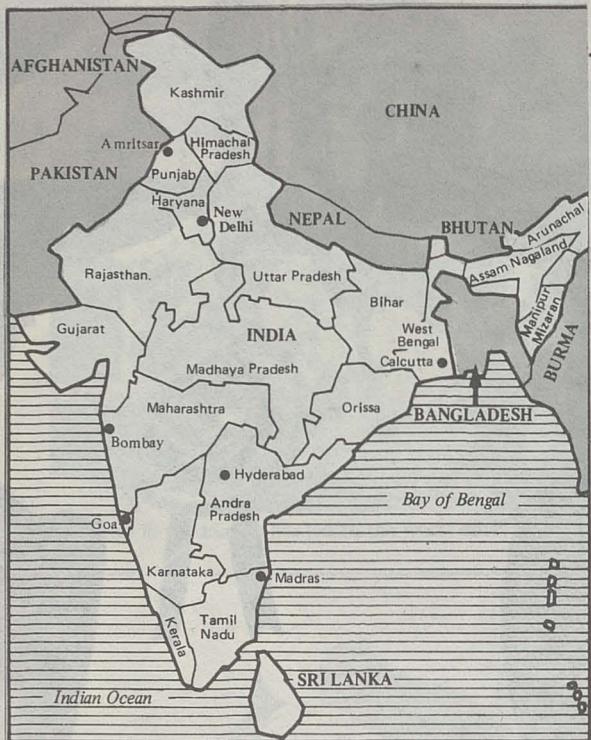
Rajiv Gandhi has lost some of his prestige in the past 18 months

Rajiv Gandhi represented both the continuity of the old regime — his mother and his grandfather had ruled the country for 36 out of the 39 years of independence — and a hope for change. Wielding computers as a weapon and using the youth as a shield, Rajiv Gandhi called for a crusade against "backwardness" under the banner of such concepts as modernization, efficiency, liberalization, technological prowess, and an open economy.

#### A magic spell

"It was too beautiful to be true and now the dream is over." With these words the influential *Illustrated Weekly of India* begins its assessment of Rajiv Gandhi's first 20 months in power.

Only 18 months ago the Indian press enthusiastically acclaimed those virtues which seemed to make Rajiv Gandhi the right man to lead India into the 21st century. Besides being young (only 41), he is a modern man who used to pilot an Air India plane before he began his political career; he has no commitments with traditional Indian politics; he has no preconceived opinions; he is open to sugges-



With an area of over three million square kilometers, India has a population of nearly 700 million people comprising a great variety of ethnic and cultural groups. Most of these descend from Indo-Aryan peoples, the creators of the Vedic civilization and a deep-rooted caste system that has survived to this day. Eighty-three percent are Hindus, 11 percent are Muslims, 2.5 percent are Christians and 2 percent are Sikhs. Hindi is India's official language, though English is also widely used. In addition, there are 16 regional languages and numberless dialects. (Source: *Third World Guide*)

tions, and he is not the authoritarian leader his mother was. Now these same qualities have become shortcomings; the Prime Minister is seen as an inexperienced man, ignorant of his country's traditional values, devoid of any political ability, unpredictable, too dependent on his advisors, and lacking authority.

The denigration of Rajiv Gandhi's political image began with the situation in the Punjab, where political violence has led to two or three killings every day among terrorists, police members, and innocent civilians.

Rajiv negotiated an agreement with the "moderate" Sikh Akali Dal party, under which he managed to call off federal intervention in the Punjab and hold elections in which the Akali Dal carried the majority of the voting. But rather than isolating the Sikh extremists, this maneuver only gave them further strength since it was interpreted as a sign of weakness on the part of the New Delhi government. They were given back the Golden Temple, and it is no secret that they now use it as a base for their daily raids against the police.

Instead of the Army, the local police force, made up largely of Sikh followers, is now in charge of maintaining law and order in the state. Its commander is J.F. Ribeiro, a police chief of Catholic

origin whose reputation as "tough" and incorruptible was largely won during his activities in Bombay, where bulldozers were used to level down illegal housing facilities. Ribeiro's philosophy is "an eye for an eye," and he admits having given his men some very clear-cut instructions: "If you have to die, please make sure you take four of them along with you."

Bombay's influential, independent-leftist *E & P Weekly* magazine notes that "the authorities face a typical case which, in the decision-making theory, is called 'the prisoner's dilemma' (a game in which the best strategy leads inexorably to defeat): the use of harsh methods will only generate further sympathy for the extremists. Not to use them will reinforce the extremists' belief that New Delhi is on the defensive and that therefore the Khalistan battle has been practically won."

Though the *E & P Weekly* editorialist does not believe that this is the source of the problem, he adds that it is "obvious" that the military Pakistani government headed by General Zia somehow assists the separatists, reasoning that "my enemy's enemy is my friend."

With no solution in sight for the short term, the New Delhi government will have to be contented with a treatment similar to that given in Spain to

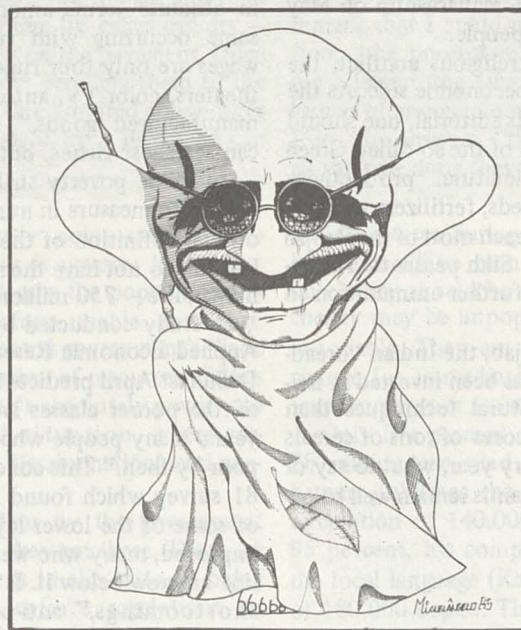


Adrian Soto

The outcome of the Punjab crisis may induce other regions of India to demand greater political autonomy

the Basque problem: police action to minimize the activity of armed organizations, in the hope that far-reaching moves towards autonomy will work in the long term.

It would be impossible to grant administrative, legislative and economic autonomy to the Punjab without immediately provoking similar demands on the part of other ethnic or religious groups. "Sri Lanka is a foreign country, but when they kill thousands of people there it is as though they were killing my own brothers," said to me recently an unemployed newsman from Tamil Nadu, a northern Indian state largely inhabited by Tamils. "Yet when they kill Muslims in Assam, my solidarity has an 'international' quality, even though they are my countrymen. They speak another language, they have different customs and a different religion. I may be solidary with them and even join their struggle, but I can't identify with them."



Michelangelo

In India, the very concept of nation was artificially created by the British, say some observers, who remind us that the Islamic Mongolian Empire never managed to dominate the southern portion of the peninsula. However, this view ignores the formidable unifying role played by the nationwide struggle led by the National Congress Party, in which the extraordinary personality of Mahatma Gandhi acted as a catalyst.

Be as it may, the fact is that this unity never eliminated caste, class, religious and linguistic dif-

ferences, and the pressures generated by these differences may turn into centrifugal forces. In this context, the bill proposing Islamic jurisdiction over divorced women suggests a clear intention on the part of the government to allay animosities among the people by making a few concessions. Feelings between Muslims and Hindus, however, remain as virulent as ever: clashes between the two



Since 1930, the Indian peasant population has become poorer and increasingly alienated from economic life

communities in the state of Maharashtra on May 11 caused the death of nine people.

Though it appears as a religious conflict, the phenomenon has also a socioeconomic side. As the *E & P Weekly* points out in its editorial, one should recognize that "the benefits of the so-called Green Revolution (increased agricultural productivity through the use of hybrid seeds, fertilizers and pesticides) have so far failed to reach most of the Punjab peasants and, therefore, the Sikh peasants. The resulting discontent has given further ammunition to extremists."

If this is true of the Punjab, the Indian "bread-basket" state where more has been invested in irrigation and modern agricultural techniques than anywhere else, and where scores of tons of cereals are produced per capita every year, what to say of other parts of India where peasants remain well below the poverty line?

#### Increasing poverty

A group of economists in the Madras Institute for Development Studies were kind enough to give us a preview of the conclusions of a survey which is now in its final stages. According to them, the real income of Indian peasants has remained stagnant since 1930. "In relative terms," they point out, "their situation has deteriorated, since the overall per capita income in India has grown by some 50 percent since the country won its independence." In certain areas, earnings have dropped

in absolute terms among the peasants, with the same occurring with rural women, whose daily wages are only four rupees. "Now India has movie theaters, color TV, automobiles and other locally-manufactured goods," they add. "Our peasants can see these riches, but have no access to them."

In India, poverty strikes the visitor's eye, but it is hard to measure in numbers. According to a new official definition of the poverty line, 250 million Indians do not have the minimum indispensable for human life — 750 million by other estimates.

A study conducted by the National Council for Applied Economic Research and published in New Delhi last April predicts that, "even if the situation of the poorer classes improves in the next few years, many people who are not poor now will be poor by then." This conclusion is based on a 1971-81 survey which found that, though the situation of some of the lower layers of the population has improved, many who were living above the poverty line are now below it. Is spite of their "operational shortcomings," anti-poverty programs have effectively alleviated the plight of the poorest among the poor, but they have failed to reduce overall impoverishment.

Violence in the Punjab may make the headlines in the daily press, but readers must remember that the incidence of murder, mass violence and banditism is higher there than in Bihar, which is the poorest state in India. There are no ethnic minorities at war in Bihar, where the Congress Party enjoys a comfortable majority position.

## Not Enough Manure to Go Around

□ Mr Balay Das's working place is a small corner on a bridge over the east canal in Calcutta, on whose banks thousands of Bangladesh refugees have settled in miserable little shanties. Mr Das makes *gobor* (cow dung) cakes which he lays to dry on the parapet of the bridge. *Gobor* cakes are used as a household fuel. Mr Das has to work hard, attending to all production stages. Collecting the raw material itself is not easy, since the city's population of cows is not exactly large. Fortunately some of them are brought to graze on the few square meters not yet taken by the slums on the canal banks.

Next he has to prepare the dough, and then find some sunny spot where his cakes can dry — no room is ever available on the pavement. Once they are dry, Mr Das goes peddling them to the nearby shanty dwellers. One hundred *gobor* cakes sell for three rupees and, if he is lucky, he can make nine rupees a day.

Indian experts obviously point out that the cause of poverty in Bihar is poverty itself. Poverty, they go on to say, keeps the population unable to save, and therefore unable to invest. Bihar leaders resent the central government's "lack of sensitivity" in its allocation of resources. Critics on the Left ascribe the area's absolute poverty to its feudal or semi-feudal situation, where corruption, "castism" (caste discrimination) and nepotism thrive.

Funds allocated to Bihar by the government seem to evaporate before they get there. There are no land ownership records in the state, it being therefore impossible to enforce regulations on maximum land size. Neither are there any records concerning tenant harvests, which leaves tenants in no position to argue with the farmers when it comes to receiving their dues.

### An imminent explosion?

K.N. Hari Kumar, an influential newspaper director in Bangalore, the capital of the state of Karnataka, expressed the thinking of the Indian

Roberto Romeo



The poorest man in the world

"This is woman's work," he complains, "but I have to do it because I and my family are very poor." He makes no objection as I get ready to make a photograph. Turning to my interpreter and guide, gynecologist Ariane Loening, I lamely remark that I could print that photo over a caption, "the poorest man in the world." To teach me a lesson, she asks him in Bengali whether he knows of anyone poorer than himself. "Of course I do," he answers. "Not all *gobor* makers can get all the cow dung they need."

middle classes during an informal conversation in his office: "The money spent by the government on charity should be invested instead. To criticize charity may be unpopular, but these programs are not viable. They are sacrificing the future in exchange for immediate political benefits. We need investments, not assistance programs."

Only five percent of Karnataka's population of 38 million can read English. It is for them that Kumar publishes the *Deccan Herald* with a daily circulation of 140,000 copies. For the remaining 95 percent, his company issues a second daily in the local language (Kanaada) with a total printing of 180,000 copies. There is a striking difference in quality between the two publications. The 32-page English daily uses offset printing on good-grade, white paper. The paper used in the Kanaada daily has a yellowish color; it is hand-set and carries fewer illustrations. Reason: "Advertisers prefer readers that can buy their products, and place their ads in the *Herald*," says Kumar candidly.

Perhaps we should write more about the poor," he admits. But he is not very optimistic: "The population is so ignorant that you can't really talk

of anything like public opinion among them."

For the middle and higher classes, India is a country with a population of 70 million in the middle-income range and a level of consumption equivalent to that of a "modest industrial power" such as Portugal or Greece. The remaining 700 million simply do not count: they do not read the papers, they have no opinion, and they just do not participate.

"The India of the ruling class, the India that really exists, is entirely different from the India of the ruled," wrote Jan Myrdal in 1961. "The India of the rulers is full of slogans, luxury, and bombastic phrases on the love for peace and its own peculiar brand of socialism. The India of the ruled is deprivation, famine, and death."

Even now, as he sets his foot on Calcutta and recoils at the sight of widespread poverty, the visitor feels inclined to agree with Myrdal and to pre-

dict an imminent social upheaval. Yet Tibor Mende had warned as early as 1952: "We have less and less time left to fill the gap between constitutional ideals and the intolerable social conditions prevailing today." For him, India would have to "make a decision" in the very short term.

But in 1986 such decision, if it means radical political change, does not seem imminent at all. The constitutional system of which Indians are so proud of — "We're the greatest democracy in the world" — has proved to be surprisingly unstable. The state of "emergency" which lasted from 1975 to 1977, during which Indira Gandhi cancelled elections and ruled with special powers, had a cathartic effect on radical intellectuals. To be sure, democratic formality is not enough to eradicate famine, but at least it gives people a chance to organize themselves and protest against abuses. No political party in India is questioning democracy in itself,



There are 3,000 "illegal" slums around Calcutta alone

Roberto Remo

## Calcutta's Forgotten 3 Million

□ Some 5,000 residents of Calcutta's "illegal" slums took to the streets last April 9 to deliver a petition on their behalf to the city's recently elected authorities. "We need the help of journalists and intellectuals," said the organizers of the unusual demonstration. "We are powerless, and cannot express ourselves very well. We need their support."

Local journalists weren't impressed. "They're lucky they have a Communist government to turn to now," said one of them. "If it were in Bombay, a fleet of bulldozers would have already dismantled their slums."

Chances are that their demands will go unheeded. There are some 7,000 "provisional" settlements in Calcutta, of which 3,000 are considered "illegal". Most of them came into existence during the industrialization process which took place in India before independence. Through the efforts of Communist groups, some of them won the title to the land they occupy. And through their votes the Communists won the elections for the state government of West Bengal in 1977.

but the future of Indian democracy is being debated by every one of them.

Indira Gandhi got her dues at the polls in 1977, when the Congress Party's representation in Parliament dropped from 350 to 153 seats. The Janata Party, which rose to fill the power gap, soon proved to be a mixed coalition held together by feelings against Indira. It fell apart due to an absolute lack of sound proposals and internal consistency, and the Congress Party won its majority position back in 1980. Under the emotional impact of her assassination, an even more comfortable majority was attained in 1984; but in a matter of months Rajiv Gandhi's party had lost the state governments of Karnataka and Andhra, the mayoralties of Bombay and Calcutta (the two largest Indian cities), and part of its representation at the Legislative Assemblies in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Rajiv is counting on his family's prestige and

the absence of a choice of national leaders, both in the opposition and within his own party. Yet he knows this reassuring situation cannot be permanent. He must act—and the sooner the better.

#### Striking a difficult balance

Shortly after independence was won, India opted for an economic development model known as a "mixed economy," under which "a combination of the best of capitalism and socialism" was to be attained.

British colonialism had completely stunted the growth of local industries, especially in the case of textiles which competed with British manufactures. Now Indians like to argue over whether their emerging industries owe their existence to Jawaharlal Nehru's foresight or whether he merely proceeded with the import substitution policy introduced by

"We won the government but we haven't really been invested with power," the Communists like to point out. Nevertheless, they decided to take the bull by the horns and enforce land reform in the interior of Bengal, in the hope of reducing rural migration to the city. Unfortunately the 1971 independence war in Bangladesh had pushed nearly three million refugees into Calcutta, most of whom now live in subhuman conditions.

Officially authorized settlements, called *bustees*, are tended to by the local authorities. But over one-half million people live in "illegal" settlements along the city's canals and railways, underneath grade crossings, or simply on sidewalks and streets. Often a mat will be hung between two lampposts to serve as a roof for a small family. City dwellers complain about the ugliness of such "settlements," most of them fearing a devaluation of their nearby properties.

The city authorities resort to a mixture of repression and persuasion to dislodge people living on the streets, and have erected walls around public gardens and parks to avoid further trespassing by homeless families. With the rising price of land due to municipal investments in subways, water and sanitation, landowners have increased their pressure against such "invaders."

"Those who live in illegal slums have nowhere



Over one-half million homeless people live on Indian streets

else to live," says architect Ajoy Chanduri, head of a volunteer organization called Service Center which promotes slum dweller support. "Hence they do not vote and, for the authorities, they do not exist. The non-organized poor, who lack the protection of a political party or a labor union, are consistently discriminated against. Yet they are neither wrongdoers nor members of a lumpenproletariat. Theoretically they just do not exist, and the cities won't hear of them."

the British during World War II, when European supplies of manufactured products were suddenly cut off.

Be as it may, India's earlier five-year plans clearly encouraged the establishment of local industries while restricting penetration by transnational enterprises. The largest banks were nationalized, and strategic industrial activities became the government's preserve. Foreign investment remains strictly limited, while importation of foreign technology is subjected to special licensing procedures, with entrepreneurs having to demonstrate that no similar technology exists in India. Small industries are protected: certain products cannot be manufactured by the larger enterprises, while others are to be produced by artisans only.

Enforcing such measures requires a huge bureaucracy — and an army of public servants complement the social foundations of the Indian economic model. These middle and higher classes make up the domestic consumer market, which represents only 10 percent of the total population. In spite of these shortcomings, India now produces most of the oil it needs, and is heading towards food self-sufficiency. The country does not depend on foreign trade, with exports accounting for only 10 percent of total economic activities. Such are the economic foundations on which India has built its independent, non-aligned foreign policy.

On the other hand, if India no longer needs to import oil, this is because 60 percent of the popu-

lation gets its energy from burning wood or cow dung. If there are food surpluses, this is because most of the population cannot buy all they need to eat. If the country does not export more, this is because the expensive products put out by a protected industry are not competitive in the world market.

The recent governmental decision giving artisans the exclusive right to make the silk fabrics used in *saris* (the traditional garment worn by Indian women) is a typical example of how the Indian state envisages economic intervention. The decision brought protests from the affected textile plants in Karnataka, which tried to win middle-class support by pointing out that artisanal fabrics would be more expensive. For the government, however, such higher price is fully justified by the social need to ensure the survival of many thousands of small weavers in the villages.

Following this same line of thought, the government has established a ceiling on the capital owned by artisanal enterprises which prevents them from automating and growing. Thus small production units can generate more employment than larger enterprises. Under the Seventh Five-Year Plan, the number of jobs in small enterprises is expected to rise from 31 to 40 million. Fifty percent of the country's total industrial goods are produced by 1.2 million small companies.

Such criteria run counter to the belief of orthodox economic thinkers who advocate, among other

Silk fabrics used in *saris* (the traditional garment of Indian women) can be made by artisans only

Gazdar/Woodfin Camp





Roberto Remo

India has a total of over one million small-scale enterprises

things, the adoption of Calcutta's Business Standards: "The only logical solution is to let the market determine enterprise size. In spite of the announced liberalization, the government must adopt a new attitude towards industrial policy. The idea of establishing maximum and minimum sizes, production rates and techniques, should be abandoned. Nowadays, when planners talk of liberalization, they are thinking in terms of new regulations and additional committees."

Their thinking found an echo in a manifesto issued last April in Bombay, the country's industrial capital, by a group of liberals who are trying to put together a new political party: "There can be no freedom in a state-dominated economy that leaves no scope for private initiative." Less bureaucracy and less social assistance is now the order of the day. The manifesto claims that state intervention in the economy in the past three decades is responsible for India's "slow growth, corruption and expanding black market."

Under a democratic regime, however, the government cannot afford to ignore situations such as that of the jute industry, the country's oldest and main source of foreign exchange, which has been adversely affected by competition from plastic bags in the domestic and international markets. Two hundred thousand workers in West Bengal and four million peasants would starve without the jute industry. The Marxist Communist Party, or CPI-M, which is in power in Bengal (and follows an independent foreign policy line, unlike the pro-

Soviet CPI and the pro-Chinese CPI-ML), would like to see the jute industry nationalized. For the CPI-M, the entire public sector, including state-owned fertilizer plants, should use jute bags rather than plastic bags. Recently, the government made it known that special licences will be required for the installation of new bag manufactures.

Thus on a case-by-case basis, the Rajiv Gandhi administration tries to strike a difficult balance between the eventual liberalization of private industries (with respect to imports, acquisition of technology, and fiscal control) and the needs of those sectors where its constituency lies, and which are likely to be affected by such liberalization.

#### Enter computers, out go the brains

Rajiv Gandhi believes he has found a way to cut the gordian knot of this difficult marriage of interests: to jump head on into the 21st century. On April 10 the Indian Prime Minister announced



The Marxist Communist Party (CPI-M) demands nationalization of Indian industry

a scientific and technological development plan under which more funds will be allocated to basic and applied research, and greater decentralization will be adopted in allocating national resources. "The everyday use of technology is the difference between developed and developing countries," he said. Rural areas are backward because "the industrial revolution has not reached them." And "anyone who thinks differently would like to see the poor remain poor, either for political or ideological reasons."

He went on to explain that an unfounded fear of unemployment is one of the reasons for resisting modernization. He reminded the nation that a similar resistance occurred in Europe in the 19th century, yet rather than reducing European wealth and employment, the Industrial Revolution increased both.

On his turn, Minister of Science and Technology Shivraj Patil added that the government plans to shift its priorities from "adequate" to "sophisticated" technology, while emphasizing the development of domestic technologies. The *Deccan Herald* was quick to comment: "This major change may have adverse consequences given the trend of the middle-class to imitate the West. New things are not necessarily better, and the more sophisticated is not necessarily more beneficial." On a wall facing the *Herald* someone had written in large black letters: "Stop job-killing computers."

Until recently, Indian companies were authorized to buy computers only for production-related processes, not for office automation. The 1986-87 budget ignores such distinction. Imports of computer systems have grown from US\$ 14 million in 1983-84 to US\$ 120 million in 1985-86.

While we waited in Madras for the beginning of a show of solidarity towards Nicaragua, we talked to an electronic engineering student. Of the 33 young people in his class, he is the only one who does not plan to migrate to the US, Canada or

Western Europe.

At least 386 prominent Indian scientists are currently working abroad. For the government to introduce a serious technological policy, it is indispensable to bring them back into India and to prevent further brain flight. Rajiv Gandhi seems personally committed to these goals and has spelled out his policy: to reduce university access "to actual demand levels," and offer scientists and technicians the same kind of incentives and remuneration as those prevailing in developed countries. If this happens, this Indian super-elite would have its current earnings multiplied by a factor of 10 or even 20.

If a similar incentive is extended to prosperous entrepreneurs and businessmen, greater income concentration is bound to ensue. The World Bank



In spite of widespread poverty, income distribution in India is one of the most equitable in the Third World

has found that wealth distribution in India is among the most equitable in the Third World. Of each rupee generated in the country, 33 cents go to the 10 percent richer classes, with the 40 percent poorest getting 16 cents. This is in striking contrast with the situation prevailing in those countries that opened their economies to trans-

national enterprises: in Brazil, for instance, the richer classes that make up 10 percent of the population get over 50 percent of the total national income, while the poorer classes that make up 40 percent of all Brazilians get only seven percent.

If the share allotted to the poor in India is comparatively greater than in Brazil, the Indian per capita income is only US\$ 260 per year, while in Brazil it is US\$ 1,880. Yet, if economic growth requires giving more to the rich, then it follows that the poor may be forced to give up even the smallest of crumbs.

#### How to look for a key

To sum up, things are bad for the people but good for the country: between 1980 and 1985 the

## At War With the Indian Tiger

□ "We'll shoot if necessary to eliminate this threat," said Sunderbans peasants in West Bengal to a special envoy of Calcutta's newspaper *The Statesmen*. They were not referring to a peasant armed struggle against the local government or greedy landowners; the threat they had in mind were the tigers of a neighboring animal reserve which, in the first quarter of this year alone, killed seven people and wounded dozens of others. Last year, 25 people were attacked and/or killed by tigers kept by the Dudhwa National Park in Uttar Pradesh.

The most recent reported incident occurred on April 3, when a man named Gour Haldar and some friends of his walked into the reserve in search of wild honey. As the group stopped to gather wood and prepare a meal, Haldar was attacked by a tiger. His friends rescued him, but he later died at a clinic for lack of blood transfusion equipment.

Believing that tigers that have tasted human flesh will return for more, Haldar's friends plan to return to the reserve with guns or poisoned goat meat to eliminate the killer. They will probably be arrested for this vendetta, of course, since tigers in the reserve are under the protection of the law.

"What makes these peasants risk their lives by going into the reserve," said one of them to the *Statesman* reporter, "is an absolute lack of re-

This old woman was seriously wounded . . .

sources." Wood is in short supply around the villages, fishing is scarce, and wild bees prefer to build their hives in the quietness of national parks.

To compound the problem, water in the Dudhwa National Park is not free from the pollution that now affects practically all Indian rivers. In search of cleaner water, tigers have ventured closer and closer to nearby villages. Last March, people at Satjelia very nearly lynched a Forest Department official who argued that the tigers must be protected at any cost. In the previous weeks, a roaming tiger had devoured a woman and her child in Satjelia as they lay asleep at night.

Peasants are demanding a 10,000 rupee (roughly US\$ 800) indemnity for each victim of the tigers, as well as permanent, armed guards and electrified fences to protect their villages. On their turn, park supporters resent peasant animosity against the animals (42 tigers were killed in Dudhwa in 1985), as well as the growing settlement of human populations around animal reserves. The number of villages around the Dudhwa park has jumped from 21 to 80 since 1978. "Tigers don't 'vote,'" they say, "and politicians tend to side with the peasants." Dudhwa villagers, however, are convinced that the city authorities have instead sided with the tigers, a species which international ecologists have been trying to preserve.

Perhaps villagers and tigers are both victims of a serious ecological disorder. Both certainly have sufficient reasons in common to stand against a development model that may drive them to extinction. Unfortunately a "common front" made up of peasants and tigers to cope with this situation does not quite sound viable.

. . . and this young lady's husband was killed by tigers



Indian gross national product grew at a rate of 5.2 percent per year.

Economist C. T. Kurien puts it this way: "Growth in the past decade was satisfactory, and India experienced a significant increase in its domestic savings. The government's 'socialist' commitment (in the sense of creating a welfare state, rather than a state based on social ownership of the means of production) required increased public expenditures. The public sector enterprises, however, are incapable of generating profits, and therefore the government's resources are declining. For the first time since independence, India has now run a fiscal deficit. Faced with this situation, the government balks at the idea of raising direct taxes for the minority which benefits from economic growth and can thus cumulate capital. Following the fiscal policies adopted by Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, the Indian government has even reduced income tax as a means to stimulate capital cumulation and investment.



Roberto Remo

The poorest classes are having to pay the price of the government's austerity policy

"Instead, by increasing indirect taxes, the government has been transferring the onus of its own fiscal difficulties to the poorer sectors of the country, which already face increasing prices generated, in part, by the government's own deficits. Meanwhile, the internal public debt has increased. Money saved in taxes is loaned to the government by the richer sectors at an interest, to permit the latter to proceed with its 'socialist' programs of assistance to the poor."

On its turn, a persistent trade deficit contributes to increase the Indian foreign debt. Minister of Finance Vishwanath Pratap Singh likes to say that "anyone who doesn't live beyond his means must suffer from a lack of imagination," and he certainly

is not worried over the increasing foreign and domestic debts.

"We will not have a repetition of the Latin American experience," say New Delhi technocrats. Indeed the foreign market is only marginal for the Indian economy. The country's debt service, however, amounts to at least 10 percent of its export revenues, and one-half of all new loans have gone into debt payments. Indian-Ugandan economist Iqbal Asaria, who left his position as a World Bank staff member to side with the Third World against economic colonialism, wrote in the *Inquiry* magazine which he publishes in London: "India is beginning to feel the effects of the 'Latin-Americanization' of its economy."

Narayan Choubey, a member of parliament belonging to the CPI, said on April 9 that the World Bank is pressuring India towards devaluing the rupee under the classic argument of the need to promote exports. That was only two days after the US government set import quotas for Indian textiles, thus withdrawing with one hand what it offers with the other.

Iqbal Asaria illustrates his point with an old Indian story. An old man was seen diligently searching for his frontdoor key in the marketplace. A solicitous boy offered to help him, and asked him exactly where he had lost his key. "Outside my porch," the old man said. "Then why are you looking for it here?" "My porch is too dark," replied the old man, "there is much more light here."

India seems to be behaving in the same way, looking for solutions to its problems where the light of "selfless" aid extended by the World Bank, the IMF and the international technocracy is more intense. The only problem is that the country thus risks compromising its self-reliance, its non-aligned and independent stance, not to mention its very national integrity.

To look for things in the dark is certainly harder. But only by rummaging through one's own house, one's own history and unexploited resources of national wisdom, and only by using the people's enormous capabilities to resist and sacrifice, can one hope to find the key.

Roberto Remo Bissio

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The author traveled extensively in India from April 2 to 19, having participated in a number of meetings between Indian and foreign journalists promoted by the Third World Network.

# The A-Bomb Within a Pacifist Tradition



Will Rajiv Gandhi, one of the six heads of state<sup>1</sup> who signed the New Delhi Declaration against the arms race, eventually become responsible for equipping India with nuclear weapons?

Officially at least, the New Delhi government has repeatedly assured the world it does not "intend" to initiate a nuclear weapons program. But according to Rajiv Gandhi, this decision will have to be "seriously reconsidered" in case Pakistan goes nuclear. And last April the Prime Minister said in Parliament that there is "evidence" that India's neighbor and rival is heading exactly that way.

For many observers, India may already be viewed as a member of the exclusive "nuclear club" along with the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, France and — secretly — Israel and South Africa. India's first nuclear explosion took place in the atmosphere in 1974. To be sure, it was a minor explosion which was dismissed as part of a nuclear research program with peaceful purposes. Since then no related equipment has been built — and the bomb is not militarily effective if it cannot be carried to the target site by special aircraft or missiles.

The 1974 Indian bomb had been installed on top of a tower, but now the country has its own rockets for the launching of communication satellites into orbit, and has become self-sufficient in the areas of nuclear fuels, heavy water, and reactors. All it needs now to become a nuclear power is the political will to do so: the technical means are already there.

The prospect that the conventional arms race going on in South Asia may become a nuclear arms race has aroused public opinion in the area. Last April a preliminary document was going

around Indian and Pakistani scientific circles, in which citizens of both countries urged their governments "to avert the costs and risks of a nuclear arms race," while urging their scientists "to discuss and propose monitoring policies that will assure both countries that they are not building nuclear weapons."

Gamma



India's first nuclear explosion took place in 1974

The Committee for a Sound Nuclear Policy (COSNUP) believes that the argument that "(India) is being forced by Pakistan into developing nuclear weapons" is invalid, since "it is India (the largest country in the subcontinent) that determines the pace of events in South Asia. It is our responsibility to decide whether the area will go nuclear or not."

India has a sophisticated system of conventional defense along its 3,500-kilometer border with Pakistan, extending from the top of the Himalayas to the Arabian sea. Its air-air, land-air and air-land missiles can detect, intercept and destroy any

<sup>1</sup> The other five: Raúl Alfonsín, of Argentina; Benjedid Chadli, of Algeria; Miguel de la Madrid, of Mexico; Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania; and Olof Palme, of Sweden.

enemy aircraft that enters its air space from the West. In addition, COSNUP members argue that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, with their sophisticated system of detection by satellite, is an additional advantage to India, since the country would have sufficiently early warning to react and destroy any Pakistani nuclear artifacts before they crossed the border.

#### The role of conventional forces

The Committee also argues that it is not true that nuclear weapons would help to reduce the Indian defense budget. The regional conflicts and border problems faced by India require the use of conventional forces, not nuclear weapons. The Indian Army — 1,000,000-man strong and the world's largest — helps to keep law and order in the country and can act in such emergencies as floods and epidemics.

"The costs of an A-bomb and those of Migs and Mirages bear no comparison," wrote Dhirendra Sharma in the influential *Indian Express*. Nuclear armaments require a complex and expensive infrastructure; thousands of Indian engineers and scientists would have to abandon their normal productive sectors; a special Air Force group would have to be created; doctors and nurses would have to be trained for new tasks. Worse, all this structure would have to be kept secret and isolated from the public. In the United States, 5,000 of the 150,000 military working with nuclear equipment are retired every year because of such behavioral disorders as alcoholism, drug use, and emotional instability.

In India as in other countries, the incidence of suicide and mental disorders among personnel dealing with nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is higher than the national average. And it is likely to increase among those subjected to the greater stress of handling nuclear weapons.

Those who insist on nuclear weapons, adds the Committee, are thinking of a nuclear conflict in conventional terms. They forget that the subsequent radioactive fallout will not spare either Indians or Pakistani, Hindus or Muslims, rich or poor, white or black, dead or unborn. Every nuclear explosion, no matter how experimental, helps to increase radiation to a level incompatible with human life, and therefore it is neither unscientific nor unpatriotic to oppose the A-bomb. (R.R.B.)

# The "Sagam" Revolution



The people of Handigudahkavalu, a small village in India, have decided to throw away their plastic household goods and revert to their traditional handicraft, such as pots of baked clay and natural fiber baskets. Though the news did not make the headlines in any Indian newspaper, it is representative of a profound cultural revolution in rural India, just as Mahatma Gandhi's decision to burn his Western garments and wear a cotton tunic he had woven himself became a symbol of a nationwide movement towards independence.

While the concept of *Satyagraha*, or non-violent civil disobedience, was the essence of Gandhi's resistance, the password used by the new movement in southern Indian villages is *sangam*, meaning the confluence of two rivers — and, by extension, a confluence of ideas or an alliance between the poor.

"*Sangam* has become the way of life in some 400 villages in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka," I was told by S.X. James Melchior, an executive director of the Indian Cultural Development Center. Melchior is also the spokesman for this new, subtle movement whose members care for no publicity at all.

#### Reverting to old traditions

The institute directed by Melchior is a modest organization with a staff of no more than 15 people who work at the village level, plus another man, in addition to himself, in Madras, the capital of Tamil Nadu. The difference between the institute and the numberless volunteer groups and nongovernmental organizations doing developmental work in India's 700,000 villages lies in its approach: its purpose is not to work *with* the poor, and not even *for* the poor, but to extend support to ideas and projects which the people themselves select and implement.

Ultimately aimed at restoring Indian past, the movement places its emphasis on traditional practices in the areas of health, law, and the use of natural resources. It also involves recording oral tradition and old inscriptions, as well as encouraging participation in established festivities and communal singing.

"We also develop research and training programs in medicine and nursing," says Melchior. "One of our midwives has successfully assisted in 750 childbirths, a record not easily matched by Western doctors."

In each village, at least four volunteers selected by the institute are engaged in health work. They must be experienced in childbirth, child care, general practice, and mental health, respectively. All activities are carefully recorded and continually encouraged.

As they began to work among the poorest — the villages' untouchables — the institute's staff found that, more often than not, the first thing they wanted to do with the help they got was cleaning, painting or rebuilding their local temples. This somehow surprised staff members, who believed their basic concerns were food, housing and health.

Thus in most cases *sangam* begins with a refurbishing of the local temples. Once this task is over, festivities are organized where people can sing, talk and laugh at will. Laughing, as staff members have found, is a powerful antidote for fear.

The city dweller's notion that the poor in rural areas are backward, superstitious and ignorant has been accepted by the poor themselves. Viewing themselves in this way, they are surprised when

Doctors and pediatricians stationed at every village train the local population in basic medical care



The *sangan* movement seeks to preserve Indian traditions townsfolk show any interest in what they do and know. Thus the next task is to eliminate such prejudices by making them use their own creativity, and by persuading them that there is nothing wrong with what they have always done.

Other chores then follow: water wells are dug, houses are built in the traditional way, musical instruments are produced, and artisan shops are installed. "The important thing is for them to be able to take care of themselves by practicing self-government," explains Melchior. "The money we get from outside humanitarian help is placed on their hands. *They* decide how it will be put to use, not us."

In a later stage, villagers are encouraged to express their feelings and talk about their experi-



ences. At a communal meeting, a peasant may stand up and say, "I grow red peppers. I've been told that fertilizers and pesticides are being offered for free. I haven't used such things, but my neighbor has. And now he can no longer afford to buy additional supplies of these products, which have become essential for him. He is now poorer than before." The reasons for this are then discussed, enabling the peasant to understand the system and explain it to his neighbors.

"When a carpenter leaves a village, we try to get him back. Artisan work is encouraged. Surpluses may be taken to the market to be exchanged for other products, not for money," says Melchior.

In Karnataka, an indigenous agricultural development program has been introduced by the community itself. Elsewhere, attempts have been made to restore institutional and legal traditions, such as the democratic election of village judges. For Melchior, "each village is a different world."

In some cases, *sangam* can successfully reorganize an entire village. In others, this hasn't been possible because of entrenched inequalities in the allocation of resources and marked class differences among the population. Thirty years of "development" programs have introduced a clear distinction between irrigated villages using hybrid seeds, fertilizers and pesticides — but where communal areas have disappeared — and marginal zones where such "progress" hasn't occurred.

#### Immediate needs have priority over other village tasks



Roberto Remo



Newly-acquired agricultural techniques are passed on from a group of peasants to another

#### A cultural effort

In "modernized" villages, *sangam* practices on the part of the untouchables can go unperceived. "Maybe the rich peasants have seen them doing certain things or planning a get-together, but they don't care about what the poor may do," says Melchior. "They have no idea what it is all about. *Sangam* is far from being a conventional effort. What is going on is not obvious to strangers."

What then is going on exactly? Where is the movement heading?

In essence, what happens is that the poor are encouraged to take up those tasks they are most interested in, and later share their experiences in "workshops" with other low-income groups from the same village. It is neither a subversive nor a political movement; above all, it is a cultural effort.

"The people who support us in the cities are engaged in research or journalism, not in politics," adds Melchior. "The state supports westernized sectors against indigenous efforts. We support the utterly poor, the marginal groups. The urban elites couldn't care less about what we do. No leftist demagogue has shown up in the villages where we have done work in the past 15 years. They have nothing in common with the local culture."

"We still have no idea of the political implications of our work in the long term. We don't have any present targets. The process itself is our goal. And we have been rewarded. Those who were lying down are now on their knees. Tomorrow they may rise up by themselves. When and how this will happen depends on them."

R.R.B.



Over 50 leaders of the anti-apartheid campaign have been attacked by death-squads

## Vigilantes on the Rampage

South African ultra-racists organize death squads to liquidate anti-apartheid leaders using the same methods as their Latin American counterparts

“These vigilantes are no different from the death squads of Latin America” — thus Murphy Morobe, chief spokesman of the United Democratic Front (UDF) described the rise of this frightening, if not unexpected, new phenomenon on the South African political scene. Indeed death squads have been operating in South Africa since the mid 1970’s. But until recently their attacks were sporadic — their main targets being high profile leaders and left wing intellectuals.

Two of the best known early victims were Richard Turner and Griffiths Mexenge. Turner, a radical political science lecturer (and close associate of murdered black consciousness leader Steve Biko) was shot dead at point blank range through the bedroom window of his home in Durban in January 1978.

In 1981 Mexenge, a former Robben Island prisoner, ANC member and political trials lawyer was kidnapped as he was driving off from his office. Two days later his mutilated

body with dozens of stab wounds was found in a football stadium in Umlazi, a black township on the outskirts of Durban.

By 1984 right wing terrorism had reached a new phase which coincided with the escalation of the liberation struggle by forces inside and outside the country. The introduction in 1984 of the tri-cameral parliament which included Indians and coloreds, but excluded the African majority, heralded the beginnings of an unprecedented wave of black

protest which has continued unabated and gains momentum every day.

Central to the intensified protest has been the UDF. Launched in Capetown in August 1983, the UDF is a coalition of some 600 community, labor, political, social and religious organizations. It is by far the largest and most powerful internal opposition movement since the African National Congress (ANC) was outlawed in 1960. Despite its leadership being subjected to detentions, bannings and assassinations, the UDF has not only survived, but continues to grow in strength and influence. Its decentralized structures with local committees in almost every black township has enabled the UDF to withstand the most vicious assaults of the apartheid regime.

Parallel with the rise of the UDF, has been the intensified military onslaught of the African National Congress, its growing support among the black masses, and its increasing legitimacy among a broad spectrum of white South Africans. These developments, together with the emergence of powerful black trade unions, has taken the South African struggle to new heights. This process, and the inability of the apartheid state to quell the rising tide of protest, has left reactionaries (both black and white) frustrated and desperate.

### The death squads

From the ranks of the desperate reactionaries have emerged the vigilantes whose objectives, according to Nicholas Haysom, a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, are "to destroy opposition institutions and policies." And according to Morobe

these right-wing elements were being used by the authorities "to blunt the edge of liberation forces."

The declaration of the state of emergency in July 1985 heralded the new wave of vigilante attacks. In the past nine months, nine people have been murdered, scores injured and hundreds left homeless. In the Pretoria area alone, 56 UDF members have been the targets of attacks. One of the first victims of the new phase was Griffith Mexenge's wife, Victoria. In August 1985 she was shot dead in the driveway of her home by four hooded men. Like her husband, Mrs Mexenge was human rights lawyer and at the time of her death was involved in the defense team of 12 UDF leaders on trial for treason.

Two months earlier four prominent community leaders in the Eastern Cape — Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli — were returning home from a UDF meeting when they were abducted and murdered.

In May 1985 three leaders of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association — Sipho Hashe, Qaqawuli Godoloz and Champion Galela — "disappeared" while traveling from Port Elizabeth to their homes in the Kwazakhele Township. Later in the year the homes of political trials lawyer Priscilla Jana, eminent sociologist Fatima Meer and former president of the now banned congress of South African students, Ephraim Mogale were badly damaged by petrol bombs. In December last year, the church of Father Smangaliso Mkwathswa, the country's top black Catholic bishop, was bombed.

But one of the worst cases involved chief Ampie Mayisa, an executive member of the UDF-affiliated Leandra Action Committee. In January vigilantes burned down his house in Leandra (about 100 km east of Johannesburg) and then hacked him to death with axes when he tried to flee.

Not surprisingly, in these and all other vigilante attacks, no arrests have been made. In the case of Mayisa's murder, lawyers acting on behalf of his family provided the police with a list of 23 vigilantes involved in the attack. But the police blatantly refused to act.

Who are the vigilantes? Most are a motley group of white right wingers and black mercenaries. With the obvious problems that whites have in entering black townships, black henchmen are substituted. Some of them are off-duty black policemen in the pay of the regime's security forces. However, white vigilantes are now employing a new tactic to enter the townships themselves: wearing black hoods and overalls, they roam the townships armed with guns, sticks and whips.

In January two white policemen were stabbed to death in the Kagiso township near Johannesburg. Shortly after, white vigilantes (wearing face masks), entered the township at night and according to an eyewitness, "shot anyone they saw walking in the street." Two persons were killed and more than 40 were injured.

While most of the vigilantes remain faceless individuals, two organizations, the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) and the Zulu Inkatha Movement may be termed the spiritual fathers of the new generation of vigilantes.

tes. Though rooted in different cultures and with different political objectives, the AWB and Inkatha reveal some remarkable similarities, especially in dealing with political opponents.

#### Ultra-racists

The AWB is an extreme-right wing Afrikaner para-military movement, under the leadership of Eugene Terre Blanch, a 44-year old ex-policeman and rugby player. The AWB considers president P.W. Botha and other Afrikaner nationalists as too moderate and "traitors to the Afrikaner volk" for attempting to introduce reforms to the apartheid system. Avowedly racist, AWB supporters unleash violence against white opponents and black "agitators." Blanch recently proclaimed: "We stand at the beginning of the greatest violence ever seen. It all boils down to a clash between two forces — the AWB and the ANC. We will fight to the bitter end." The current wave of vigilante actions blend perfectly with the AWB philosophy on violence.

Inkatha, the Zulu political and cultural movement, is led by Gatsha Buthelezi, who is also chief minister of the KWA Zulu homeland and as such is a paid employee of the Pretoria regime. Buthelezi is an enigmatic and controversial figure who started his political career with the Youth League of the ANC in the early 1950s. His acceptance of the leadership of the KWA Zulu Bantustan seriously damaged his reputation as an authentic leader. As he battled to restore his credibility with no success, Buthelezi gradually moved to the right.

Today, Buthelezi is seen by

all progressive forces in South Africa as an ally of the Pretoria regime. On crucial issues like economic sanctions and the armed struggle, he speaks the same language as P.W. Botha.

Highly ambitious, Buthelezi has seen his vision as a national leader swept away by the UDF and the ANC whom he misses no opportunity to denounce. With his support base among conservative Zulus, most of whom live in the Natal province, Buthelezi jealously and frantically tries to prevent the UDF and its allies like the recently formed Congress of South African Unions (COSATU) from gaining a foothold in his province.

in March to discuss the national school boycotts. At other times they adopt vigilante tactics — roaming the townships at night, seeking out UDF supporters in particular and firing gunshots at their homes or setting them alight. The murders of Mr and Mrs Mexenge, who were outspoken critics of Inkatha and Buthelezi, are widely believed to have been carried out by Inkatha vigilantes. This belief gained credence when Inkatha members openly attacked Mexenges's memorial service, killing 19 mourners.

As the struggle heightens and as the state falters, as black militancy grows and as white



Apartheid extremists employ torture to intimidate their victims

However, both the UDF and COSATU enjoy considerable support in Natal, including a sizeable section of the Zulu population. In a desperate attempt to eliminate the UDF and COSATU from Natal, Inkatha (which like the AWB is organized as a para-military organization) has unleashed terror on UDF and other progressive forces.

Sometimes the terror is openly executed, as when a bus load of Inkatha members attacked participants at a meeting in Durban

confidence declines, the ranks of the vigilantes are bound to swell. The South African struggle, so closely intertwined between race and class, is a complex one. And this complexity also extends to the composition of the vigilantes who are not simply right-wing fanatics but include a myriad of blacks ranging from the lumpenproletariat desperately in need of money, to political opportunists and reactionaries.

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## Will Peace Have a Chance?

After a 20-year-long civil war, Uganda finally seems headed towards national reconstruction based on a political model that rejects ethnic divisions inherited from colonial times

Yoweri Museveni's rise to power in Uganda last January represented not only the installation of Uganda's eighth president in 24 years of independence, but also the beginning of the end of an outdated political system introduced long ago by the nation's colonial rulers. Uganda, a land-locked country that was once considered to be one of Africa's largest breadbaskets, had until recently relied on ethnic and regional leaderships that made for unstable divisions and violent shifts of power much in the taste of the old British colonial administration. As he begins his sixth month in office, Museveni still faces formidable challenges. Most of his problems stem from the sheer fact that

the country must be virtually built anew after a succession of authoritarian regimes which took a toll of nearly 500,000 dead, two million refugees, 600,000 physically handicapped, and untold material damages.



Disarming the civilians is a major task for the new government

What begins to emerge from this chaos is a political model which for the first time in Ugandan history really caters to the needs of the Ugandan people. The political structure proposed by Museveni and his colleagues in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) must be built upwards from the bottom to the top of the pyramid. This structure has already proved itself in the past six months in areas controlled by the National Resistance Army (NRA), which is the NRM guerrilla section. The so-called District Administrations are reminiscent of Mozambique's Communal Villages and Tanzania's *ujamaas*, both of which are experiments the NRM

leader acquainted himself with while in exile.

Though it may still be too early to predict whether the new government will manage to rebuild the country and achieve the desired stability, Museveni can certainly be credited with two recent major feats. First, he eliminated a resistance focus which had emerged in the north, an area largely controlled by the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups and by followers of former dictator Idi Amin Dada. Major cities such as

third world - 39

Kitgum, Gulu and Moyo were swiftly occupied by the NRA in late February and early March, contradicting most European diplomats and journalists who had predicted a protracted conflict between the country's north and south.

Second, at a meeting in Entebbe on March 20 attended by the presidents of six neighbor countries (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, Tanzania and Zaire), a decision was reached to the effect that none of them would give shelter to exiled dissident groups that might be interested in destabilizing the new Ugandan government. Thus the economic interests of such countries as Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire and Sudan proved stronger than any ideological reservations with regard to the NRM, especially as political instability in Uganda has caused serious trade problems for its neighbors in the past.

### The Museveni project

The political project which the NRM founder is implementing in Uganda has much to do with his own personal experience. Born in 1944 (or 1945, he is not sure which) in a small village near Mbrara in southern Uganda, Museveni is a member of the Ankole ethnic group located near the Ugandan border with Tanzania and Rwanda. The Ankoles are a Bantu people, and as such had always been overshadowed by the Baganda elite, which the British had elected as their partners in the construction of Uganda's economic and agricultural system.

As a child, Museveni was educated in Protestant missions, where he assimilated his teachers' moral and ascetic principles.

After he finished high school, he moved to Dar es Salaam, where he attended university and made contact with FRELIMO militants who were then engaged in the struggle for Mozambican independence. He did propaganda work for the Mozambican revolutionaries and reportedly visited FRELIMO war fronts in Cabo Delgado following his military training in North Korea.



Museveni: from guerrilla to President

In his daily contacts with Mozambican guerrilla fighters, he learned how a small group of revolutionary warriors could make solid territorial conquests provided they had close links with the local populations. He also learned it was possible to install a self-supporting administration in guerrilla-occupied zones.

In addition, contacts with Tanzanian political leaders and intellectuals at the Dar es Salaam University gave Museveni a pan-African outlook and the conviction that the military struggle in his own country would have

to take place simultaneously with the introduction of an administrative structure centered upon the villages, which are the traditional nuclei of Ugandan peasant organization. In the opinion of some of his friends, including his advisor Eriya Kategaya, Museveni had blended the military experience he had gained at FRELIMO with Julius Nyerere's pan-African, socializing political approach.

When he graduated in 1970, Museveni returned to Uganda and went to work as an advisor to the then-president Milton Obote. Then came Idi Amin's coup, and Museveni headed back to Tanzania. In his exile period of 1971-79, the now Ugandan president had long discussions with other opposition leaders, most of them older politicians who were largely attuned to the kind of ethnic divisionism left behind by colonial rulers.

In 1972 Museveni founded the Ugandan National Salvation Front (UNSF), in an attempt to create a broad alliance with various political parties that opposed the Idi Amin dictatorship. Other exiled opposition groups argued that unity should be sought around former president Milton Obote, who was then the leader of the Ugandan People's Congress (UPC), a populist party advocating basic reforms in the country. Agreement turned out to be impossible; nevertheless, the 8,000 UNSF members joined the remaining opposition forces as Tanzanian troops intervened to oust Amin.

Having been appointed Minister of Defense under Yusuf Lule, Museveni remained in that office when Godfrey Binaisa became president a few months later, but was eventually transferred to a less important position

under the influence of Paul Muwanga, an Obote supporter and a UPC leader at the time. When Binaisa was toppled and general elections were scheduled for July 1980, the UNSF ran in the elections under the name of Ugandan Patriotic Movement (UPM), but later rejected the outcome of the polls as a fraud.

Four months after Obote's controversial election for a new presidential term, Museveni decided to join the armed resistance by creating a guerrilla group in the Luwero region of Central Uganda. His decision was viewed as suicidal at the time, since Luwero was not home to the UPM leader, and dissidents would have a hard time obtaining logistic support there. The first military action of the new group, which Obote denounced as being "at Idi Amin's service," took place in February 1981 against the Kabamba military quarters and turned out to be a failure. In July 1981, Museveni joined Yusuf Lule's followers and formed the National Resistance Movement, the political wing of a guerrilla resistance which had adopted the name of National Resistance Army.

From the beginning, the NRM adhered to a moralistic, non-retaliatory behavior that was unheard-of in a country which for so many years had witnessed vendettas and persecution among armed bands from the various ethnic groups as they alternated in power. This balanced conduct soon earned Museveni the sympathy of Luwero peasants. A number of victories then followed, as the Obote regime proved unable to cope with the economic resistance put up by the agricultural and trade bourgeoisie of the Baganda people and the military pressure of Idi

Amin's followers in the West Nile province in northwest Uganda.

Politically weakened, Obote eventually involved himself in the traditional rivalry between Nilotic ethnic groups in the North, which made up the core of Ugandan Armed Forces, and Bantu groups engaged in agriculture, cattle ranching and trade in the south. By 1985 the government had become increasingly unstable in view of continued bloodshed, widespread pillages and violent retaliations. Chaos had installed itself in the country. Obote was toppled once again, and power was taken over by

generals from the Acholi ethnic group, inimical to Obote's Langos. Confusion continued to reign in Uganda until early 1986, when Museveni turned out to be the only alternative in a hopeless vacuum of power.

A prematurely bald man,



Obote has lost all the prestige he earned during the independence struggle



Sudan and Zaire refused to help Idi Amin's supporters

Museveni leads an extremely ascetic life. He does not smoke or drink, and some European news agencies have described him as a radical Marxist. Obote-related groups claim he is a stooge for British millionaire "Tiny" Rowlands, the head executive of the *Lonrho* transnational firm (mining, transportation and agriculture). A US

influence according to his closest friends. He is believed to sympathize with Samora Machel, though he doesn't call himself a Marxist, being more attuned with Nkrumah's nationalist philosophy.

#### Museveni's challenges

His first Cabinet was made up of politicians from nearly all



A major task for the government is to recover weapons being held by civilians

newspaper accused him of receiving Libyan support in the form of arms supply. In fact, however, the new Ugandan president is neither a radical nor anyone's stooge. He has read Franz Fanon<sup>1</sup> to exhaustion, as well as the works of Mao Tse Tung and Clausewitz. Julius Nyerere seems to be his main intellectual

Ugandan provinces. The recently installed 35-member National Resistance Council includes members of Obote's party and representatives of the Democratic Party (a conservative group with connections with the Baganda bourgeoisie). Actually, he NRC functions as a provisional Parliament until general elections are held for a Constituent Assembly, which Museveni has promised to install within three years.

Power is largely concentrated in the hands of a small group of NRA veterans, such as Eriya Kategaya, who is in charge of creating Special Administrative Districts. The aim of this political

<sup>1</sup> Fanon is considered a major theoretician of the African anti-colonial struggle. Born in Martinique, he lived in France and later joined the Algerian independence war. Before he died in 1961, he wrote extensively on African issues, *The Condemned of the Earth* being one his best-known books.

program is to replace the current administrative structure, which dates back to colonial days, and establish stronger links between the central government and the agricultural communities inland.

A second influential man is Dr Ronald Bata, who acts as Museveni's right arm in his attempt to reorganize the Ugandan Army. Bata's difficult task is to bring together some 50,000 men in arms from all regions and sectarian armies that played a role in the civil war, and thus build a new military force. A third, is Professor Ponsiano Mulema, a former Democratic Party advisor, who is now the key man in the economic area — another sector in which the country is virtually ruined.

The administrative restructure of Uganda aims at a nationwide implementation of the system of councils created by the NRM in guerrilla-occupied zones, especially in the Luwero region. The major problem is the lack of qualified personnel. Sources close to Museveni admit that the new government has less than one-third of the personnel required to restore a minimum of order in the country's administrative chaos. Domestic links with Kampala have nearly disappeared, and Uganda has been reduced to a group of autonomous villages, its capital being virtually isolated from the rest of the country.

The government has enforced rigid regulations for public servant behavior, ranging from prohibition of food appropriation to severe penalties for sexual abuses. But the populations in the interior have mixed feelings towards official emissaries, especially when they belong to a different ethnic group. The memory of tribal massacres still lingers on their

minds. Most of the population had taken to the bushes to escape persecution, and strangers are still viewed with suspicion. The new government team believes it will take at least six months to establish a basic network of administrative institutions and put an end to Kampala's isolation.

The success or failure of the government's project depends rather on the behavior of its emissaries than on the type of political message carried to the people. With suspicious and unsociable populations, a clean behavior on the part of government agents will be the determining factor in winning the support of peasants and village chiefs. But since no time is available for a thorough retraining of public servants, there is the risk that they will yield to corruption or respond violently to a lack of peasant cooperation.

#### A children's army

Even more difficult is the task of putting together a new



At present, food is most scarce in the Karamoja area

army. Following the flight of General Tito Okello and the disbanding of Idi Amin followers, a huge number of soldiers were left behind who no longer have anything to do. Lacking a central leadership, they tend to use their weapons to plunder the villages, taking advantage of the absence of governmental

control. Only some 20 percent of these wandering soldiers seem willing to return to agriculture or other productive activities. The majority, especially those of the Acholi and Lango ethnic groups, have been soldiers for too long to change now; ever since colonial times the authorities had taken advantage of their bellicose nature to keep them occupied. Yet Museveni does not trust either Acholis or Langos, who proved loyal to Okello and Obote in the past.

In addition, there is the problem of the NRA guerrillas, who number some 20,000 men. These should constitute the core of the new army, but most of them, especially in the cities, would rather resume their education now that peace is back again. Internal discipline is an even more serious problem. Officers and soldiers of Obote's army or Idi Amin's forces found it normal to survive through pillage and retaliation. Integrating such men into a disciplined army is proving very difficult, and perhaps impossible. Besides,



Cash crops have nearly disappeared after 20 years of civil war

NRA guerrillas are suddenly coming into contact with a reality that is very different from the strict behavior codes imposed on them during the struggle for power, and many have yielded to the temptation of banking on their triumph. At least five NRA officers and soldiers have been shot since March for plundering local communities or terrorizing opponents.

To the north, proud and traditionally warlike Acholis appear extremely unwilling to obey southern officers who remained for so long under the military domain of Nilotic peoples. As for the followers of former dictator Idi Amin Dada, who largely escaped into Zaire and Sudan, they do not really pose a serious problem.

Another of Museveni's concern is the large number of children below 13 years of age who, having lost their parents, chose to join the guerrilla forces. A "children's army" was thus formed congregating some 5,000 of these boys; one of them was reported to have been promoted to the rank of sargent. The new Ugandan government plans to create special schools to absorb these minors, who until now seem more inclined to play with Soviet machine guns than to go to school.

No less serious are Ugandan economic troubles. Subsistence agriculture has proceeded in spite of the war, especially in the north. Because the towns were practically evacuated in the wake of terror and pillage, family agriculture in rural areas could count on extra manpower. Commercial outlets for their produce, however, have completely disappeared. Yet only the Karamoja ethnic group in



5,000 children took part in the war

the east is actually threatened with famine, their herds having been virtually decimated by contraband and indiscriminate butchering.

Where export crops are concerned, however, conditions are catastrophic. Coffee plantations are not expected to become productive again before one or two years, because of weeds and lack of processing facilities. Cotton crops have also been seriously damaged. A major obstacle to the recovery of cash crops is peasant unwillingness to give up subsistence agriculture and go to work in large plantations as wage earners. Not only have they been shocked by 20 years of war and violence, but they will be hard put to spend the money they earn. Commercial outlets have been closed, and in such places as Lira, the largest town in the Langi region, money has simply disappeared in the past six months.

Uganda's largest bank, the United Commercial, has closed

its offices in most areas affected by the war. Inflation is estimated at roughly 200 percent annually. Since banks pay only 22 percent on money deposits, very few people in Uganda are seen signing checks these days. The country's external debt is difficult to estimate, but the World Bank puts it at around US \$ 1.5 billion. Roughly 50 percent of Ugandan export revenues goes into interest and principal payments every year. Before he was appointed Minister of Finance, Ponsiano Mulema, a professor of economics at the Makerere University, prepared a study which vehemently criticized the IMF. Shortly after Museveni rose to power, the IMF feared a unilateral moratorium on the part of the Ugandan government, and immediately sent one of its high officials to Kampala. Museveni's answer was reassuring: "When you inherit your father's farm," he said, "you also inherit his debts."

An important unknown factor, however, has to do with ideology. The unifying concepts within the NRM are anti-tribalism, nationalism and the need to reorganize the people. The NRM is intent upon abolishing the old practices of party sectarianism, and has accordingly suspended the party's political activities for an indeterminate period of time. But the solution of ethnic and economic problems will require increasingly difficult decisions which the NRM's vague political program does not help much to define. To overcome the problems he faces, Yoweri Museveni will very probably need much more than his natural charisma, his unreproachable moral conduct and his undeniable organizational talent.

●  
Carlos Castilho

# Pinochet and Reagan: A Friendship Gone Sour?

Washington and Santiago had been in good terms since 1973. Now both governments seem to be on a collision course: the White House fears that political developments in Chile may get out of hand

For US Ambassador Harry Barnes, calling on General Augusto Pinochet's plush office in Santiago is not the easiest of tasks. In the past months, Pinochet has made no secret of his hard feelings towards the US government, and last April he wasn't ready to change his mood as a result of Washington's attack on Libya "to fight terrorism in the world." At heart, of course, Pinochet exulted over the US aggression, yet he took the opportunity for a deliberate show of hostility by refusing

to see Reagan's representative. When he called on the La Moneda presidential palace, Barnes was met by a wary and cautious Foreign Minister Jaime del Valle, who equally withheld his praise of the American attack on Tripoli.

An irksome situation, perhaps, but not unusual. Not long ago the US diplomat had to deliver to a more readily accessible Foreign Minister a personal letter addressed by the US president to Pinochet. And there it was again: in his brief message,

Reagan insisted that the Chilean government find "a quick solution" to the problem of a Chilean return to democratic rule.

### The end of the "silent diplomacy"

Reagan's personal message crowned a process which the *Washington Post* has called a transition from silent diplomacy to an increasingly harsh ear-pulling approach on the part of the US administration.



Angelo Cavalli / Sipa Press

Increased protest against Pinochet in Chile has scared even such old friends as President Reagan

First there had been the unmistakable US support in Geneva last March of a report prepared by Fernando Volio on human rights violations in Chile. The US proposal berating the Pinochet regime eventually took the form of a unanimous resolution. But there had been previous indications of a US change of attitude towards Chile. In January Chilean Under-Secretary of Defense Néstor Sánchez had warned that US-Chilean relations might go asunder if the Chilean domestic situation didn't improve soon. Later US Treasury officials had voiced a similar concern as they pored over a couple of loans that were vital to the Santiago government.



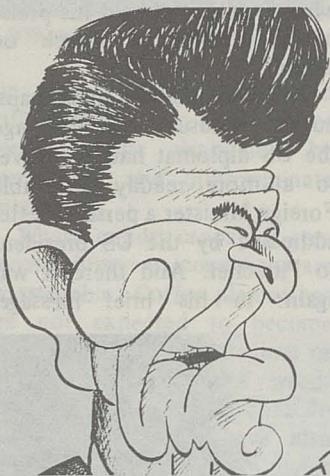
Carlos Carvalho

Though he served Reagan for years, Pinochet may be dumped any time now

US criticism of the Chilean regime had been apparent for months. The US State Department had virtually lent support to peaceful demonstrations against Pinochet by openly condemning Chilean oppression. US officials had publicly welcomed a Chilean Agreement for a Democratic Transition signed in mid-1985 by eleven center and right-wing parties at the initiative of the Archbishop of Santiago, Juan Cardinal Fresno.

US Secretary of State George Schultz had bluntly called Pinochet "a dictator." On April 7, Under-Secretary of State for Latin America Elliot Abrams had said, "We believe that the Chileans would like to see a return to democratic rule, and we sympathize with them." He then added that the US had not essentially changed its policy toward the country, but would resort to new tactics that might prove more effective.

Late last year Reagan had replaced his former ambassador in Santiago - a conservative man who openly sided with Pinochet - by a less tame diplomat called Harry Barnes. An expert on



several opposition leaders. His political leanings became so obvious that the National Organizations' Front (FRENAO), a strongly pro-Pinochet group, insisted he ought to be declared a persona non grata. Even some opposition members frowned at his "intervention" in Chilean domestic affairs.

A general belief among opposition circles is that the shift in American attitude dates back to 1983, when a huge mass demonstration exposed a badly shaken military regime that might crumble overnight. The Chilean people's increasingly radical discontent - which surprised even some opposition leaders - was a cause of deep concern to a US administration preoccupied with the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua and the downfall of several military dictatorships south of the border.

The US government tried to persuade Pinochet to mend his ways. But the dictator's obduracy, the firm support extended him by the Army and a host of difficult problems brought about by the Chilean economic crisis all frustrated the US efforts. Remembering what had happened to Duvalier and Ferdinand Marcos, Reagan decided to put greater pressure on Pinochet.

#### A troubled friendship

US-Chilean relations have always had its ups and downs. The military coup which installed Pinochet as head of state was met with satisfaction in Washington: after all, Nixon's order to his National Security Council - "liquidate them" - issued shortly after Allende's electoral victory on September 4, 1970 had been thoroughly carried out. Destabilizing maneuvers staged

by the US Central Intelligence Agency had proved tremendously successful. A thankful US government then helped Chile to renegotiate its foreign debt at the Club of Paris.

While the US contributed with loans and emergency aid, the Chilean dictator reciprocated by cruelly persecuting thousands of leftist militants. He also agreed to pay US\$ 300 million for US-owned copper companies that had been nationalized under the short-lived Allende regime. Such payment was illegal, of course, but no more illegal than the military coup that had toppled a perfectly constitutional government.

Between 1974 and 1976, US-Chilean relations were rosy, but even so the US felt the need to protest against the atrocities being committed by the military regime. In 1976 the US Congress voted for a Kennedy-Humphrey amendment banning arms sales to Chile until such time as the country "makes substantial progress in the area of human rights."

It was then that the Chilean government made a serious mistake. The Chilean DINA (secret police) and an advisory group of Cuban exiles plotted and carried out the assassination of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier and his US-born secretary Ronnie Moffet at Sheridan Circle in downtown Washington. From then on relations between the two countries soured considerably.

In Jimmy Carter's days at the White House they became even worse. Carter intended to use his human rights policy against the Soviet Union, but his efforts seemed to stumble on Pinochet. The US president personally helped to withhold new Eximbank loans to the Chilean govern-



The Pinochet regime is now so unpopular that Washington fears an eventual – and uncontrollable – political turnaround in Chile

ment. But further humiliation was coming to Pinochet from other quarters: on his way to the Phillipines some years ago, he learned in mid-flight that Ferdinand Marcos had canceled his previous invitation for a visit to Manila.

The episode was seen in Santiago as an intolerable CIA maneuver to "destabilize" the Chilean dictator himself. On the occasion of his regime's sixth anniversary, a bitter Pinochet criticized both US and Soviet "imperialism," denounced US attempts to "export its own political model," and berated the US for failing to effectively lead the Western World, blinded as it was by a deceitful détente.

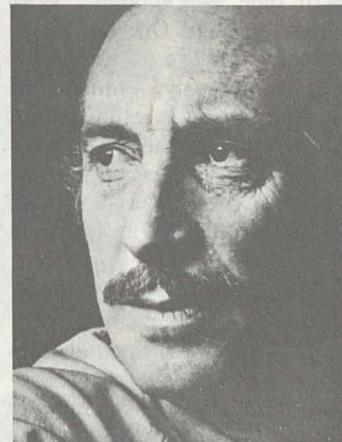
Finally, with Reagan's rise to power, Pinochet could breathe freely once again. The two men shared an apocalyptic view of the world, and that seemed to ensure a lasting friendship between them. Reagan called the Soviet Union an "Evil Empire," while Pinochet, for whom Communism is "inherently perverse," eagerly reminded his US colleague that Chile had always relentlessly fought all kinds of Marxists.

In 1981 Chilean Foreign Minister René Rojas Galdámez was welcomed in Washington

as an official guest. Some time later Jeane Kirkpatrick paid a courteous visit to Santiago. Meanwhile, an obliging Reagan tried in vain to persuade the US Congress to lift its ban of arms sales to Chile.

#### Business as usual

Yet, in spite of the vagaries of international politics – whether under Nixon, Ford, Carter or Reagan – US-Chilean military and trade relations were never really interrupted. With Reagan at the White House, Pinochet agreed to resume Unita operations, and in 1984 he let the US install space flight control equip-



Former Ambassador Orlando Letelier

ment on the Easter Island — a fact which the opposition quickly denounced as a veiled offer of still another US military base in the Pacific.

Transnational mining companies were allowed to return to the country. Some of them tried to persuade Pinochet to privatize Codelco, which is the world's largest producer of copper, but the move was opposed by the Chilean Armed Forces. Instead they were granted the rights to important mineral deposits such as the El Indio gold mines, and installed themselves at la Escondida (*Utah*) and Pelambres (*Anaconda*). They are also digging for lithium and have assumed control of a methanol project worth hundreds of millions of dollars in the south.

Largely controlled by US firms, the world's financial centers have stepped up capital inflow into Chile. Between 1975 and 1983, some US\$ 13 billion was invested in the country, with foreign banks pocketing US\$ 8 billion worth of interest during the period. By 1985, the Chilean foreign debt had piled up to US\$ 21 billion, with interest payments amounting to US\$ 2 billion per year.

In time, the economic crisis got out of hand. One-third of all Chileans now live on the threshold of poverty, while real unemployment is estimated at 30 percent of the total labor force. In the area of housing facilities, there is a deficit of 750,000 residential units. Faced with bleak future prospects, Chilean youths are increasingly rebellious. Their revolt had already given rise to the 1983 protests which echoed throughout the country like thunder before a storm. Fearing the worst, the US finally decided to

intervene. Besides, Washington was in need of a face-lifting operation that would give Reagan a free hand in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

### The US rationale

For the US government, the worst that could happen in Chile is a shift to the Left that will place the country outside of US control. The Allende episode is only too recent, and growing popular reaction against the dictatorship might breed a new Allende in the very near future. To prevent such a catastrophe, the US must cater to the Chilean Armed Forces. In addition, Chile must go on paying its foreign debt, which is the highest in Latin America in per capita terms.

US investments and political-military interests at stake in Chile are too great to dispense with the vigilance of a firm foreign policy. The US would like to see a "moderate" regime installed there. As a matter of fact, two US firms that do political risk analysis — the New York-based Business International and the Washington-based International Business Government Councillors — had predicted in May 1985 that Pinochet would be replaced by a "moderate" government. But the situation has deteriorated so fast that the Chilean *Hoy* magazine cited a study last April predicting a major social upheaval in the country in 1986.

For some time now, US financial experts have been advising US companies to establish some kind of link between their investments and those US banks that have lent money to Chile, thus connecting their projects to the Chilean foreign debt and

avoiding unpleasant surprises.

Foreign banks and entrepreneurs still view Chile as an attractive hunting ground. Fritz Leutwiler, president of the Bank for International Settlements, said in 1985: "We should begin to examine other ways to offer relief to indebted developing countries. One possibility might be for them to sell part of their national assets to foreign creditors. This is an option to be explored in the case of countries with an abundance of natural resources and large state-controlled enterprises." Chile is one of them. There are some very interesting gold mines along the Andes, and both lithium and other promising ores lie in the ground in the desert salt-works to the north. And copper production is still largely controlled by Codelco, a public enterprise.

Pinochet knows, however, that US foreign policy has certain limitations of its own, and he has survived so far by taking advantage of them. Yet, one thing is certain: the US can live without him, while the dictator cannot retain his grip on Chile without US support. It all makes for a dangerous gamble in which both players can read each other's cards. Meanwhile, time is running short. Social unrest has grown in Chile in the past few months, and a split opposition is beginning to unite. Tough and perhaps decisive battles may have to be fought in the winter ahead.

To keep things under control, Ambassador Barnes will continue to knock on Pinochet's door in the hope of arriving at a solution which the US can accept.

●  
Marcela Otero\*

\* Chilean journalist.

# The Libya Syndrome

When Ronald Reagan launched his attack on Libya last April, Nicaraguans crossed their fingers.

In the wake of the Mediterranean crisis, the Managua government braced itself for a similar aggression

In the 1930s, the political destinies of Libya and Nicaragua were thwarted by two tragical events. Freedom fighter Omal al-Mukhtar, known as the "Lion of the Desert," was hanged for his leading part in the struggle against Libyan foreign occupation. Not much later, Augusto C. Sandino, the "General of All Free Men," was executed by a shooting squad for equally opposing the presence in Nicaragua of US marine troops led by Captain Frederick Hattfield.

Fifty years later, Libya and Nicaragua now face very similar situations. Both countries have become the shooting targets of

a US administration which calls Libyan Colonel Muammar Gaddafi a "mad dog" and Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega a "gunman behind slicky eyeglasses."



Reuters

### A Tripoli-Managua "connection"

In the evening of April 14, a US air attack was lauched against Tripoli, Bengazi and three other Libyan cities by 18 F-111 bombers which had taken off from British air bases, and 15 A-6 and A-7 fighters from the US Sixth Fleet aircraft carriers *Coral Sea* and *America* which had been roaming the Mediterranean for weeks.

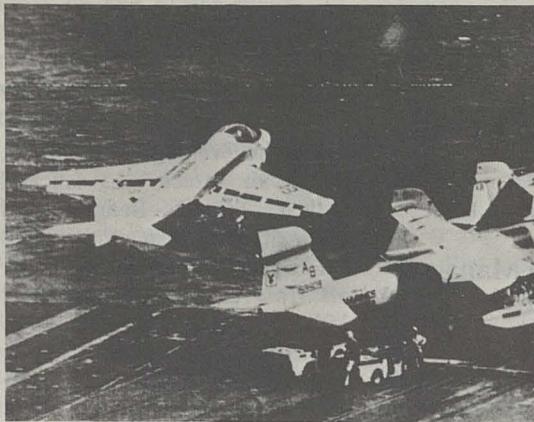
According to the White House, the US aggression had taken place in retaliation for the April 5 terrorist bombing of a West Berlin discothèque which killed four people – among them US Army Sargent Kenneth Fogd – and wounded 200 others. At the time, Washington had assured its allies that it had "irrefutable" proof" of the participation of Libyan terrorists in the bombing, though US officials never bothered to tell the world what such "proof" really was.

Later the US administration

Reuters



The US attack against Tripoli (left and right) was seen by Nicaraguans as foreboding a new invasion by American troops, similar to the one opposed by Sandino in the 1920s.



Nicaraguans believe Honduras will lend their bases to the USAF, following the British example during the Tripoli raid

placed on alert all of its diplomatic and military facilities the world over, claiming it had "solid evidence" — equally unspecified — of Arab intention to attack 30 US embassies abroad.

On the day immediately after the Libyan attack, CIA, Interpol and Honduran police agents were known to mount an ostensible control system at Honduran docks, airports and border posts to prevent "Libyan terrorist attacks" against US diplomatic, military and trade facilities. Security measures were especially severe at the Palmerola Air Base in Central Honduras, where US troops and aircraft have been permanently stationed since 1982, and at Durzuma, in the Honduran Mosquitia region, 17 kilometers from the Nicaraguan border, where 400 US military engineers are reportedly helping Hondurans to improve their road system.

Only five days before the attack, the Tegucigalpa Radio HNR had informed its listeners that "US intelligence had intercepted a message addressed by Tripoli to Libyans in Nicaragua." Later the US *Philadelphia Enquirer* and the *Boston Globe* reported that Arab commandos

planned to launch terrorist attacks on Honduran territory.

For many observers, such alarming reports in the US press and the enforcement of strict security measures in Honduras were actually a psychological stage setting for US intervention in Nicaragua. Such maneuvers would serve a fourfold purpose: to justify US military retaliation against Libya, to "prove" that Nicaragua has placed its territory at the service of terrorism in Central America, to "demonstrate" the existence of a Tripoli-Managua "connection," and to press Congress to approve Reagan's proposal for US\$ 100 million in military aid to Nicaraguan contras, scheduled for discussion in the next few days.

#### A show of power

On March 24, the US Sixth Fleet, headed by aircraft carriers *Coral Sea*, *America* and *Saratoga*, and including 26 warships equipped with bomber fighters and interceptor aircraft, sank three small Libyan boats in the Gulf of Sidra. As *Newsweek* magazine put it at the time, the attack had been a "show of power" intended to support the Republican pro-



posal for military aid to the contras. The magazine reminded its readers that in October 1983 Ronald Reagan had soothed the impact on the US public of 240 marine casualties in Lebanon by immediately invading Grenada.

The enforcement of heavy security measures in Honduras suggested that the bombing at the West Berlin disco might well have been a dirty trick pulled by the CIA — an attempt to justify a later military attack on Libya — as well as a warning to Nicaragua. Observers did not dismiss the possibility of an eventual US blitz against Sandinista facilities in the Gulf of Fonseca (where territorial waters are equally shared by Honduras and El Salvador), either around Puerto Cabezas (to the northeast on the Atlantic coast) or at Puenta Huete (to the southeast on the Nicaraguan Pacific coast).

Nicaraguans were certainly well aware of the fact that the White House had talked of a "surgical intervention" in their country following a Farabundo Martí National Liberation (FMLN) Front attack which killed 13 people — among them six US marines — outside a San Salvador restaurant.

## Provocations in Costa Rica?

In 1985 the CIA planned — but never carried out — an attack against the US Embassy in Costa Rica that was to be later attributed to Nicaraguan fighters. US Senator John Kerry (D-Mass.) is currently investigating the activities of a mercenary called Steven Carr — who was arrested together with four other “soldiers of fortune” for violating Costa Rican neutrality by supporting Nicaraguan contras — in connection with a frustrated attack on the US Embassy in San José, where Soviet weapons would be planted to inculpate Sandinistas.

On their turn, Associated Press newsmen Brian Barger and Robert Parry reported last April that they had been told by a former leader of a private group which calls itself “Civil-Military Aid,” with links to Nicaraguan contra groups, that he had been interrogated by FBI agents in connection with “a conspiracy to assassinate US Ambassador Lewis Tambs in Costa Rica.”

Lawyer John Mattes, a Miami contra sympathizer, said to the *Washington Post* on April 11 that he had been “informed by Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) instructors of a plot to blow up the US Embassy in Costa Rica.”

Actually, in the morning of April 17, a fragmentation shell went off outside the US Embassy in San José, inflicting minor wounds on five people who had been standing in a bus queue. US Ambassador Tambs rushed from his office to say that the incident had been “a terrorist act” in the wake of the US air attack on Tripoli.

Reuters



In Central America, Reagan believes, US naval forces could guard the Nicaraguan coast in support of an eventual land and air attack against Managua

against Libya was intended to sound an alarm in Nicaragua. They also agreed that the whole thing had been a mistake. “Reagan knew that the Libyan operation would win the support of the American people, just as he knows that his policy on Nicaragua has no popular support. Reagan is wrong if he thinks that a similar attack on Nicaragua would meet the approval of US public opinion.”

Buchanan added that Reagan “has failed to convince the American public that Nicaragua is a sanctuary for terrorism. Libya may be too far, but Nicaragua is sufficiently close at hand to be visited by thousands of US citizens who return home with a different opinion.”

As it is, perhaps Washington would like to see rebels in Libya and Nicaragua go the same way as Omar al-Mukhtar and Augusto C. Sandino in the 1930s — only in reverse order. In 1986, the White House sent its shooting squad to Tripoli, and is now trying to hang Managua. ●

Roberto Bardini

## Third World Books

### CUARENTA AÑOS DE PERONISMO

(*Forty Years of Peronism*)

*Aurelio Narvaja, Angel Perelman  
and Jorge Abelardo Ramos  
Ediciones del Mar Dulce,  
Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1985*

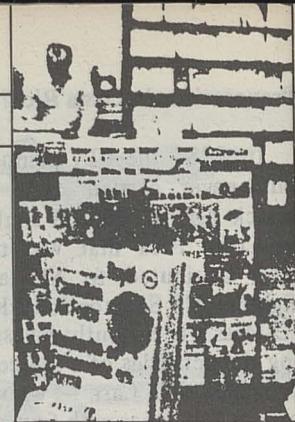


The book is a collection of writings by some of the major leaders of the movement headed by the late General Juan Domingo Perón. Lawyer Aurelio Narvaja had written the text originally printed in 1945, analyzing the emergence of Peronista activities in Argentina. This new edition allows the reader to evaluate the economic and social foundations of a movement which galvanized Argentinian political life for over three decades and which still makes itself felt in the country. Angel Perelman was a labor leader when Perón rose to power. He analyzes the support extended by Argentinian labor unions to the regime installed in the country in 1944. Professor Jorge Abelardo Ramos examines the current aspects of Peronism.

### NUCLEAR WEAPONS? POLICY OPTIONS FOR INDIA

*Bhabani Sen Gupta  
Sage Editors, London, 1984*

The author carefully weighs the options available and the pressures exerted on India to go nuclear. If it does, what are the policy dilemmas and the options open to India on the manufacture and procurement of nuclear weapons? These are some of the questions addressed in this path-breaking book, which also makes a significant contribution to the literature on nuclear proliferation, as well as to policy decisions on developing nuclear weapons.



### CENTROAMERICA EN LA PRENSA ESTADUNIDENSE

(*Central America in the US  
Press*)

*Heinz Dietrich  
Mex-Sur Editorial, Mexico, 1985*



German Professor Heinz Dietrich points out how US organizations like the CIA and the State Department have manip-

ulated news reports on Central America in detriment to the region's governments and revolutionary movements. Special attention is dedicated to misinformation tactics used by major US newspapers and publications. The book draws on abundant material collected directly from the US press and television networks, and includes an interview with Noam Chomsky, an outstanding US professor of linguistic science and a critic of the Reagan diplomacy in Central America.

### THE PROPHET & PHARAOH

*Gilles Kepel*

*Al Saqi Editors, London, 1985*

One of the most comprehensive reports on Islamic movements in Egypt, this book had originally appeared in France in 1984 and is now available to English-speaking readers. The author makes a detailed analysis of the origins and consequences of the emergence of Islamic movements, particularly among the Egyptian military and university students. Prefaced by Bernard Lewis, the book has been acclaimed as basic reading for students of Egyptian politics, especially in the post-Sadat period.

## The Political Carnival of Uruguay

African-style folk dances and workers' choirs were tools in the resistance against dictatorship in the 1970s, and are now the trademark of a new cultural phenomenon in Uruguay

Like all popular expressions, carnival had always been frowned upon by Uruguayan dictators. For over a decade it was censored, stifled, threatened, impoverished and enchain- ed. Yet throughout these years carnival managed to retain its

age-old smile and, behind the smile, to inspire a whole cohort of adherents who faced guns with irony, fear with satire, and death with hope.

Now that Uruguay has restored its political freedom, many students of Uruguayan history have

begun to examine in greater detail the role and structure of such popular expressions, which became natural bulwarks of resistance during the dictatorship's darker days. After all, carnival groups and bands have always been an antidote to sadness. But two types of groups deserve special attention: the *comparsas lubolas* (dance groups) and *murgas* (folklore song groups) — the former because of their old historical roots, and the *murgas* because of their social meaning. The two are now the pillars of a new, emerging popular culture in Uruguay.

### The black comparsas

Almost as old as Uruguay itself, the term *comparsas* refers



"Comparsas" are the most significant expression of black culture in Uruguayan popular art



African music and dances are now a part of Montevideo's Carnival frolics

to the most significant expression of black culture in the country.

Montevideo was built in 1726 to protect Spanish conquests on the continent against the advances of an ambitious Kingdom of Portugal. The city founders were immigrants from the Canary Islands, and early in its history Montevideo became a major port of entry for African slaves. From 1791 to 1810 Montevideo became the chief La Plata River center of the infamous trade: the number of black slaves grew from 157 in 1751 to one-third of the city's total population of 5,000 in 1803.

Since no plantations, mills or mineral deposits existed in the rest of the territory, as well as no other major urban center requiring large concentrations of slave manpower, black slaves settled mostly in Montevideo, usually performing household services.

This kind of activity entailed

daily, direct contact between masters and slaves. As a result, the latter absorbed the culture of the exploiting white society more quickly and more naturally than in other continental areas. In addition, slavery was banned earlier in Uruguay than in other parts of America, with an 1813 law ensuring freedom for the children of women slaves, and a total ban on slave labor coming into force in 1842. All this caused blacks in "Banda Oriental" — the first native name of present-day Uruguay — to shed their original cultural traits, and especially the sense of rituals as a unifying force against oppression.

Uruguayan black slaves came from a variety of ethnic groups, among which the Mina, Congo, Bangui, Angolan, Guinean, Kizambe and Camunda peoples, and there slowly emerged in the country a number of small communities. Members of each

of these "nations" met in "salons" installed in dilapidated colonial houses in the outskirts of the city, or in land rented or donated by their masters. Equally donated were the old furniture which decorated each salon, as well as the outmoded garments which blacks wore in their traditional rites. Eventually these celebrations became a major source of resistance for the black population, helping them to cope with the permanent stress of slave labor.

Each nation chose its "king," "queen" and "courtiers" in line with the degree of nobility enjoyed by each in their original African home, or in accordance with their age or the respect they commanded within the community. The kings kept an eye on their subjects' behavior, administered eventual donations and alms, comforted and assisted the most destitute blacks, said office at burials, and above all supervised the dances which soon became a major attraction for Montevideo whites, especially on holidays and Sundays.

Black slaves participated in carnival and religious celebrations. As early as 1760, the Catholic Corpus Christi procession was headed by three groups of dancers — soldiers, blacks and mulattoes. The former danced to the rhythm of a military band, while the other two groups preferred the drumbeats of *candomblé*, a cult which is now the core of black culture in Uruguay.

Over the years, *candomblé* as a dance gradually lost its original, rich choreography. Today the only remaining features, together with the bass drums

and the typical dance steps, are certain characters such as *mama vieja* (old momma), the *gramilleros* (two dancers fancifully dressed up as old men in colonial fashion) and the *escobillero* (a sort of juggler using a small broom which seems to spin all over his body). Also typical are the standard bearers who display the *comparsa* colors and other symbols such as stars and half-moons, and the *vedettes* or *prima donas* of the dancing group who are famous for their beauty, supple movements and sparkling dresses adorned with plumes.

#### The "Las Llamadas" parade

This is another colorful parade in which only those *comparsas* made up of *lubolo* blacks participate. (*Lubolo* is an expression applying to whites who painted themselves black for the occasion in the old days.) These *comparsas* are called *llamadas* (from *llamar*, to call) because *comparsa* members used to respond to the call of drumbeats and meet in a specific location whence they would move on in a sort of makeshift parade.

In 1965, aware of its touristic attraction, the municipality of Montevideo formalized the parade and incorporated it into carnival festivities. Now the *llamadas* are one of the most delightful events in the Montevideo carnival, one that attracts



The "murgas" have become a medium for protest

both the local and foreign public. Slowly moving along some 30 city blocks, the *comparsa* of *lubolo* blacks advances to the rhythm of *candomblé*

music, playing and dancing vigorously to exhaustion. Closing the formation is a group of drummers which, depending on the importance of each *llamada*, may comprise 20 to 60 musicians. They move forward in a precise, orderly formation designed to allow each drummer to keep in cadence with the next. These *tamborilleros* all wear the same simple dress, calling to mind, together with the rest of the *comparsa*, the easy frolics of early colonial days.

#### Uruguayan blacks today

Blacks make up roughly three percent of the total Uruguayan population, and though they have thoroughly mixed with whites, their current social situation is not easily defined. Though they claim not to have any problems with the white population, there is a clear racial problem in certain northern cities along the Brazilian border, especially in Rivera and Melo, where



Even under the dictatorship, Carnival lyrics and dances criticized the military

blacks are not allowed in some public places such as shops and clubs and children are brought up with an awareness of skin color.

In Montevideo racial segregation is more subtle and less blatant, but it is still there. Consider for instance the scarcity of black professionals, especially in the areas of education, medicine and economics, or the few important public positions occupied by colored people. There are no black political leaders in Uruguay. No blacks are to be seen behind the counters in downtown bars and shops. Though they claim they are not racists, the vast majority of Uruguayans are shocked at the sight of a black-and-white couple. Besides being marginalized in public life (except in sports), blacks are scattered and isolated from their "race brothers."

#### The "murgas"

Dating back to 1908, the *murgas* are now the backbone of Uruguayan carnival and one of its major attractions. They are perhaps the richest, liveliest and most creative expression of popular culture in Montevideo.

The unusual fact that 90 percent of *murgistas* come from the working class and generally have no formal musical training constitutes an exceptional situation in the Uruguayan cultural scene. *Murgas* are the

only collective artistic expression in Uruguay, and their protagonists are the urban proletariat. They are a unique artistic phenomenon, combining music, plastic arts, theater, poetry and dance.

Each *murga* is made up of 17 participants, three of whom are instrument players (bass-drum, tambourine and cymbals), while the others constitute the choir. The latter is divided into



In Uruguay, Carnival is now celebrated mainly by blacks and the poor classes

*cuerdas* (chords) called *primos* (singers who carry the basic melody), *segundos* (who sing the accompaniment), and the *tercia* in charge of the highest voice pitch. Other intermediary voices may also be heard in between.

In the specific *murga* rhythm, which is a kind of quick, syncopated march very akin to *candomblé*, the *murgistas* dance and jump all over the stage, continually dodging each other and forming no predetermined pattern. At a sign from the director, order is restored and the music ceases. The choir forms a half-moon facing the public, awaiting instructions from

the director, who indicates when each *cuerda* must start singing.

The *murga* repertoire comprises a presentation, songs (up to three different ones), and a *retirada* (exit). Freely adapting its rhythm to well-known popular songs, the *murga* develops its own theme, alluding to the year's outstanding events and personalities, or merely acting out situations or stories which will make the public laugh and think.

The *retirada* is the most thrilling and perhaps the most important part of the *murga*. Usually based on an epic motif which evokes hope and joy and urges the listeners to cope with pain and sadness, the melody comes in a nostalgic tempo and brief

er musical intervals. It is not a triumphal, strong or joyous finale. On the contrary, the best *retiradas* can move the public to tears. But the sadness of the message is always a qualified farewell: it conveys a salutation and the firm desire that next year's carnival will see them back in the same fraternal contact, the same welcoming laugh and hearty applause of the public.

The cultural resistance against the military regime which ruled the country from 1973 to 1984 found a favorite redoubt in these popular *murgas*. Protest and denunciation, aptly rendered as a satire to sidestep censorship,

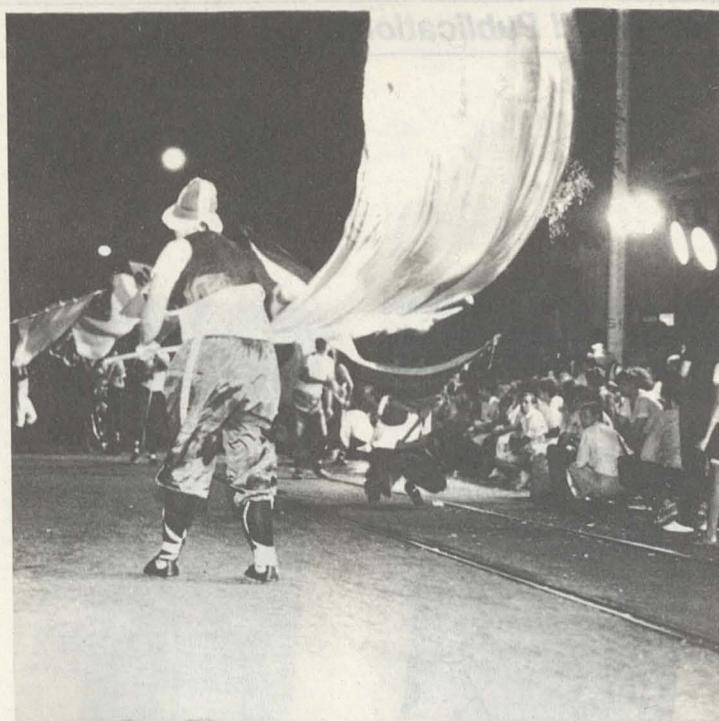
yet risking threats and arrests, caused the Uruguayan people to respect and cherish this form of artistic expression. The open commitment with popular causes on the part of several important *murgas* resulted in a real comotion in the 1981-84 carnival.

In those years, the *murgas* ignored the end of the carnival season and carried their message everywhere throughout the whole year. Now they have the strong support of such mass media as recordings, radio and TV shows.

Yet, outside of its political content, *murgas* have now become the most representative expression of Uruguayan artistic culture, and many popular composers have adapted the *murga* rhythm to create the most successful and best remembered tunes of the past few years. ●

**Mauricio Ubal\***

\* Uruguayan poet and composer.



With the return to democracy, the "political Carnival" is now on TV and radio



## THIRD WORLD BOOK REVIEW

- ★ is a bi-monthly magazine for all those interested in the Third World; it offers topical and informed discussion of issues and people in the Third World, but above all it offers the most comprehensive available review of all literature and publications about and from the Third World.
- ★ is a forum for authors from the Third World, but at the same time takes an aggressive and radical stance toward all literature — past, present and future — from and about the Third World.
- ★ is a service for both general and academic readers; our contributors write in a clear and precise style that eschews jargon.
- ★ is the only publication of its kind to review comprehensively literature on the politics, on the economics, on the culture and science, of the Third World.

THIRD WORLD BOOK REVIEW, Kwame Nkrumah House, 173 Old Street, London EC1V 9N.J.

## Third World Publications

**VERTICE** — A bulletin published monthly in Spanish by the Asociación Unidad Argentina



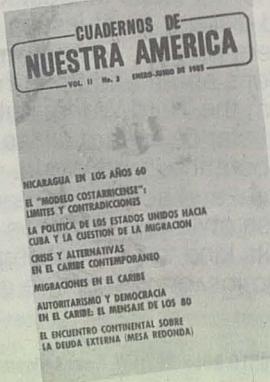
Latinoamericana, with articles on Argentinian and continental conditions seen from a nationalist viewpoint. Its editorial staff includes intellectuals and retired military personnel who in the past identified themselves with Peronism and now search new solutions for Latin American political and economic development. Lavalle 1625, 1er piso (1371), Buenos Aires, Argentina.

**IFDA DOSSIER** — Issued every two months in three languages (Spanish, English and French) by the International Foundation for Development Alternatives, the Dossier contains articles by international specialists on Third World issues. Special attention is paid to alternative development



projects in Latin American, Asian and African countries, with some very interesting studies on municipal and regional programs in various areas of the Third World. 4 Place du Marché, 1260 Nyon, Switzerland.

**CUADERNOS DE NUESTRA AMERICA** — Issued twice a year in Spanish by Centro de Estudios sobre America, this magazine



pays special attention to theoretical studies of Caribbean political and economic issues. The January-June 1985 issue carries articles on the Costa Rican political model, US immigration policies in relation to Cuba, and a roundtable on the external debt. Avenida 3ra 1805, entre 18 y 20, Playa, Zona Posta 12, La Habana, Cuba.

**CADEERNOS DO CEAS** — Issued every two months in Portuguese by Centro de Estudos e Análises Sociais, a Jesuit and Catholic laymen organization, containing studies on the Brazilian agrarian situation. Other topics often include the plight of Brazilian Indians, educational alternatives for low-income populations, and social movements among the poor districts of large Brazilian cities. Rua Aristides Novis 101, CEP 4000, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil.

**THIRD WORLD LIBERATOR** — This new English publication issued by the Third World Network carries articles by the Network contributors and correspondents in Asia, Africa and Europe. It also reproduces special features by Third World journalists on ecological issues and environmental preservation. Major features in this first issue are



a cover story on the Philippine situation and an article on Stanley Adams, a former Hoffman-La Roche executive who fought a twelve-year-long legal battle for the right to denounce irregular procedures used by the company in the manufacture of medical products. 87 Cantonment Road, 10250 Penang, Malaysia.

**JOURNAL OF AFRICAN MARXISTS** — Issued in English by Marxist-leaning intellectuals, this magazine carries theoretical studies and discussions on current African conditions. P.O. Box 35579, Lusaka, Zambia.

**THIRD WORLD BOOK REVIEW** — An extremely important publication for those who wish to keep abreast of Latin American, Asian and African intellectual work, this magazine reviews the latest and most interesting

books written on the Third World. A special topic is usually selected for each issue; books on the subject are then reviewed along with articles by some of the best authors and students



of Third World problems. A recent issue carried a number of articles on Marxism in the Third World, while a special edition on South Africa is planned for the coming months. Kwame Nkrumah House, 173 Old Street, London ECV1V 9NJ, United Kingdom.

**BALAI-ASIAN JOURNAL** — Printed in English, this quarterly magazine specializes in women problems, ethnic minorities, popular medicine, nuclear energy and environmental issues. Issue n° 12 carries a number of articles on the plight of Asian women and Asian migrants everywhere, especially in the Middle East, Africa, United States and Europe. P.O. Box SM 266, Manila, The Philippines.

**SECHABA** — A monthly English publication issued by the African National Congress (ANC) containing articles and news stories on current political and social conditions in South Africa. Theoretical studies reflect the position adopted by the ANC as the principal movement in the struggle against apartheid and the white minority government. P.O. Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9 PR, United Kingdom.

**REVUE ALGERIENNE DE RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES** — Issued in French by the Office des Publications Uni-



versitaires, the current issue carries articles by Algerian specialists on international issues, especially on the Maghreb and African problems. This quarterly magazine is also intended as reference reading for workers in the diplomatic service. 1, Place Centrale de Ben-Aknoun, Algiers, Algeria.

# Appetite Stimulants in a Hungry World

Profiting from the lack of official control, transnational pharmaceutical companies have increasingly offered appetite stimulants in countries where famine is an endemic problem

**P**harmaceutical drugs claiming to stimulate appetite and growth in children are being promoted in many Third World countries where malnutrition caused by food shortage and poverty is a major health problem. This has led to angry protests from consumer and public interest groups around the world, which are asking for a stop to the promotion

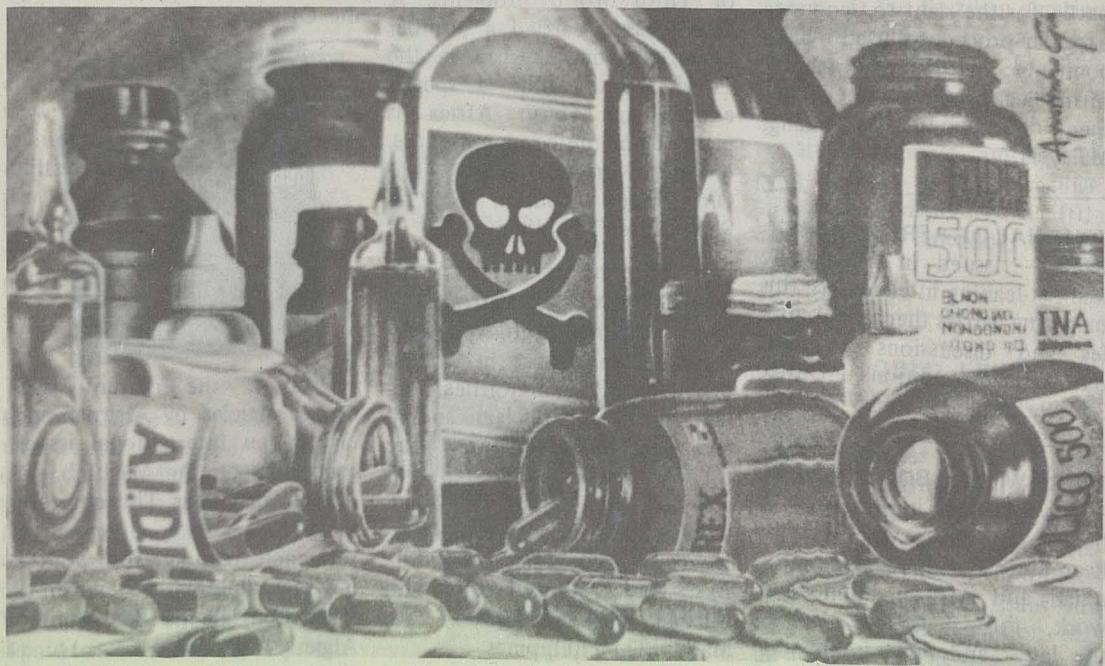
of such drugs to developing countries.

The two main drugs being marketed as appetite stimulants in the Third World are *pizotifen*, manufactured by Sandoz, a Swiss multinational drug company, under the brand name of Mosegor, and *ciproheptadine*, by the US Merck Sharp and Dohme (MSD) under the brand name of Periactin. These two

drugs dominate the world market for appetite stimulants which is worth over US\$ 100 million a year.

However, they have come under fire not only because of their doubtful health benefits but also because of the double standards in their promotion to developing countries.

The International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU), one of the groups calling for a halt to their promotion, recently published a pamphlet revealing double standards. Prepared by Social Audit, a British public interest group, the pamphlet revealed that MSD's Periactin has not been marketed as an appetite stimulant in the United States since 1971 "because the US Food and Drug Administration found insufficient clinical evidence to support its use." How-



ever in Pakistan, MSD promotes Periactin as "the first clinically proven, documented and recommended appetite stimulant."

In many Third World countries, Periactin is recommended for growing children who are underweight, and is often sold with added vitamins to reinforce its image as normal and essential for children.

In the case of pizotifen, Sandoz sells it in Europe under the name of Sanimigran, a treatment for migraine – with appetite stimulation as a minor side effect – but promotes it elsewhere under the Mosegor brand as a "highly effective" appetite stimulant.

Another group, the Australian-based Medical Lobby for Appropriate Marketing (MLAM) has also revealed double standards in the promotion of pizotifen by Sandoz. According to MLAM, the pizotifen entry in the Australian Monthly Index for Medical Specialties (MIMS) cautions against its use by children, while the 1985 Australasian Prescription Proprietaries Guide states that "experience in children is still limited."

Yet in Indonesia, for example, the drug is advertised as "effective, practical and safe for all ages," while in Malaysia it claims to treat anorexia in "young and elderly patients."

In June, MLAM wrote to Sandoz asking for supporting data for their claim that pizotifen is "safe for all ages" and demanding the withdrawal of "current pizotifen advertising." The IOCU is also calling for a stop to the promotion of pizotifen and cyproheptadine, arguing that appetite stimulants generally produce little health benefit, and may even do more harm than good.

Especially in poor countries,

the promotion of such non-essential drugs may cause serious deprivation and harm, says the IOCU pamphlet. The cost of a recommended course, for example, of Mosegor, would be around US\$ 10, the same amount that the World Health Organization estimates is needed per capita to save "millions of lives a year" by providing essential health services in poor countries.

Social Audit Director Charles Medawar described appetite stimulants as a "waste of money." He said, "Hungry people need

be treated rather than their symptoms."

Said CAP President S. M. Mohd Idris, "Drug companies have a responsibility to produce only those drugs that are necessary for health. And medically there has been little evidence to show that appetite stimulants are beneficial."

"It is particularly unethical of Sandoz and MSD to target their promotion of pizotifen and cyproheptadine at children and in poor countries where money spent on non-essential drugs



Stimulants are now one of the most prosperous transnational businesses

food, not drugs."

Meanwhile in Malaysia, the Consumers' Association of Penang (CAP), the country's leading consumer organization, has also called for a stop to the promotion of pizotifen and cyproheptadine, especially for growing children in Third World countries.

The safety of using these drugs on young children is doubtful considering that loss of appetite may be due to underlying causes such as malnutrition, infection, malabsorption, renal disorders, and other medical conditions which should

may mean less for food and other basics."

He described the promotion of these two drugs as just another instance of the multinational companies' taking advantage of poor drug controls in developing countries. "It is time Third World governments drew up a list of essential drugs for their people to prevent drug companies from flooding their countries with unnecessary or potentially dangerous drugs," he added.

Teh Poh Ai  
Third World Network

## Women

### Crisis is harshest for rural women in Latin America

Subjected to continued discrimination and unable to find jobs, women in rural Latin America have suffered most from the current economic crisis. In no country in the area — except Cuba — do women account for more than 30 percent of the total labor force, implying that women do not share enough in economic activities.

These are the conclusions of a study on the situation of rural women in Latin America conducted by the University of Havana. Because of the crisis, these rural women are forced to look for industrial jobs where they face very harsh conditions in comparison with men, since they are paid lower salaries, work longer hours, and do less qualified work.

According to the study, a larger number of rural women have in the past few years migrated to the cities, where most of them take jobs as household servants. For many of them, the only alternative would be to go into prostitution. Illiteracy rates among rural women are higher than among men, often twice as high as the overall national rates.

Many Latin American girls drop out of school at an early age because of a widespread prejudice against female education. In most countries in the area, girls are expected to become housewives, and therefore don't need much education.

### More women in Cuban labor organizations

Cuban women now hold 50 percent or more of all labor union executive positions, and 97 percent of all of them are affiliated to labor organizations. The Cuban female labor force now totals 1.2 million, having grown by 42,000 in 1985. These figures were recently disclosed by the Cuban Workers Central (CTC). The organization also pointed out that the presence of women in executive positions confirms the trend towards leadership renewal currently observed throughout the island.



Francisco Castillo, a member of the CTC Secretariat, says that women's participation in work functions has increased most in the executive and technical categories, having grown slightly at the managerial and laborer levels, and least in services. He added that the trend towards greater participation of women in executive jobs is expected to continue, in view of the remarkable size of the Cuban female labor force.



### European feminists seek inspiration in the Third World

Europe's most outstanding feminist leaders believe the European feminist movement is going through a major crisis, and that Third World women can help them solve their problems. European NGOs (non-governmental organizations) involved with feminist issues feel that, although much theory was developed early in the 1960s, feminist movements in Italy, France and West Germany now seem unable to make positive advances towards greater equality between the sexes. For instance, the IPS news agency has reported that Italian feminist leaders who attended the Women's Conference in Nairobi last year would like to see a closer cooperation with feminist organizations in Africa, Latin America and Asia. They believe that, with less publicity or theoretical discussion, women in Latin America have made great progress, and now enjoy a better position in society than themselves, especially in political terms. The Italian feminists are proposing a 1986 meeting with delegates of European and Latin American countries, where they plan to do more listening than theorizing.

# Luring Would-Be Brides into Bordellos

Hundreds of Third World women lured into Europe by phony mating agencies end up in brothels and bares as prostitutes

Gloria was earning just enough in Colombia to scratch along from one day to the next when a Colombian man asked her if she would like to earn big money working in a factory in the Netherlands. Although the deal included a 'dummy' marriage to a Dutch man to qualify for a work permit, she agreed and with her sister and two friends flew to Brussels.

Gloria and her sister were met at the airport by two Dutch men who took them to Denmark and married them. They were then brought back to The Hague and delivered to a 'boss' to work as prostitutes. The boss was armed. Both sisters were forbid-

den to talk to Spanish-speaking people, and threatened with violence if they did not work or did not earn enough.

The boss told Gloria that after she had earned US\$ 25,000 she could work for herself. But she paid US\$ 200 a week for the two rooms in which she worked and lived and every three days paid half her earnings to the 'boss'. If he had not been arrested on a drug charge, which gave her a chance to escape, Gloria would still be sitting in her window, a Third World slave in a system of exploitation which stretches across the globe.

The trade in Asian and Latin American women to stock the

brothels and bars of Western Europe has become a big international business since 1980, according to a report on its 29th Congress published last year by the International Abolitionist Federation (IAF), entitled *Prostitution: Survival of Slavery*. The IAF is a non-governmental body in consultative status with the United Nations, which fights the exploitation of prostitutes and the traffic in women and children.

The decline in the world economy and the increasing desperation of the Third World poor lie behind this growing human traffic between the industrial 'north' and the developing 'south', a United Nations official quoted in the Report pointed out.

Many of the Third World prostitutes in Europe have been lured there by promises of legitimate work, forced into prostitution and held in bondage by fear of physical violence, by debt to their procurer, pimps and bar owners, by lack of travel documents and ignorance of the language, the Report reveals.

Take Christina, from northern Thailand. She was approached by a nicely-behaved Swiss gentleman and offered a job as a hotel receptionist in Zurich. (The Swiss are among the world's most active sex tourists. In 1982 more Swiss men per head of population bought tickets to Bangkok, a major center for 'sex tourism', than any other Europeans.)

Together with two other girls — one only 15 — and the nice gentleman, she flew to Europe. From the airport they were driven directly to a private



"White slave" traffic from the Third World has become a profitable business.

house, locked into separate rooms, given catfood to eat and 'broken-in' by their first clients. They all signed papers written in German.

Although Christina escaped, got herself a respectable job and married a Swiss, she is still being sued by her procurer, who has suffered no legal penalty himself but is claiming a large sum as debt on the basis of those papers. The Berne Declaration group, a non-governmental Swiss organization of solidarity with the Third World, is helping fight her case.

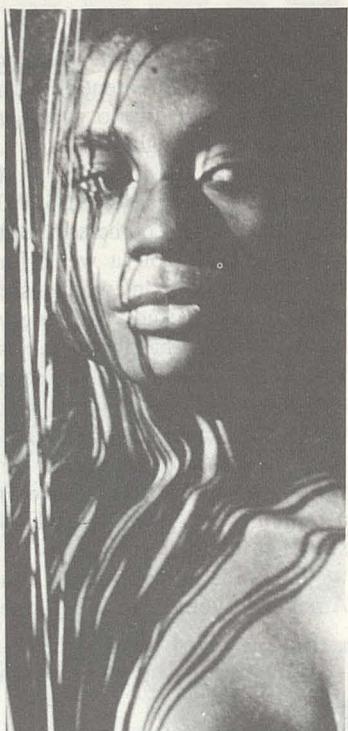
There are increasing numbers of Thai, Filipino and Caribbean women working as go-go girls, dancers and 'artistes' in the European entertainment industry, the Berne Declaration group found in an investigation of the industry. Most of these women are prostitutes and many are working illegally, which makes them more vulnerable to exploitation by the businessmen who bring them in.

In response to protests over this trade, some European governments, like Switzerland, have tightened work permit regulations for foreign entertainers. This has not diminished the tide of Third World women into Europe's bars and brothels although it has opened up another method of recruiting them, the Report reveals.

In Germany, there are now 200 marriage bureaux which act as intermediaries in arranging marriages with Asian brides. Photographs and personal particulars of Asian women are listed in a catalogue for male clients. In one such bureau the client, having picked out a likely candidate from the catalogue, pays 9,000 marks for a return ticket and a trial week

with the girl in Bangkok. If he likes the merchandise, he can pay the company another 3,000 marks to marry her.

Given the commercialism of the transaction it is no surprise that it is criminally abused. One client figured that although it would cost him 5,000 marks to import a Thai wife, he could rake in 4,000 marks a month by 'lending' her to his colleagues.



Recession and poverty in the Third World encourage the traffic of women

Ms Ulla Ohse, a member of the Scottish Human Rights Group who has researched forced prostitution in Germany for the past three years, told the Congress of a well organized racket involving German men flying to Bangkok and marrying Thai women there in order to bring them into Germany and force them into prostitution.

"Marriage bureaux are some-

times not aware of the abuse made of their services. There are, however, cases where police authorities have a strong suspicion that these marriage bureaux have only been set up to facilitate traffic in women," she said.

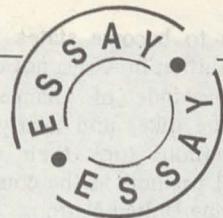
In 1982 German police uncovered a Danish operation trafficking in Thai women through marriages of convenience with German nationals. Frankfurt police broke a ring of procurers which had brought several dozen South American women to Italy, where they married Italian men in order to get Italian citizenship. They were then brought to Frankfurt and forced into prostitution.

These cases illustrate the slick international organizations which profit from this trade in Third World women. In the Third World, poor rural women migrants with little education and few skills form an easily exploited supply. In wealthy industrialized Europe there is a high demand for prostitutes, and Asian prostitutes satisfy both the sexist and the racist prejudices of their clients. It is no wonder that procurers in Europe, who are often wealthy businessmen with international criminal connections, have used fraud and violence to recruit Asian women to satisfy this demand.

Not all Third World prostitutes in Europe, of course, are enslaved. Many are technically in prostitution from free choice. But as the Report points out, the social and economic conditions which surround their recruitment and the agencies turning such women into mass market commodities, challenge the very meaning of 'free choice' for such women.

Halina Todd,

Third World Network



## The Blackening of the U.N.

If one were to choose a metaphor for the most important change that has taken place in the United Nations over the past 40 years,

it would be the gradual blackening of the Delegates Lounge. The founders of the United Nations saw it primarily as a small and exclusive "white man's country club" where the European ambassadors would take a leisurely boat ride to meet and converse with their kith and kin in New York about the state of the world.

Here in New York, they did tolerate their poor relatives

from Latin America who, in any case, saw themselves as Europeans who were accidentally located in Latin America. The brown cultures were represented by a few irascible characters like Krishna Menon who were allowed from time to time to talk about their rights and difficulties. The yellow cultures were fortunately represented by the Methodist Chiang Kai-shek and his charming English-speaking American-

Originally intended as a "white man's country club, the United Nations has changed drastically over the years

educated wife. There were, of course, the troublesome Slavs from the Soviet Union with their foolish notions about revolution. On the whole, however, it was indeed a splendid agreement made by the victors of World War II.

The management of the club was undertaken by the experienced British and French ex-colonial civil servants who had to be found new jobs as a result of the dismantling of the empire. The Scandinavians filled in the gap as secretaries general primarily because they were outside the traditional conflicts that had occurred in Europe. The Europeans also viewed New York City as an ideal location for the



The United Nations has ceased to be an exclusive "white man's country club"

U.N., especially to train the United States for the enormous responsibility of governing the world. They tolerated Roosevelt's somewhat naive and romantic notion about the organization, but were relieved when the practical southerner Harry Truman (who took time out to sign the Charter between the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), assumed the presidency. Europeans also saw the U.N. as a place where their former colonials could be socialized. New York City became a social center for the Western diplomatic world every autumn; it enabled them to take in some theater, shop and see the Niagara Falls.

Neither of the two major powers took a serious interest in the administration of the U.N. The U.S. sent mediocre officials — with the exception of Ralph Bunche — who, after all, could not be integrated into the foreign policy establishment. The U.S.S.R. saw the U.N. merely as a window to the world and also sent junior officials. The dominant Western cultures had always seen the international civil service as an extension of their own national bureaucracies. Thus, the organization was politicized from its very inception. The recent furor over the politicization of the civil service in the U.N. is primarily a reaction to the demands of the Third World for a greater share of the patronage.

Thus the notion of a pleasant and tranquil European country club did not last long. The Slavs from the Soviet Union proved to be much more difficult than anticipated and indeed displayed many more Oriental than Western characteristics.

(In fairness, Churchill had warned Roosevelt about the Oriental tendencies in the Soviet Union which were manifested by Stalin.) Then that darling Asian couple Chiang Kai-shek and Soong Mai-ling were unceremoniously replaced in China by a peasant from Hunan, thus making a mockery of the Security Council which continued to insist that Taiwan represented the people of China.

The Cambridge-educated Brahmin from India, Nehru, turned out to be nothing more than an oily colonial politician with silly notions about the "third way." The affable Latins were slowly being poisoned by pernicious doctrines from the Soviet Union and the Third World. The British, who had always assured their American cousins that the Arab world could easily be controlled by purchasing sheiks and sultans, soon found that they could not keep their promise. The establishment of the state of Israel produced a vitriolic reaction from the Arab world, challenging the steady flow of cheap oil to the Western industrialized world. However, what had never been anticipated was the impact of all these changes on Africa.

British anthropologists had assured the world that given the process of cultural evolution these "primitive peoples" of Africa would take a long time before they could join the family of civilized nations. Instead, Africans accelerated their demands for independence and began to disrupt the entire continent. In order to deal with these traumatic developments, Macmillan tried to convince his Afrikaner cousins that it would be better to prepare for the winds of change and allow the

colonies to become states. But the revolution in Africa not only brought winds of change, it broke the dikes and nearly 50 Black nations took their seats as equal partners in the country club at the United Nations.

Hence, what began as a small and exclusive white man's club has become a potpourri of races and cultures — the majority of them from the Third World.

The entry of former colonies into the international family of nations also caused great social problems in New York, for one could no longer distinguish between waiters, guards and ambassadors. Local institutions and establishments were invaded by Africans with their multicolored robes, Arabs with their desert tunics, and Asians with their dour uniforms. New York City was totally unprepared to accommodate all these new cultures in the tranquility of the East Side. What made things worse was the peculiar eating habits of these newcomers who filled the apartment buildings with the pungent aromas of curries, soy sauce and oils. Even the elegant delegates dining room at the U.N., which was noted for years for serving the finest French cuisine, now had to introduce a greasy lamb stew known as couscous.

But the new members had an even greater political impact. They began to make rude demands that seriously upset the conventions of European-defined diplomacy. Further, they began to take themselves very seriously in the economics sphere with their call for a new international economic order.

The vast bulk of these new nations were originally designed by Europe as their hinterland



The activities of Third World diplomats at the UN are a source of irritation for the US

whose only task was to produce certain commodities for European consumption. With independence, most ex-colonies inherited a one-crop economy and were, in effect, "commodity states." They quickly found that political independence meant functioning in a global economy which made a mockery of their capacity to determine the price of their commodities and to maintain their sovereignty. The U.N. became a splendid forum for them to meet and, most importantly, to organize themselves into commodity unions. They found that a collective bargaining strategy was essential if they were to survive in the global economy.

It is this strategy of creating commodity unions that has most enraged the Western states of the post-World War II era. For this "grand alliance" of states so admirably described by Richard Barnet in his recent study, *The*

*Alliance*, had assumed that the Third World would continue to be junior partners in the global economy. Instead of being satisfied with this role as junior partners, they began to talk about forming commodity cartels and restricting the exploitation of their resources.

While the liberal Western economies would have been willing to accept the idea of collective bargaining, they quickly put their foot down when these countries began to use the U.N. to talk about restructuring the global economy. The institution that the West had seen as a place for the political education of "backward" peoples was becoming a threat to their security and their standard of living.

The universities were among the first to sound an alarm. New volumes with titles like *A Most Dangerous Place* (Daniel Patrick Moynihan) or, more recently, *Nation Against Nation*

(Thomas Franck), began to appear, warning of the dangers of a U.N. controlled by the the Third World. The one basic issue that both Republican and Democratic administrations unite in their hostility against the U.N. is its position on Israel and the Palestinian people. It was left to the Reagan administration to formulate a strategy for taming the world body by bringing it into the framework of Western values agreed upon by the liberal-conservative coalition.

This strategy had three components. At the political level, there was the determination to destroy the new coalitions formed within the U.N. that would threaten Western hegemony. Opponents of the increased presence of the Third World were particularly annoyed at the growing alliance between the non-aligned countries and the socialist world.

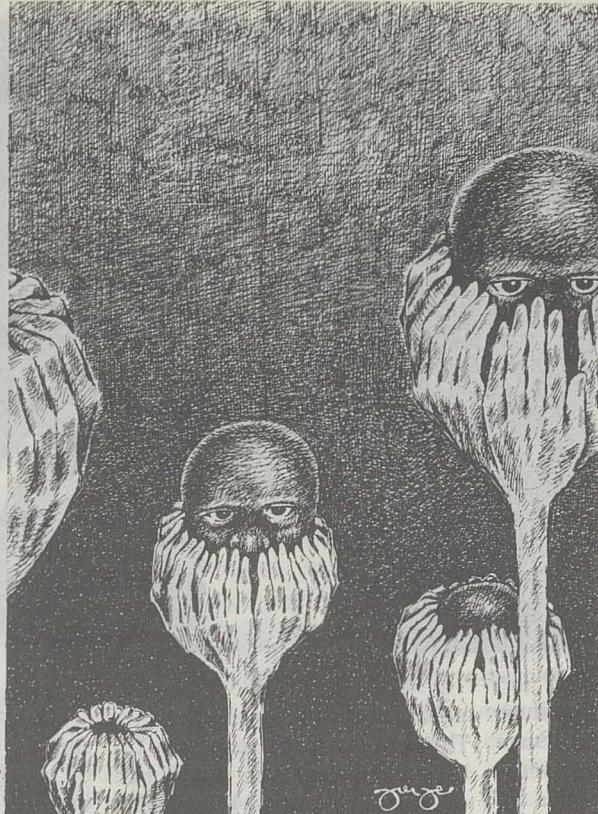
To put an end to all of this,

a distinguished professor of political science from Georgetown University developed a sophisticated and empirical loyalty test which would be administered every year at the U.N. This social science test examines the voting behavior of U.N. members and accurately measures the ideological predisposition of a given state. The purpose of the test was to determine how U.S. aid would be dispensed: rewarding friends and punishing enemies.

Another distinguished professor, who is now a senator from New York, warned China last week that it had failed this test and had to do better next term if it wanted to graduate and become a responsible member of the civilized world.

The political implications of this test indicate a shift away from multilateral diplomacy to bilateral diplomacy. In the economics sphere, such a rewards-punishment system would also put an end to the collective bargaining strategy and stop all talk about global reconstruction. Finally, at the cultural level, the Reagan administration recognized the importance of the U.N. as a social institution. Its New York location in the capital of the world's communication industry

Jorge Arbea



has enabled the U.S. to inculcate Western market values throughout the globe.

The U.N. could play a major cultural role in changing the traditional values of a society by replacing them with more "modern" Western values. This transformation is most notable in the dress and social mannerisms of the delegates in the lounge. The traditional robes of Africa and the tunics of Asia have been replaced by three-piece "dress-for-success" Pierre Cardin suits. Chinese, Indian, Middle Eastern and African cuisines have also all been modified to satisfy the tastes of the newly emergent international Yuppie class.

Further, if the U.N. agencies

like UNESCO become hostile to market values, they will be liquidated immediately. This new cultural foreign policy is an extension of the Reagan administration's domestic policy, which has been characterized by Black political scientist Ron Walters as the "revival of white nationalism." The revolution which began in communities like Canarsie — and described by Jonathan Rieder as a revolt against liberalism — has now reached the East River.

The United Nations ambassadorship has been an exceptionally useful forum for the political careers of American politicians. The Eastern establishment has used it to give their candidates — like Lodge and Bush — experience in international politics. Kennedy used it as a retirement slot for Adlai Stevenson and then destroyed Stevenson's moral credibility over the Bay of Pigs. The lower middle-class white ethnics found U.N. bashing an excellent way of displaying their patriotism and winning support of the emigrés of Eastern Europe. Moynihan and Kirkpatrick used the position to establish themselves as super-patriots who were defending Western Christendom from barbarism. Andy Young got his

baptism of fire in international politics as ambassador and was swiftly sent back to the ghetto politics of Atlanta after his meeting with the PLO. And the mayor of New York periodically refers to the world body as "a cesspool."

The major powers also agreed that the biggest issue of our times, nuclear disarmament, must be permanently removed from the U.N. and placed squarely in their laps. This complicated issue was not to be the concern of the powerless of the world, but the business of the Grand Alliance and its adversary, the Soviet Union. If there are to be any significant negotiations on disarmament and nuclear policy, they were to be conducted outside the world body and within the framework of a summit. The U.N. would then be left to merely ceremonial functions.

There are some severe difficulties with this global vision. The dispossessed of the world have the nasty habit of making their presence felt. The safety and the security of the East and the West cannot be guaranteed without the participation of the victims. There are at least four major war zones in the world today — the Middle East, Southern Africa, Southeast and Southwest Asia, and most recently, Central America. These war zones and the states within them have the capacity of leading the world into a nuclear abyss. Many Third World states, like the Native Americans before them, are sitting on much of the world's resources that are necessary for the expansion and continued growth of the Western economies. In addition, countries like China, India and Brazil

appear to be potential lucrative markets. On the other hand, the debt crisis severely threatens Western fiscal institutions. Then there is the revival of religious fundamentalism and the emergence of other anarchistic movements that threaten not only the Western world, but the entire international system. As the international system becomes more anarchical, the danger of a global war and nuclear confrontation increases.

Given these conditions, the

West and the growth of fundamentalist movements like Pol Potism in the Third World can unleash dangerous forms of barbarism. Under these conditions, the case for the U.N. now assumes a new importance for it remains the only organization that can expose rampant racism, chauvinism and political repression throughout the world. For the U.N. to become a viable organization, it requires changes not only in the behavior of Third World states, but most



Racist issues still divide the Western powers and the Third World

Delegates Lounge at the United Nations continues to symbolize the organization's best hope: the possibility of some form of communication among diverse cultures. For while the major powers may prefer bilateral diplomacy, the character of the political and economic problems that confront the world today are global and interrelated and can only be resolved multilaterally.

The revival of racism in the

important, a maturity of relationship between the superpowers. In the final analysis, neither the superpowers nor the Third World states can afford the luxury of international anarchy. The world can only be safe when all nations accept a policy of cultural co-existence. As in the words of the Network to Educate for World Security, "The United Nations (is) Where Even Enemies Can Talk." ●

Archie Singhram

### The Urban Population Explosion

One-half of the entire world population will be concentrated in large cities by the end of this century. Third World cities are the fastest-growing of all. By the year 2000, the population of Mexico City is expected to be 26.3 million people, eight million above the current total. The world's second largest city will be São Paulo, Brazil, with a population of 24 million people, up from the current 14 million.

In the early 21st century, 17 of the 20 largest cities in the world will be located in Africa, Asia and Latin America. With a 17.1 million population, Tokyo will be the most densely populated city in the industrial world. At present, only 41.5 percent of the world population live in large cities.

The fast, unruly growth of urban centers in the Third World can be attributed to the continued migration of rural dwellers as a result of the impoverishment of the agricultural sector. The phenomenon is a critical one since most cities in the poorer countries are not equipped to accommodate such a huge population expansion. Not only housing, but also food and work facilities are scarce.

If the trend persists — and UN experts say it will — Third World cities are doomed to become enormous pockets of poverty and crime. UNFPA (United Nations Fund for Population Activities) experts advocate birth control practice as a means

of reducing urban growth. Third World specialists, however, believe it more important to radically change the rural structure in poor countries so as to retain the population in rural areas by assuring their means of livelihood. Otherwise, they claim, millions of families will continue to be forced out of the hinterland and migrate to urban centers in the hope to survive.

### Urban Waste: An Intractable Problem

Roughly 3.7 million tons of waste are thrown on the streets of major Malaysian cities every year by city dwellers and industrial plants. In Japan, the total is 280 million tons per year, while in Korea the annual amount of urban and industrial waste is 18 million tons. In Singapore, 4.11 tons of garbage are collected daily to a total of 1.5 million tons per year.

In large Asian cities, such huge amounts of waste give rise to a problem which in other parts of the world is yet to find a satisfactory solution. And because of continued urban growth, the situation is bound to get worse in the next 15 years. In addition to the obvious loss in the quality of life in large Asian cities, the local authorities are seriously concerned with the sheer physical volume of urban waste.

Plans to recycle urban waste in the production of fertilizers



or electric energy find a major obstacle in the huge investments involved. Asian governments generally lack the required resources and are unable to secure additional loans on top of what they already owe foreign banks, while the private sector is not interested in projects that may bring a profit only in the very long term.

### Reforestation in Zaire

This year the Zairian government plans to reforest some 5,000 hectares of land in the 400,000-hectare Mayombe area in the central-eastern part of the country. The decision was made by the Committee of the Zairian Reforestation Fund, created last year under the chairmanship of N'Joli Balanga, Minister of the Environment, Nature Conservation and Tourism.

Initial plans called for reforestation of 1,000 hectares per year in that area, while current plans are for reforesting the entire country in the medium term. Zairian forests have been largely destroyed in the past for the production of lumber. In 1986 the Fund can draw on resources of the order of US\$ 1.5 million.

## Environment

# The Agony of the Amazon Jungle

The annual destruction of 100,000 square kilometers of rain and tropical forests in Brazil has caused environmental and climate changes that have increased the number of natural disasters in the country

Like most other countries in the world, Brazil is going through a gradual process of widespread ecological crisis due largely to deforestation. Damages worth many billions of dollars caused by floods, droughts, crop failures, hail rains and storm winds have contributed to the emergence of a new and much deeper ecological awareness among Brazilians.

Apparently all industrial, consumer-oriented societies are beginning to pay attention to the law of respect for life. These societies' description of reality as well as their economic structures are being torn to pieces by what US ecologist John Hamaker has called "Nature's language."

### No one would listen

As early as in 1965, the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) had warned that "in the next 20 years the planet may undergo climatic changes that are profound and difficult to foresee." Every country, said the WMO, should "store large amounts of grain, avoid deforesting as much as possible, and invest in meteorological studies." The warning, however, went unheeded.

Nearly 20 years later, in June

1984, Brazilian astronomer Ronaldo de Freitas Mourão, head of the country's Meteorological Observatory, commenting on the frequent catastrophes in his country, said that "there are several hypotheses to explain climatic changes. Some believe they are caused by bursts of hyperactivity in the sun. Others blame the excess of volcanic particles in the earth's atmosphere. Others say the reason is the increasing amount of carbon dioxide in the air." But he added that most renowned meteorologists thought deforestation and the loss of green cover were in fact the main reasons for changes in the earth's climatic

patterns.

Of course, deforestation contributes to increase the carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere. One of the biological roles of trees and all sorts of green cover is to absorb carbon dioxide and release oxygen. The fact that mankind is quickly destroying the planet's green cover while throwing ever greater amounts of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere through increased industrial activity is tantamount to a process of unconscious collective suicide.

In January 1985, the Mauna Loa Observatory in Hawaii measured the carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere at 345 parts per million (ppm), up from its normal level of 280 ppm. The result of such carbon dioxide concentration in the air is to create what scientists call a "greenhouse effect" by letting sunlight heat the earth but inhibiting the escape of heat radiation back into space. According to *The New York Times* (October 18, 1983), many sci-

Agência JB



40,000 sq.km. of tropical forests are destroyed every year

tists fear that, in the 1990s, cumulated heat may cause a partial thawing of the polar icecaps, leading to a worldwide rising of sea levels and the flooding of coastline cities.

Other scientists disagree. In their 1982 book *The Survival of Civilization*, John Hamaker and Don Weaver expressed the belief of many climatologists that the "greenhouse effect" takes place only in tropical and semi-tropical areas. According to them, the final result from an excess of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will be a cooling of the earth's climate leading to a new ice age.

Their theory can be easily described as follows. Initial heating from the "greenhouse effect" in tropical areas speeds up evaporation from oceans, rivers and lakes. This hot, humid air expands and goes up, while a colder, drier air current keeps blowing from the poles. The result is a transfer of humid air to the poles, where it falls as snow. The polar zones thus expand and grow heavier, while oceans get lighter from the loss of water. Geologically sensitive points in the earth's crust are coaxed into activity, so that earthquakes and volcanoes multiply. The atmosphere gets more carbon dioxide, and the process intensifies.

Gil Russo, a Brazilian meteorologist from Porto Alegre, has reported on the comparatively recent occurrence of three "cold fronts" coming into southern Brazil from the South Pole. To him, this means a transfer of hot, humid air poleward to replace the cold, dry air that comes in.

According to John Hamaker,

excess carbon dioxide also causes the multiplication of clouds in the atmosphere. Together with the expansion of the polar caps, this will eventually reflect back into space so much solar heat that the planet will enter a new ice age for many thousands of years. As this process begins, he says, agriculture will collapse completely. To avoid the catastrophe, mankind should make a worldwide effort towards reforesting the planet while drastically reducing the release of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. This might mean a deep change in human life towards a planetary, peaceful society in the 21st century.

#### How bad is deforestation?

"Rain forests cover 35 percent of the South American continent, and are a determining factor of world climate," said the final report issued by the 16th Congress on Nature Conservation held in Madrid in November 1984. "But rain forests are disappearing at a rate of 40,000 square kilometers every year," added the report.

Does that seem too bad? Reality is much worse than that, says Brazilian ecologist José Lutzenberger. According to him, "100,000 square kilometers of rain forests are being destroyed each year in the Brazilian Amazon region alone."

With a territory of 8.5 million square kilometers and a population of 130 million people, Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world. The Amazon forests are the last ones to survive in the country. An earlier victim of civilization was the *Mata Atlântica*, a beautiful stretch of tropical forests which in early

colonial times covered some two million square kilometers near and along the Atlantic Ocean in southeast Brazil. At present, only three percent of those forests is left. The last individuals of hundreds of animal and vegetable species continue to be decimated to this day.

Brazilian states such as Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia once had 33 percent of their land covered by forests; now this figure is down to one percent. Espírito Santo used to be 90 percent forest; its green cover is now reduced to only two percent of the total land. The states of São Paulo, Santa Catarina and Paraná have dropped from 85 percent to a dramatic 3 to 6 percent of forest cover. In Minas Gerais, the forest area has dwindled from 45 percent of the territory to a modest 3 percent. Rio de Janeiro fares best, having dropped from 90 percent to the current 13 percent of green cover.

#### Nature's language

A Brazilian government official revealed in 1985 that, due primarily to deforestation, soil erosion has caused annual damages to the country's agriculture whose value could pay for the Brazilian foreign debt in a few years.

Besides avoiding erosion, trees also purify the air and regulate water cycles. The Brazilian northeast was turned many decades ago into a desert-like territory because its forests were almost completely devastated. It now seems that Mother Nature is talking the same kind of language in south Brazil, where industrialization has accelerated since

the 1930s. Here the main cause of recent climatic changes is still the destruction of the forest cover.

"The immediate cause of the (recently experienced) floods", says José Lutzenberger, "is the ongoing destruction of the green cover all over the country."

In July 1983 the three southern states of Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul experienced "the flood of the century", which destroyed the homes of more than 300,000 people, in addition to three million tons of grain. Scores of small towns were completely covered by the waters. In June 1984, another large flood caused major damages to agriculture and animal breeding, while many highways were seriously affected.

Last year Nature brought a surprise to the Northeast, when an enormous flood devastated that normally drought-stricken region. In February, the government let it be known that 25,000 people had lost their homes in 231 towns. In March, that figure had gone up to 93,000 people; in April, to 650,000 homeless and over 200 dead. Later, the number of the homeless went up to one million, while the authorities ceased to inform on the number of fatal casualties.

Nature also had a surprise to many Brazilians who had never seen snow in their lives. In August 1984, it snowed heavily in Porto Alegre for the first time in history. In June 1985, there was snow near Rio de Janeiro, a much warmer place than Porto Alegre. In October 1985, a hail rain destroyed nearly all the roofs in the small town of Itabirinha, state of Minas Gerais – a very warm region. Hail stones

killed 29 people, wounded 800 and destroyed the local crops.

#### And then the drought

Last September, after a small flood in Rio Grande do Sul, it suddenly stopped raining. At first, the big news was the heat: temperature records were broken in October. While the drought became serious there, as well in the states of São Paulo, Paraná and Santa Catarina, more than 30,000 people lost their homes to floods in Bahia.

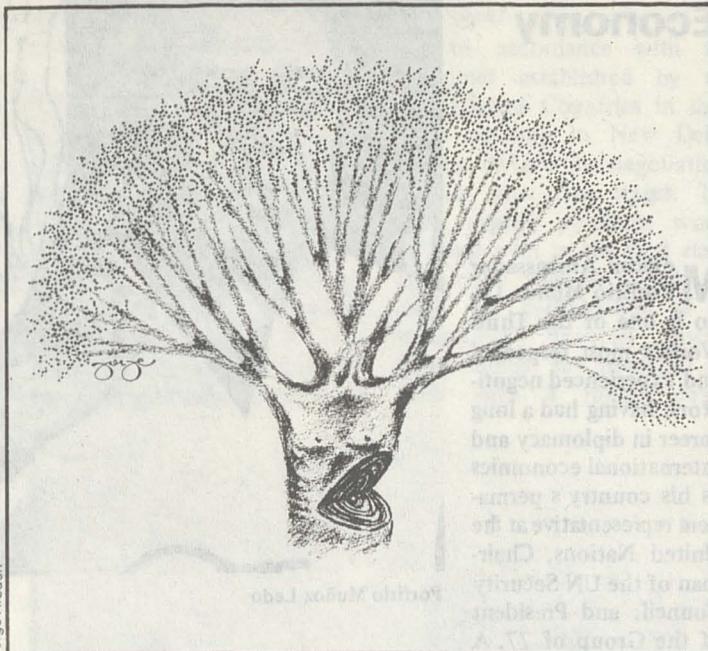
Electric energy rationing prompted by the drought caused losses worth over US\$ 6 billion. Water has also been rationed in over 100 towns with a total population of 30 million people. Crops have been lost. The Brazilian Department of Waters and Electric Energy estimates that rains may be scarce until July 1986.

The vicious circle could be described as follows. Deforestation brings about droughts

and floods through the deregulation of water cycles. In their turn, droughts cause further forest destruction. As continued industrial activity throws more carbon dioxide into the atmosphere, there are fewer and fewer trees to absorb the excess. Whether the greenhouse effect leads to an overheating of the planet or to a future ice age, the results are catastrophic. As John Hamaker said in a letter to this author, "Both cold and drought cause crop failures. The effect of both on mankind is the same – starvation for all in the years ahead."

Any attentive observer can conclude from the available data that Earth is on the eve of a widespread environmental crisis. Man had better get prepared for it – or attempt to circumvent that crisis by showing a bit more gratitude toward Nature.

Carlos Aveline,  
Brazilian Environmental Expert



Jorge Arach

**M**exican Ambassador Porfirio Muñoz Ledo is one of the Third World's most respected and experienced negotiators, having had a long career in diplomacy and international economics as his country's permanent representative at the United Nations, Chairman of the UN Security Council, and President of the Group of 77. A former Mexican Secretary of Labor and Education and President of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), he is now a member of the PRI International Affairs and Ideological Committees. Muñoz Ledo is currently co-ordinating a research program on Latin American issues at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), while lecturing at several universities in his country and abroad.

In this exclusive interview with *third world* magazine in Rio de Janeiro, Muñoz Ledo examines the need for periodical discussions between presidents of Third World countries similar to those held by industrial nation leaders, to develop a joint capability to respond quickly and effectively to world problems, especially with regard to

Porfirio Muñoz Ledo

## Avoiding the Debt Trap

the foreign debt.

*In your opinion, what criteria should the indebted countries adopt in their relations with international creditors?*

— The foreign debt and debt service payments have generated

**Group of 77 ex-President Porfirio Muñoz Ledo calls for regional unity among Third World debtor countries for an eventual joint negotiation of their foreign debt.**

serious political and social distortions in debtor countries. The time has arrived to enforce those principles which were recommended in the Cartagena Consensus. First the establish-

Walter Santos

ment of an interest rate consistent with our historical conditions, at a level similar to those which permitted the industrial nations to carry out their own development processes. An interest rate no higher than 3 percent should be considered fair — a possible maximum being 6 percent, which is the current real profit rate.

### *A fixed rate?*

— Of course. The interest rate should be fixed and free from eventual market fluctuations. Next, there is the issue of the debt service/export revenues ratio, which is especially important for countries with a weak external sector or whose exports

are subject to ups and downs. Finally, there is a general criterion which seems to be the most relevant one, since it serves both to establish the ultimate goals of the ongoing negotiations and to make debt service payments consistent with the development projects and internal needs of the debtor countries. The first criterion is financial, the second is economic, and the third is political. Negotiations should hinge on these criteria, taking into account the situation prevailing in each country.

*In view of these criteria, how do you see the Mexican decision with respect to negotiations with its creditors?*

— I think it represents the beginning of a reformulation of our economic relations with foreign countries. It may be that, by the time you publish this interview, the outcome of the negotiations is already known, but I can say that, if what President De la Madrid has announced is actually obtained — that debt service payments be adjusted to the country's real paying capacity — we will have taken a step in the right direction. By real paying capacity I mean not only a share of our inflow of foreign exchange, but also an amount which makes it actually possible for Mexico to resume its economic growth. This is the approach recommended not only by the consensus of Latin American countries, but also by major documents we have subscribed to as sovereign states in such international organizations as the United Nations, and by the commitments made by developing countries within the Group of 24, which is our joint representative before international financial institutions. According to these principles, the debt issue cannot be divorced from major aspects of international economics.

*Such as, for example?*

— As we have repeatedly indicated at international meetings, payment of the debt must be linked to the trade issue, to the dismantling of protectionist policies, to the prices of raw materials, to the issue of new financing operations...

*And, as the price of crude falls drastically as it does now, to international oil prices?*

1986 — June/July — n. 02

— Energy clearly cannot be left out of the picture in our economic negotiations.

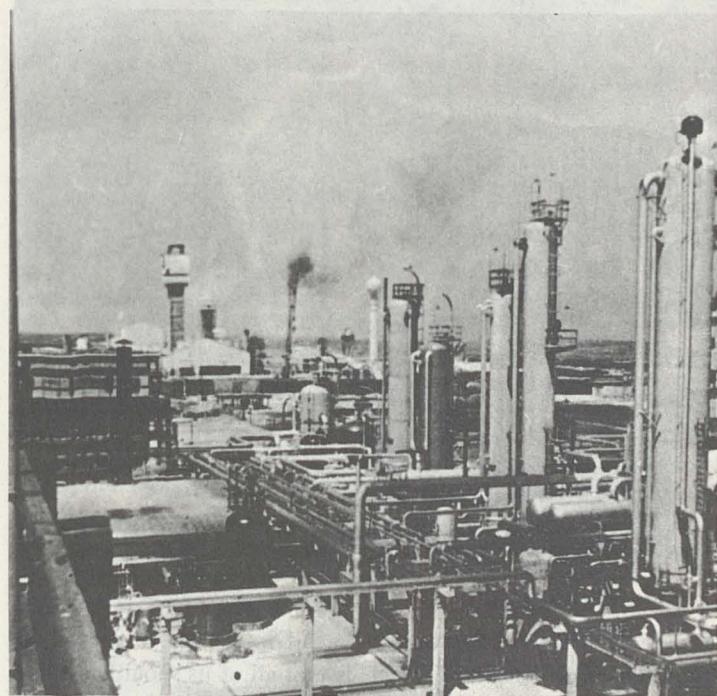
#### A pragmatic proposal

*An attempt was made to negotiate along these lines a few years ago, and it failed.*

— These principles were indeed in the order of the day for global economic negotiations as proposed by Mexico when we presided the Group of 77. You probably remember that the Assembly unanimously approved,

*And what has been done since then?*

— In accordance with the guidelines established by the Non-Aligned Countries in their 1983 meeting in New Delhi, Mexico divided the negotiations scheme into two stages. The most urgent problems would be dealt with in the first stage, in such a way as not to exclude the participation of international financial institutions, though the powerful nations have a much greater



For Muñoz Ledo, the debt issue is linked to the oil price drop

through Resolution 34-138, the undertaking of such negotiations. In spite of the attempts made in the following years — including a meeting of heads of state in Cancún — no definitive agreement was arrived at because of the opposition of the major Western industrial countries, especially of the Western superpower.

weight in these organizations. The UN General Assembly was also to participate. An equilibrium was thus obtained between the different forums, and a pragmatic decision was made with regard to the themes to be negotiated, which are precisely the same as now: protectionism, development financing, energy, food security and raw materials.

### Similar criteria for all negotiations

In this case, however, the object of the discussions would be the larger problem of international economic relations, and not only the debt. And creditors reject the idea of global negotiations.

It is natural that the creditor countries should try to protect themselves as much as possible, but certain historical facts and trends are, in a way,

out at the London meeting, they wanted to deal with the debt on a case-by-case basis, so that no general principle could be applied automatically to all countries. Thus, negotiations with Argentina, Brazil and Mexico all took different turns.

*Yet the proposal for a collective negotiation is based on the need for enhancing the debtors' bargaining power.*

We should not be over-concerned with a collective

*negotiations, especially in the case of the smaller countries.*

I believe this is a matter of gradual stages. Those countries that carry greater weight, especially because of the volume of their debts, must lead the way. It is true that economically weak countries are at a disadvantage, and this is why, after we have broken through, we must establish a political dialogue and do our best to extend to the relatively less developed nations the same criteria adopted for economically stronger countries — or even improve such criteria in their case.

*Certain initiatives have already been taken within the United Nations to render assistance to smaller countries. Which ones of these initiatives do you find most important?*

Small countries are in a dramatic situation. At present certain international advisory mechanisms are being devised for those countries that not only lack political weight, but also often lack contacts, *modus operandi* and experienced cadres to cope with this type of negotiations. Within the Group of 77 we had come up with the idea of an advisory and support system for poorer countries in the context of South-South cooperation. A common front to help the less developed countries should be considered as soon as possible.

### A vicious circle

*As you mentioned, the Cartagena proposal stressed the need to link the payment of the foreign debt to trade revenues. Yet, when Peru established a ceiling of 10 percent of its*



"A common front to help LDC's should be considered as soon as possible."

irreversible. I believe that, sooner or later, the debts of most Third World countries will be renegotiated. For the creditors, of course, the longer this takes and the lesser are the adjustments to be made, the better. But the nature of the problem requires those adjustments, and they know it. They merely try to postpone and reduce such adjustments. Right now they are trying to prevent them from happening in a chain reaction. As it turned

negotiation. What is required is that all of us should negotiate using similar criteria, each country in accordance with its own real situation, though not dispensing with the support of all the others.

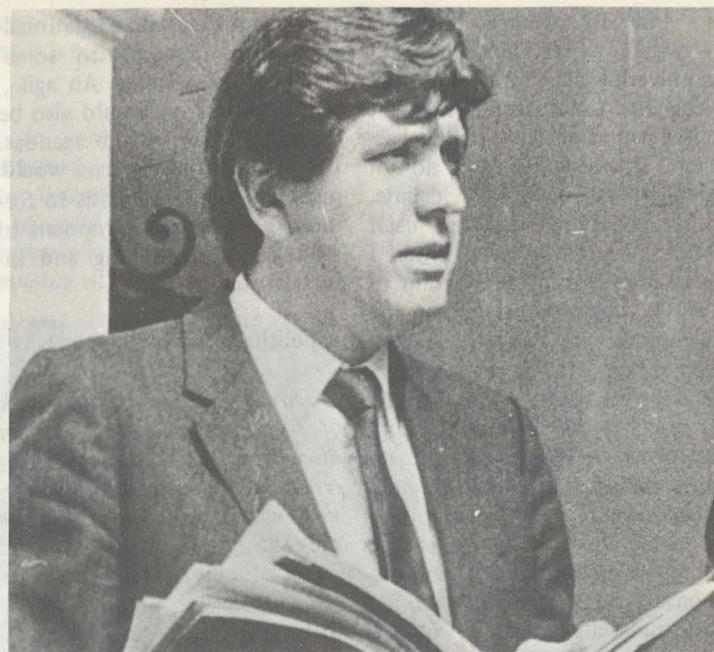
*The problem is that when Mexico, Brazil ou Nigeria speak for themselves, their position carries a certain weight. But when a weak economy tries to do the same, its weight is different. Hence the need for collective*

export revenues for the payment of its external debt, the Peruvian government was met with a sullying campaign, pressures and blockades on the part of its creditors. What should we conclude then?

— We have so far lived in a vicious circle. Showing much serenity and equilibrium, the Latin American countries have proposed a political dialogue. Such negotiation was rejected or postponed. Some countries like Peru have, therefore, taken their own unilateral position. This has brought about protests and pressures, since the negotiations terms were being established through the sovereign decision of a few debtors; no consideration was given to the fact that the proposed dialogue had been refused. I believe that the way we are heading should lead us to the negotiations table in the near future; then, taking into account any unilateral decisions, we would open the way for multilateral agreements.

*Who should sit at the negotiations table: governments, private entities or other organizations concerned with the debt issue?*

— By definition, such negotiations are within the purview of each country's government. This was the argument used by industrial nations when they refused to sit at the negotiations table: they claimed that most of the debt had been contracted by private entities. However, a multilateral dialogue can be established only between those responsible for international relations, that is, between governments. A precondition for such dialogue is to recognize the responsibility of the states involved, whose financial institutions, either public or private,



President Alan García moved on his own after his request to discuss the Peruvian debt was rejected by foreign creditors

are acting as creditors. Otherwise, adjustments will have to continue to be made by each country individually, since each has different creditors. As I said before, the Cartagena proposal has a financial level, an economic level, and a political level. It is only when we arrive at the political level that real negotiations will take place. Of course, with the new facts of an abrupt decline of oil prices and non-traditional negotiations of the debt, the seven industrial nations will try to respond jointly to the current phase of the crisis at the summit meeting to be held in Tokyo in late May or early June.

*At what level should their joint proposal be discussed?*

— The Cartagena Consensus, the Group of 24 and the Group of 77 are three different levels. The ideal would obviously be

a joint presentation of the current status of all developing countries' problems.

*And is this feasible?*

— I think it is very difficult. Due to the lack of negotiations in the past few years, the developing countries' common front has been drained of any meaning.

*Given the urgency of an answer, is it your idea to discuss their proposal in the established forums?*

— Yes, hence the need for a first move at the Cartagena or Group of 24 level. To some extent, both are representative of the group of developing countries.

*Developing countries that are members of the Non-Aligned Movement meet every three years at summit meetings. Do you propose holding other meetings with a different agenda?*

— In its summit meetings — which, as we know, have not a universal character — the Non-Aligned Countries Movement discusses essentially political issues. The heads of state do not pursue an economic debate, since economic issues are dealt with at another level. When I was president of the Group of 77, I suggested — before the formation of the Cartagena group — that some sort of committee should be created in each region comprising countries which would coordinate the dialogue. In each region, there would be a meeting of a small number of heads of state who, through an adequate consultations system, would act as spokesmen for the others. After these initial meetings, a group of Asian, African and Latin American heads of state would meet within a relatively brief period of time. Our idea is to create a group of six or seven Latin American heads of state, perhaps a larger African group, and a third group of

Asian countries, with a rotational mechanism applying to some or all of these states. An agile, strong secretariat would also be created to prepare the agendas. The summit thus formed would meet on an annual basis to formulate and submit proposals to agencies in developing and industrial countries.

#### A political SELA

*Don't you think that this lack of forums for Latin American discussion points to the need to create a new regional organization, which obviously cannot be the OAS?*

— Naturally. This would be what we call a political SELA. SELA (the Latin American Economic System) was created at the initiative of Mexico and Venezuela, and its purpose was to be a Latin American forum for economic matters. Built into the idea was the eventual evolution towards a level that, in time, could approach political issues. It is necessary to establish a

Latin American political mechanism including *all* of the Latin American countries. At the same time, however, we lack an economic coordination system of Latin American countries. While a Latin American political forum must have a universal nature, that is, all countries in the region must participate in it, the coordinating nucleus of Third World economic issues must necessarily be representative. Final decisions must be taken by 127 countries through the multilateral consensus of the United Nations. But previous consultations will have to be made between smaller groups, which might meet at a head-of-state level.

*What would be the criteria for selecting these countries?*

— This is extremely difficult, and that's why it hasn't been done so far. The initiative should be taken by a group of countries, beginning, for example, with the core of Cartagena countries, which would fraternally invite other representative Asian and African countries. Until this process works, the Group of 24 might be the beginning of a system of consultations.

## CONSENSO DE CARTAGENA

### MECANISMO DE CONSULTA Y SEGUIMIENTOS REUNION MINISTERIAL

MAR DEL PLATA. DEL 11 AL 14 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1984



Muñoz Ledo suggests that Latin American countries in the Cartagena Group invite African and Asian delegates to discuss the debt problem

#### The petroleum chaos and the world economy

*How does the energy issue affect the debt problem? Do you believe that in the case of countries like Mexico and Venezuela, which lost a considerable amount of their foreign exchange earnings, the industrial nations would have to be flexible in their financial negotiations?*

— The energy crisis is a complex problem. The least that can be said is that it is a

clear symptom of international economic disorder. On the one hand, it is obvious that the profit estimates of fuel producers, base on the rates of growth of previous years, were frustrated by the world economic recession. On the other, the foreign exchange problems which already affected some of our countries because of an excess of imports and the decline of raw material prices led us to increase the volume of energy production and contract new debts. The policy of industrial nations in this area was to reduce energy consumption and develop alternative sources. Finally, tensions between East and West, which aggravated the already serious problem of a scarcity of foreign exchange, led the Soviet Union to increase its own production. Not to mention the emergence of new petroleum exporters in Western Europe, whose behavior led to distortions in the world market. This entire set of phenomena, which are not due to mere chance, have caused the present chaos in the oil market, a situation which can be extremely dangerous to the world economy. Such an abrupt decline in the price of a commodity on which the economic expectations of so many countries and producing areas depend so badly just cannot be conceived. Just as an oil crisis was converted some years ago into a financial crisis — through the recycling of the surpluses of international liquidity to developing countries, along with inflation — now this sudden change in the prices of fuels will produce deep distortions in the world financial system. I consider this process to be inevitable and deserving of a political dialogue and equitable

negotiations if a more serious crisis is to be avoided.

*In your opinion, is this a junctural phenomenon or do you believe we may soon witness a recovery of oil prices, as some major producing countries have announced?*

borrowers would be able to reduce their export volumes. Other producing countries might do the same, if they improved their access to capital markets and if the cost of money declined. I believe negotiations towards this end should be tried with the protagonists in this process, without excluding the interests



"The energy crisis ... (is) a symptom of international economic disorder"

— This is not a junctural problem, nor is it isolated from other economic phenomena, but I believe it is within our power to achieve the stabilization and a reasonable predictability of the prices of petroleum products, such as Mexico proposed a few years ago. It is an exceptionally difficult task and, from my viewpoint, it is closely linked to the financial question, and especially to interest rates. If the annual amounts of debt service payments were to be reduced on a lasting basis, some oil exporting countries and capital

of the large oil companies and, in the case of the US, of the federative entities which suffered large fiscal losses from the oil price slump. We cannot continue to separate the financial problem from the petroleum question. Hence the dialogue must of necessity be political and involve, if possible, other fundamental aspects of the world economy relative to this question, at least the problem of market overture and reduction of protectionism, as well as that of the prices of raw materials in general. •

**Beatriz Bissio/Maluza Stein**

third world — 79

## Economy

### Kenya: An Overvalued Shilling?

Roughly 15 percent of the Kenyan money stock is currently outside the country — in the hands of investors, speculators and commercial banks in neighboring states. Though theoretically on a par with their currencies, the Kenyan shilling is being exchanged in the parallel market at a ratio of 20 to 1 of Tanzanian and Ugandan monetary units.

For Kenya's Central Bank Governor Philip Ndegwa, the Kenyan shilling has already become a regional currency in East Africa because of the economic and financial problems plaguing Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Burundi and Rwanda. Nairobi financiers point out that over one-half of the stock of Kenyan shillings circulate outside Kenyan borders, especially in Ugandan cities like Kampala, Entebbe and Jinja.

Recent devaluations of the Kenyan currency recommended by the IMF have so far failed to bring down shilling quotations in the parallel market. Kenyan money continues to be smuggled abroad in defiance of the law. Kenyan authorities, however,

are not overly concerned; for them the situation proves the "strength" of their country's economy.

lem, African nations will simply have to suspend their external payments in the near future.

### Africa: Getting Less Per Capita

Average per capita incomes have dropped by 12 percent in all African countries in the past five years as a result of the continued deterioration in the continent's economy. With its current average per capita income of US\$ 409, Africa is already the poorest continent in the world. In 1981, the average per capita income of 39 African countries south of the Sahara was US\$ 464, says a World Bank report.

This decline in the living standards of African populations comes at a dangerously difficult time in the continent's economy, which faces serious balance of payments problems, a reduction in available resources, and an increased foreign debt. African Development Bank Vice-President Donatien Bihute places the continent's foreign debt at more than US\$ 160 billion, and adds that unless a solution is urgently found for the indebtedness prob-

### Tanzania: Looking for US\$ 3.73 Billion

The Tanzanian government will have to secure US\$ 3.73 billion from international financial entities if the country is to resume economic growth and avoid a deterioration of economic problems, said Tanzanian Minister of Finance and Planning Cleopa Msuya in a recent public statement. Msuya added that his country's serious economic unbalance is due to the continued drop in world commodity prices which has caused the national trade deficit to pile up in the past few years.

In his opinion, Tanzania needs to obtain credits and donations in the amount of US\$ 1.2 billion as early as June 1986 to pay for essential imports and keep its public and private sectors operative. The Tanzanian budget for fiscal year 1986-87 totals US\$ 1.76 billion, up US\$ 400 million from last year's budget. The new amount includes 17 development projects estimated at US\$ 61 million to be financed by international private entities.



### Latin America: 112 million Unemployed by 1990

In its latest report, the Economic Commission for Latin

America (ECLA) is especially pessimistic with regard to the prospects for increased employment in Latin American countries. According to the report, the number of unemployed may reach 112 million in 1990, up from 80 million earlier in this decade. The number of new jobs is expected to increase by only 0.4 percent, while the population will continue to grow at the rate of 2.8 percent per year.

This means that no jobs will be available for 87 percent of new entrants in the labor market, a fact that can push the incidence of frustration and crime to extremely high levels. ECLA's unemployment forecasts are based on a scenario under which the gross domestic product (GDP) of Latin American countries will grow by 3.5 to 4.5 percent in 1985-95. The report anticipates that the number of people living in the "critical poverty" range will jump to 170 million, i.e., 58 million above the 1970 level.

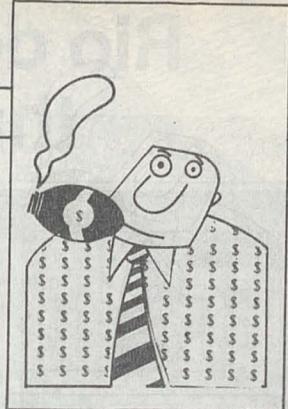
For the Commission, slow economic development will be the main reason for the deterioration of living standards on the continents. The ECLA, which is the most authoritative economic organization in Latin America, believes the region's foreign debt will virtually double by 1985 to a total of US\$ 700 billion. Unless current conditions change markedly, says the report, Latin American countries will disburse US\$ 100 billion in the next ten years in debt service payments alone. In 1982-85, Latin American countries trans-

ferred a total of US\$ 106 billion to industrial nations, and indications are that this amount will grow to US\$ 117 billion between 1985 and 1990 if the international financial system remains unchanged.

### Third World Gets Less for Commodities

In 1980-83, Third World countries experienced a loss of some US\$ 40 billion as a result of declining international commodity prices, especially in the case of exports to Europe and the United States. A study by Latin American specialists indicates that the 1985 prices of major commodities exported by the Third World were 32 percent below their 1980 level. Their estimates do not include oil prices and thus fail to take into account the recent oil price drop in the spot market.

Export revenue losses from deteriorating commodity prices were greater in Latin America. However, in terms of living standards, the worst affected areas were Africa and part of Asia. African export revenues have dropped so low that insolvency is now more than a theoretical possibility for many Asian and African countries. In the case of sugar alone, Third World losses amounted to US\$ 1.5 billion during the period following a drop in demand in industrial countries, which have enforced strict protectionist measures and prefer to subsidize their local producers, though at much higher costs.



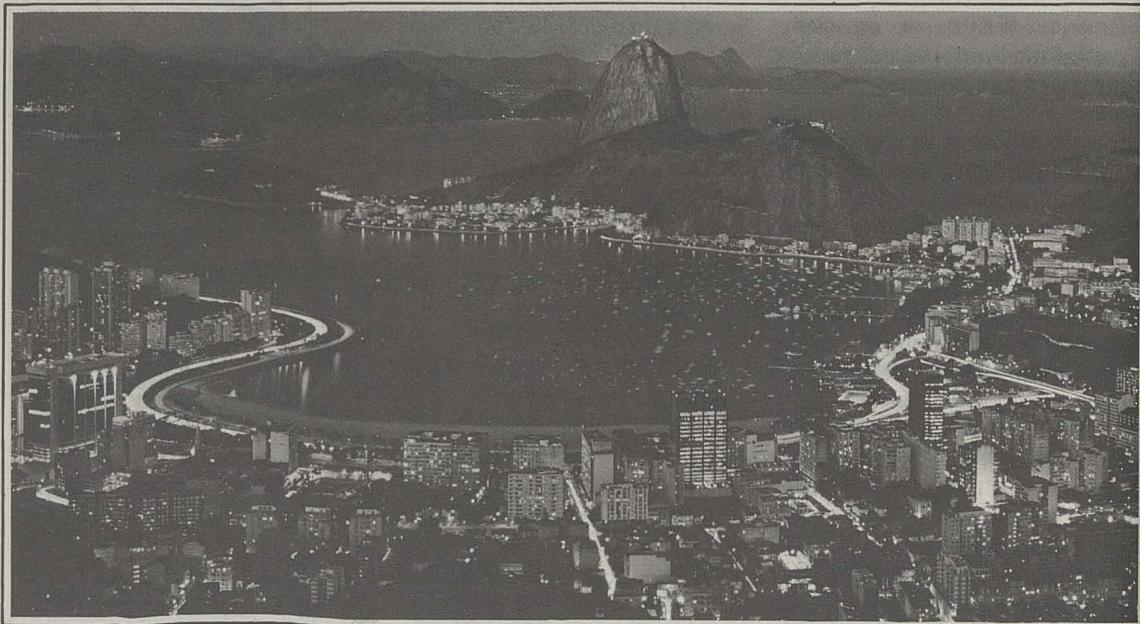
### Peru: Semi-Industrialized

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) has declared Peru a semi-industrialized nation. Reason: the Peruvian output of manufactured products now accounts for one quarter of the country's gross domestic product (GDP). Yet, manufactured products represent only 20 percent of total Peruvian exports, while the country has to import roughly 90 percent of its total needs. As a result, the Peruvian trade balance is permanently in the red.

In quoting the above data, Elmer Farro, General Director of the Peruvian Ministry of Industry announced that the Alan García government plans to stimulate the country's economic growth in the short term and restructure the manufactured products sector in the longer term under a new development model.

Over two-thirds of the Peruvian industry is located in Lima and Callao. The government plans to reverse this situation by creating industrial centers outside the capital, while offering incentives for agricultural development in rural areas.

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**SPECIAL**

# The Order of Malta: The Knights of Darkness

*The membership of this strange and little known international organization of the political Far Right includes former Nazis, US business tycoons, CIA officials, members of the Holy See, and diplomats*

**T**he Sovereign Military and Hospitaler Order of St. John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta, known also as the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, or SMOM, is juridically, politically, and historically unique in the world today.

Representing initially the most powerful and reactionary segments of the European aristocracy, for nearly a thousand years beginning with the early crusades of the Twelfth Century, it has organized, funded, and led military operations

Jorge Arbach



Françoise Harve

The heavily fortified knights of Malta building in Rome

against states and ideas deemed threatening to its power. It is probably safe to say that the several thousand Knights of SMOM, principally in Europe, North, Central, and South America, comprise the largest most consistently powerful and reactionary membership of any organization in the world today.

Although an exclusively Catholic organization, in this century it has collaborated with, and given high awards to non-Catholic extremists in its current crusade against progressive forces in the West, the national liberation movements, and the socialist countries.

To be a Knight, one must not only be from

wealthy, aristocratic lineage, one must also have a psychological worldview which is attracted to the "crusader mentality" of these "warrior monks." Participating in SMOM — including its initiation ceremonies and feudal ritual dress — members embrace a certain caste/class mentality; they are sociologically and psychologically predisposed to function as the "shock troops" of Catholic reaction. And this is precisely the historical role the Knights have played in the wars against Islam, against the Protestant "heresy," and against the Soviet "Evil Empire."

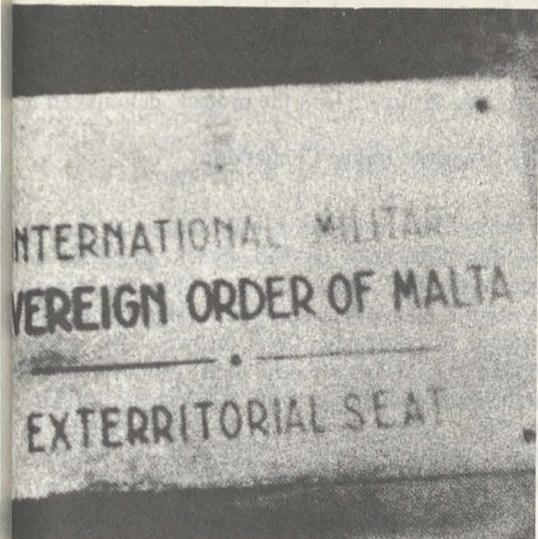
The Catholic Right and the Knights of Malta played a critical role in Hitler's assumption of power and the launching of the Third Reich's Twentieth Century Crusade.

SMOM's influence in Germany survived World War II intact. On November 17, 1948 SMOM awarded one of its highest honors, the Grand Cross of Merit, to Reinhard Gehlen, the Nazi chief of intelligence on the Soviet front. He was subsequently installed by the Americans as the first chief of West Germany's equivalent of the CIA, the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND: federal secret service), under West German Chancellor Adenauer, a devout Catholic who had received the Magistral Grand Cross personally from SMOM Grand Master Prince Chigi.

After the appointment of Knight of Malta William Casey as head of the Central Intelligence Agency, and another Knight, James Buckley, as head of U.S. propaganda against Eastern Europe at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, several historians noted with interest President Reagan's call during the summer of 1982 for a "crusade" against the "Evil Empire" in Eastern Europe.

In addition to Casey, and James Buckley, its current members, or Knights, after the feudal fashion, include Lee Iacocca, John McCone, William Buckley, Alexander Haig, Alexandre de Marenches (the chief of French Intelligence under Giscard d'Estaing, himself a Knight of SMOM), Otto von Hapsburg, and various leaders of the fascist P-2 Masonic lodge in Italy. While its organizational funding is relatively modest, its leverage is maximized by the presence of its Knights in key positions in other private and governmental structures throughout the world.

The President of the American Eastern Association of SMOM is J. Peter Grace, President of W.R. Grace Company, who was a key figure in Operation Paperclip, which brought Nazi scientists to the U.S.



Plaque on SMOM office's door proclaims sovereign status

#### SMOM's Sovereign Diplomacy

As its name suggests, SMOM is both a "sovereign" and, historically, a "military" organization. Its headquarters, occupying a square block in Rome at 68 Via Condotti, enjoys the extra-territorial legal status granted to an embassy of a sovereign state. The Italian police are not welcome on its territory, it issues its own stamps, and has formal diplomatic relations and exchanges ambassadors with a number of countries.

On November 13, 1951 Italian President Alcide de Gasperi recognized the diplomatic sovereignty of SMOM, although he held off formal exchange of diplomatic envoys. On January 11, 1983 the New York *Daily News* announced that,

The Vatican and the order of the Knights of Malta, believed to be the smallest sovereign state in the world, have agreed to establish full diplomatic relations, a joint statement said today.

President Reagan's Ambassador to the Vatican, William Wilson, is, coincidentally, a Knight of Malta.

On September 5, 1984 French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson signed a formal protocol with SMOM for various cooperative projects including "aid to victims of conflicts." (See below on *Americares*.)

#### Historical Antecedents

Already in existence at the time of the first Crusade in 1099, in 1113 the Order of St. John was given its independence by Pope Pascal II, permitted to elect its own Grand Master, and soon the Order began military participation in the Crusades along with the Knights Templar and Teutonic Knights. The Order of St. John recruited successfully among the European aristocracy and soon controlled extensive estates throughout the continent, assimilating those previously belonging to the Knights Templar which it had helped crush during the first two decades of the 14th Century, with the Templar leadership burned alive as heretics.

In 1187 the Order was driven militarily from Jerusalem by Saladin. The Knights were forced to flee successively to Acre, Cyprus (1291), and finally Rhodes (1310) where they subdued the local population and established a military dictatorship enjoying territorial sovereignty for the first time. In 1522 they were defeated by Sultan Suleiman's forces of 200,000 troops and 250 ships after a six-month siege. By 1530 under



Grand Master Angelo de Mojana di Cologna, seated, flanked by Grand Chancellor, left, and Hospitaller, right.

Grand Master Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, the Knights established their headquarters on the island of Malta which had been given to them by Charles V.

### The American Association of SMOM

In Europe SMOM's membership had been traditionally limited to those who could prove a requisite purity of noble blood for several generations. Nevertheless, as a concession to the rising political, economic, and military power of the United States, in 1927 SMOM agreed to incorporate an American National Association whose members were not obliged to prove their genealogical pedigree.

When the American Association of SMOM was created in 1927 the founding members included Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Edward L. Hearn, Nicholas F. Brady, Howard F. Carry, Patrick E. Crowley, James A. Farrel, James A. Fayne, Edward N. Hurley, James J. Phelan, Morgan J. O'Brien, John J. Raskob, and John D. Ryan.

By 1941 Francis Cardinal Spellman was listed as the "Grand Protector" and "Spiritual Advisor" of the Order, with John J. Raskob as Treasurer. Members included John Farrell, then President of U.S. Steel, Joseph P. Grace, and John D. Ryan. In 1934 Raskob, inspired by the French fascist Croix de Feu, and working closely with Morgan

Bank's John Davis, had been a principal financier in the plot to organize a fascist coup in the U.S. The plan failed when General Smedley Butler, who had been set up to lead the project, denounced it.

### The American-Italian Connection

From 1932 until 1938 Myron Charles Taylor was the Chairman of U.S. Steel. In 1939 he became the U.S. envoy to Pope Pius XII, a post he would maintain until 1950. Meanwhile, according to Anthony Cave Brown, OSS chief William Donovan secretly had established an intelligence connection with the Vatican as early as 1941, when he evacuated from Lisbon to New York the Dominican Father Felix A. Morlion, who had founded "a European Catholic anti-Comintern" called Pro Deo. Throughout the war Donovan financed Morlion's Pro Deo service and in June 1944 he "went to considerable expense, time, and trouble to transport Morlion from New York and establish him at the Holy See."

Subsequently Morlion became a key figure in Vatican intelligence, working closely with Giovanni Battista Montini, the future Paul VI.

With the American Grand Protector of SMOM already in contact with the Vatican, and Allen Dulles busy negotiating with Nazis in Switzerland, the Americans entered Rome June 4, 1944. On

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### J. Peter Grace and Project Paperclip

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□ On January 16, 1980 ABC-TV broadcast a special "News Closeup," "Escape from Justice: Nazi War Criminals in America" which discussed Grace's Role in Project Paperclip. The transcript of the program, available from ABC on request, states, "Project Paperclip ... from the end of WW II to the mid-1950's brought more than 900 German scientists to the United States. ... Otto Ambros ... was a chemist and a Director of the notorious I.G. Farben Company which supplied gasoline and rubber for Hitler's war

effort. Ambros ... played a supervisory role in the construction of Farben's plant in the Polish village of Auschwitz. For I.G. Farben, Auschwitz concentration inmates provided a plentiful source of cheap labor. ... The Nuremberg prosecution charged that each day at Farben's plant one hundred people died from sheer exhaustion. ... Otto Ambros was convicted of slavery and mass murder and sentenced to eight years in prison. But even while on trial at Nuremberg, Ambros was a target for U.S. recruiters from 'Project Paperclip.' His prison sentence was commuted after only three years by American officials and he was helped in a bid to enter the United States by ... J. Peter Grace, President of W. R. Grace, a major American chemical company. ... An internal State Department document describes how J. Peter Grace helped Otto Ambros in his efforts to enter the U.S. In a memorandum to the U.S. Ambassador to

July 7 General Mark Clark was made a Knight Grand Cross of SMOM.

According to British journalist Stuart Christie,

25 April 1945 [three days before the German forces capitulate in Italy] Admiral Ellery Stone, U.S Proconsul in occupied Italy, instructs James Angleton to rescue Prince Valerio Borghese from the possibility of arrest by the Resistance Committees which had sentenced him to death for war crimes ... Stone is a close friend of the Borghese family.

Borghese was to be heard from again on the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

- Truman's Vatican envoy Myron C. Taylor received SMOM's Gran Croci Al Merito Con Placca May 23, 1945.

- On June 12, 1945 Admiral Ellery W. Stone was awarded the Croci Al Merito Di Prima Classe Con Corona from the SMOM.

- On December 27, 1946 James Angleton received the Croci Al Merito Seconda Classe from the Order, the same day as George Raymond Rocca. Rocca went on to become Angleton's deputy chief of Counterintelligence Division of the CIA and was the liaison between the Warren Commission and the CIA following the Kennedy Assassination.



While Allen Dulles negotiated with the Nazis, the United States Army occupied the Italian capital

Germany, Grace acknowledges that Ambros was a war criminal. But he adds that in the years he's known Ambros, ... 'we have developed a very deep admiration, not only for his ability, but more important, for his character in terms of truthfulness and integrity.' Today Otto Ambros does consulting work for W. R. Grace and Company and lives here in Mannheim, Germany. In a recent telephone interview Ambros [said] 'I'm happy to still be working as a chemist ... but it's funny. Now I'm helping the Americans.'

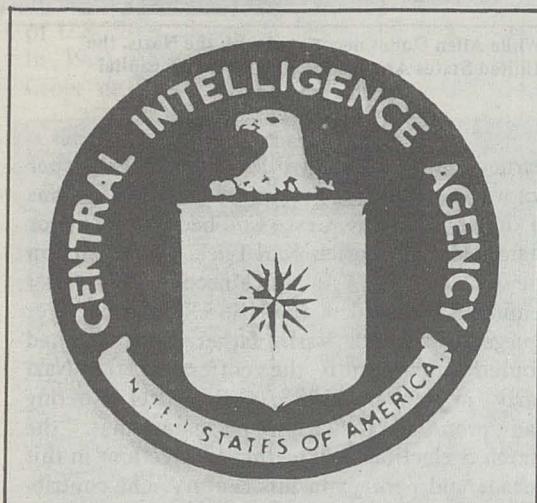
In June 1981, largely in response to the efforts of well known war crimes researcher Charles Allen, Yeshiva University cancelled a \$150-a-plate dinner it had organized to honor Grace.

When the scandal broke in West Germany over the Flick company paying huge sums of money to various politicians and parties, it was

learned that additionally Flick had taken improper tax waivers and used the money to pump millions of dollars into W.R. Grace Co., becoming a major shareholder. Friedrich Karl Flick himself sits on the Grace Board. As the *Moscow New Times* reminded its readers (No. 8, 1983, citing *Der Spiegel*), Friedrich Karl's father, Flick Sr., had poured money into the coffers of the Nazi party in January 1933, and, "after Goering had promised the Ruhr magnates that 'the March 5 elections will be the last elections in this decade and perhaps in this century,' he contributed another 200,000 marks; this sum was handed to SS Reichsführer Himmler. Flick Sr. was subsequently sentenced at Nuremberg to seven years for using slave labor, spoliation and being an accessory to the crimes of the SS. To ensure a good beginning for his son, the war criminal sent him after the war for early training with W.R. Grace.

According to declassified documents from the American Department of State, in February 1948, in anticipation of the upcoming elections scheduled for April 18, the Vatican created organizations called Civic Committees under the leadership of Luigi Gedda, a 45-year-old doctor from Turin who was also the leader of the rightist Catholic Action. By March 17, 1948 Gedda became a Knight of the Grand Priory of Lombardy and Venice.

On March 22, 1948 the *New York Times* reported that Gedda had appealed to American Catholics to provide financial assistance to Italian Catholics in their fight against communism. On April 5, it was reported that "Myron C. Taylor arrived from Madrid for what Catholic circles described as an 'important mission' closely related to the Italian general elections." By April 13 the paper reported that Taylor would meet with Pius once a week, and that based on the information recently received, the Pope was "considerably more optimistic" about the outcome of the elections. Two days later with the Italian military staging massive parades and as fascist gangs attacked leftists in the streets, C. L. Sulzberger reported from Rome that Catholic Action "is armed, active, and tough."



The CIA was behind many a Knights of Malta maneuver

The State Department documents cite Angleton as "feeling quite strongly that Gedda can be effectively used to further our interests in Italy in the political, labor and social fields," and that the Civic Committees were to receive CIA funds. The Pope had allegedly met with Gedda three times during the month after the elections.

One of those reported to have been involved in interference in the April 18 election was Baron Luigi Parrilli. Parrilli, son of an Italian admiral, and who had reportedly worked for the American firm Kelvinator before the war, was a fascist and had extensive industrial interests in Italy. He was made a Knight of Malta on December 7, 1942 and by early 1945 had excellent contacts with the top *Schutzstaffel* (SS: elite guard) and *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD: secret service) German officers in Northern Italy. By April 1945 he became a representative of SS General Karl Wolff to Allen Dulles and U.S. Gen. Lemnitzer during the period that the latter two were involved in private negotiations to recruit top Nazis before the end of the war. It has been rumored that Parrilli also had "concocted a plan to transport ex-Nazis from Germany to Paraguay."

In 1949 SMOM published an Official General Roll of the Grand Magistry with a preface by Pius XII which referred to "The ancient laurels collected on the battle-fronts" of earlier wars. As noted above, among only four recipients of the Order's Gran Croci al Merito con Placca at the time was Reinhard Gehlen, Hitler's Chief of Intelligence on the Eastern Front, who received the award November 17, 1948.

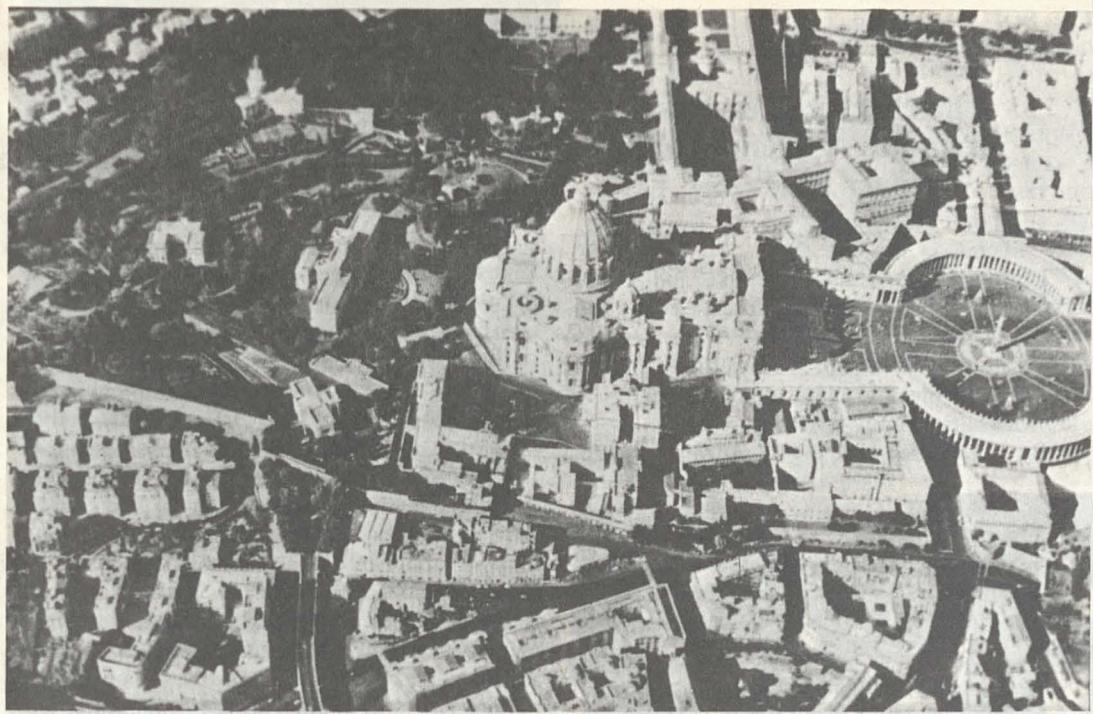
In 1950, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism was created. The trustees included J. Peter Grace, Charles Edison, William Henry Chamberlain, H. J. Heinz II, Isaac Don Levine, and Eugene Lyons. The Committee (now known as Radio Liberty), under the guiding hand of the CIA's Frank Wisner, funded numerous émigré "research institutes" which, according to John Loftus, were "little more than front groups for ex-Nazi intelligence officers."

In 1953 Catholic fanatic Clare Boothe Luce became U.S. Ambassador to Rome, and was made a Dame of Malta in 1956.

In 1954, with the backing of Cardinal Spellman and the machinations of General Edward G. Lansdale, the Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem became Prime Minister of South Vietnam.

By November 1961, President Kennedy appointed John McCone as Director of the CIA. In 1963, when it became clear Diem could no longer stay in power in South Vietnam, McCone oversaw his regrettably necessary assassination. McCone is listed as a member of SMOM in the 1980 list.

With McCone heading the CIA and Angleton as his Chief of Counterintelligence, another Knight of Malta of fascist fame, Italian General Giovanni De Lorenzo, who had been the chief of



In spite of public opposition, the Vatican keeps secret ties with several Masonic lodges all over the world

the secret service (then known as Sifar) and in 1962 head of the carabinieri, organized an attempted fascist coup on July 14, 1964 (the Plan Solo) and later became a deputy from the fascist MSI party.

Six and a half years later, on the night of December 7, 1970 Angleton's Prince Borghese gave the order for Stefano delle Chiaie to proceed with seizure of the Interior Ministry in Rome along with 50 fellow neo-Nazis. This plot to trigger a fascist coup was called off at the last minute, and Borghese and his neo-Nazi protégé delle Chiaie fled to Spain where former SS Commando Skorzeny among others was waiting.

#### SMOM and P-2

Freemasonry generally purports to be hostile to Catholicism, and conversely, the Vatican has at various times forbidden Catholics to join Masonic organizations. Nevertheless, in December of 1969 an exclusive meeting was held in the Rome office of Count Umberto Ortolani, the Ambassador of the Order of Malta to Uruguay, who has been called "the brains" behind the fascist P-2 Masonic Lodge, which had been established in

the mid-1960s. In addition to Ortolani, the meeting included only Licio Gelli, Roberto Calvi, and Michele Sindona.

Gelli had fought for Franco (who was himself a Bailiff Grand Cross of SMOM) with Mussolini's troops during the Spanish Civil War. He was a committed fascist during WW II and at the end of the war was wanted by the partisans for collaborating with the Nazis. After the war he developed extensive interests in Latin America and he was also the Grand Master of P-2.

Calvi had fought on the Eastern front during the war and was decorated by the Nazis. At the time of the 1969 meeting he was a senior officer at Banco Ambrosiano.

Sindona had set up business in 1943 with the help of Vito Genovese, whose Mafia contacts facilitated the American landing on Sicily. By 1948 Sindona had received a letter of introduction to Vatican intelligence operative Montini. According to Larry Gurwin's *The Calvi Affair*,

One of Sindona's first steps in cultivating the Vatican's money men occurred in the late 1950s when through a priest, he met Prince Massimo Spada, a Vatican nobleman and the senior layman at IOR. [Massimo Spada had

## The checkered careers of James Angleton and Roger Pearson

□ Both James Jesus Angleton and George Raymond Rocca were forced into retirement in December 1974 following Seymour Hersh's revelations that Angleton's Division had been involved in illegal domestic operations, known as "the family jewels."

By the Winter of 1977-78 Angleton became



James Jesus Angleton



Roger Pearson

one of two Associate Editors of the *Journal of International Relations* under General Editor Roger Pearson. The other Associate Editor was Gen. Robert C. Richardson III; the Publisher was John Fisher, President of the American Security Council.

Pearson is perhaps the most important neo-Nazi contact and racist propagandist in the U.S. today and had been a former Editor of Willis Carto's *Western Destiny*.

According to *Replica* of January 1978, when the Executive Committee of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) met December 10 and 11, 1977 to plan for their upcoming conference in Washington D.C., "The main speaker was ... General Robert C. Richardson III who delivered a brilliant speech on the theme of USA-USSR nuclear balance ... [and] ... Dr. Roger Pearson [President of North American Regional WACL and later President and host of WACL in 1978] also made a brilliant exposition."

*Replica* is the journal of the Latin American Anti-Communist Confederation (CAL) which Jack Anderson revealed to be a CIA-created, anti-Semitic controller of neo-Nazi death squads.

Pearson was removed as head of the U.S. branch of the World Anti-Communist League after its 1978 conference in Washington, D.C. because his ties to the neo-Nazi international were too extreme even for WACL which then included death squads, former Nazis, and Nazi collaborators.

In the July 1978 issue of the racist *Mankind Quarterly*, the Editor-in-Chief, and Pearson's mentor, Robert Gayre, announced that Pearson would take over publication of the magazine. Robert Gayre had received the Grand Cross of Merit from SMOM in 1963, having already been editor of the *Mankind Quarterly* for three years. In June 1979 Pearson was listed as a member of the Comite de Patronage (the Advisory Board) of the French neo-Nazi journal *Nouvelle Ecole*.

Today Pearson continues to publish in Washington, D.C. several journals including *Mankind Quarterly*; *The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*; and *The Journal of Indo-European Studies*; he remains on the Board of Trustees of the American Foreign Policy Institute.



Spanish dictator Franco was a Bailiff Grand Cross of SMOM

become a Knight of Malta on September 21, 1944. IOR, the *Istituto per le Opere di Religione* (Institute for Religious Works), known generally as the Vatican Bank, was created in 1942 by Pius XII.] At the same time he nurtured his friendship with Giovanni Montini, who had become cardinal-archbishop of Milan in 1954.

In 1959 Montini needed to raise a large sum of money for an old people's home, and he turned to Sindona for help. Sindona reportedly raised \$2 million in a single day. In 1960 Sindona purchased a small Milanese bank called Banca Privata and, thanks to his Vatican friendships, it soon began receiving deposits from IOR. Three years later Montini was elected Pope Paul VI and Sindona's Vatican connections were unbeatable."

The Italian journal *L'Espresso* of June 28, 1981 indicates that numbers of high ranking members of the Italian military intelligence organizations were both SMOMs and members of P-2. The list of dual members included General Santovito, the former head of SISMI; Admiral Giovanni Torrisi, the head of the general staff of the Army; and General Giovanni Allavena, head of the intelligence service (then Sifar, which was later split into SISDE and SISMI).

The conclusion of the affair is generally known. When, in 1983, the Vatican was finally forced to establish an "independent" commission to

study the relationship between its IOR (since 1970 — and still — headed by Chicago-born Bishop Paul Marcinkus) and the P-2/Banco Ambrosiano criminal fascists, two of the three members selected were Hermann Abs and Joseph Brennan.

Abs, who features in nearly every book on the Third Reich and the Nuremberg trials, was Hitler's paymaster, as chairman of the Deutsche Bank from 1940 to 1945, and was a member of the board of I.G. Farben. He regained the board chairmanships of both firms after the war, even though in Yugoslavia he had been convicted of war crimes *in absentia*. In 1953 he received the Great Federal Service Cross for his services in restoring West Germany's financial power; and in 1960 he was decorated by Franco for his "services" to fascist Spain.

The choice of Abs for the Vatican commission of inquiry was so outrageous that at the urging of Charles Higham, the Wiesenthal Center issued a special packet of documents clearly showing Abs's involvement in war crimes and publicly protested to the Vatican, all to no avail.

Joseph Brennan is the Chairman of the executive committee of the Emigrant Savings Bank of New York and a Knight of Malta.

Pope Paul VI was a close friend of Sindona's





The reverend Moon donated US\$ 350,000 to Americas

#### SMOM, Americas, and Central America

Just as World Medical Relief and Refugee Relief International are fronts for Waffen-SS worshipping editors of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, so too the SMOM advertises itself — to those who believe in the Tooth Fairy — as a "charitable" organization greatly concerned for the suffering of the poor and sick around the world.

The *New York Times* of August 13, 1985 reported that the Nicaraguan Freedom Fund (NFF), one of many front groups for the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, channelled \$350,000 to the Americas Foundation in Connecticut. Clare Boothe Luce, a Dame of SMOM, is on the Board of Moon's *Washington Times*, and is a director of the NFF with fellow

SMOM, William Simon. J. Peter Grace is the Chairman of the six member Advisory Board of Americas, which includes fellow Knight William Simon along with former CIA Director George Bush's brother, Prescott Bush, Jr.

Americares' published "Fact Sheet" recites as specific projects:

*Medical Shipments to El Salvador:* Since November 1983 AMERICARES has shipped almost 700,000 pounds of medicines and supplies valued at over \$8,000,000 in 15 sea shipments with local distribution being handled through the Sovereign Military Order of the Knights of Malta (SMOM).

*Guatemala:* In response to a request for aid from the Order of the Knights of Malta, 10 sea shipments of medical supplies worth over \$4,000,000 have been sent to the people of Guatemala since January 1984.

*Honduras:* Since August 1984, three sea shipments of high priority medical supplies worth over \$1,000,000 were sent to the people of Honduras in response to a request for aid from the Order of the Knights of Malta.

*Brazil, October 1984:* A shipment of vitamins worth \$156,075 were sent to Brazil, again in response to a request from the Order of the Knights of Malta (SMOM) who serve as our consignees in Central and South America.

The "Fact Sheet" also discusses an "offshoot" of Americas called "Doctors To All Peoples" said to be "dedicated to the eradication of leprosy in the Americas." Leprosy is the most publicized international "charity project" of SMOM.

The *Washington Post* of December 27, 1984 reported as follows:

A private humanitarian organization called the Americas Foundation, working with the Order of the Knights of Malta, has channeled more than \$14 million in donated medical aid to El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala over the last two years...

[P]art of \$680,000 in aid to Honduras went to Miskito Indians linked to U.S. backed rebels fighting the leftist government in Nicaragua, according to a Knights of Malta official in Honduras.

Much of the \$3.4 million in Americas' medical aid to Guatemala has been distributed through the armed forces as part of its resettlement

program of "model villages" aimed at defeating leftist insurgents, said the official, Guatemalan businessman Roberto Alejos.

Alejos, co-chairman of the Knights of Malta in Honduras [said], ... the Guatemalan army delivers Americas medicine to people in model villages, which are along the Mexican border.

Alejos, a major sugar and coffee grower, lent his Guatemalan estates to the Central Intelligence Agency in 1960 to train Cubans for the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Asked why the Knights of Malta turned to Americas rather than to established aid groups, such as the Red Cross, Grace said, "The Knights have been doing this for 900 years. They have their own cross [the Maltese

cross]. ... They'd consider themselves way beyond the Red Cross." ...

[A]t least one pro-government group, the Air Commando Association of Fort Walton Beach, Fla., claims to have used Knights of Malta warehouses in El Salvador. Retired general H. C. Aderholt, head of the 1,500-member

## SMOM, Grace, and Obando y Bravo

On August 1, 1985 the *New York Times* reported that during a visit to New York in May, Archbishop Miguel Obando y Bravo of Nicaragua said that he is actively directing efforts by his diocese to prevent the government from imposing a communist system in Nicaragua. The Archbishop said efforts included "dividing his diocese into old and new units, including parishes, districts and smaller groups, for leadership and religious training." He claimed the training he established in Managua was for "pastoral cadres, not military cadres. ..." Following a meeting with Archbishop Obando, executives at W.R. Grace arranged for the Sarita Kenedy East Foundation to contribute copies of the Bible, rosary beads and other supplies to aid the church effort, a company executive said. The foundation is headed by J. Peter Grace.

Whatever the real purpose of the "leadership training" and "pastoral cadres," it apparently seemed like such a splendid idea to the Knights that a June 21, 1985 press release from the Erlich-Manes & Associates News Service of Bethesda, Maryland stated that the Southern Association of SMOM had sent a \$5.5 million shipment of "40 massive containers" to be loaded on the ship "Freedom" to be sent to



Obando y Bravo at the Santo Domingo Church in Managua

Maputo, Mozambique. "Roughly half of the shipment will go to aid agricultural development in northern Mozambique; and half will be distributed directly to the poor through the Archbishop of Maputo's Catholic Charities." Eugene I. Kane, a Knight and head of the trucking company Intermodal, Inc. organized the project. Official documents of SMOM list such "charitable" projects in many countries throughout the world.



Poor Central American populations were offered food stocked by Americas at SMOM warehouses

group, [said] that the commandos delivered food and medicine to the Knights' facilities and that together they "get good support from the Salvadoran air force commander."

Aderholt said the association has distributed to El Salvador \$4.5 million in food and medicine provided by the Christian Broadcasting Network and World Medical Relief. He said liberals in Congress have tried to "tie to some sinister plan with the CIA" [sic], which he said is incorrect.

While the *Post* story does mention that CIA Director William Casey is a SMOM, it fails to point out that Aderholt is the "Unconventional Operations" Contributing Editor of *Soldier of Fortune* and was a member of the "Singlaub panel" of the Pentagon, set up to devise new counterinsurgency strategies in the developing countries. Russ Bellant, in the Detroit *Metro Times* of October 9, 1985, says Aderholt claimed that Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network had given the Knights of Malta \$2 million for operations in Central America.

### Conclusion

For many years progressive groups in the U.S. and elsewhere have been engaged in extensive research into so-called "secular" state and private organizations such as the CIA, NSC, the military, private corporations, and foundations.

This article highlights the operative importance of members of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, which unlike traditional corporate, governmental, and foundation entities, has not yet adequately come under the scrutiny of progressive researchers. Curiously, European researchers have all but ignored the Orders of Chivalry in analyzing the structural role of their own aristocracy in organizing support for international reaction and fascist terror.

●  
Francoise Hervet

\* Francoise Hervet is the pseudonym of a researcher who has spent many years investigating the Sovereign Military Order of Malta. This article is reproduced from the Winter 1986 issue of the US magazine *CovertAction*.

## Sindona: poisoned in jail

A former banker and member of the P-2 Masonic Lodge, Italian-born Michele Sindona, 65, was sentenced to life on March 18, 1986, and poisoned with cyanide two days later in his prison cell. Sindona had been convicted of the murder of lawyer Giorgio Ambrosoli who had handled the liquidation of Sindona's Italian Banca Privata following its fraudulent bankruptcy. The trial opened on June 6, 1985, in Milan, Italy, six months after Ambrosoli was murdered by US hired gunman and Mafia member Joseph Arico. A third criminal, Robert Venetucci, indicted as a liaison between Sindona and the murderer, also received a life sentence.

Sindona's major competitor in Milan was Robert Calvi, president of Banco Ambrosiano Bank, which went broke in 1982. Sindona was charged

among other things with having blackmailed Calvi after the latter refused to loan him additional money. Both bankers were members of Licio Gelli's P-2 Masonic Lodge. After Banco Ambrosiano was declared broke, Calvi was found lying dead on a London street. His death remains a mystery to this day.

A former Vatican financial advisor, Sindona got permission to leave the US in September 1984 to be tried under Italian law. He had been serving a 25-year prison term in the US for his role in the bankruptcy of the Franklin National Bank, viewed as the greatest fraud in US banking history. Under the extradition agreement between the two countries, Sindona was to finish his prison term in the US before being taken to an Italian jail.

Sindona's activities involved the Vatican, since he owned the Catholic Bank of Veneto which he had bought from the Institute for Religious Works, also known as the Vatican Bishop Paul Marcinkus.

Reuter's

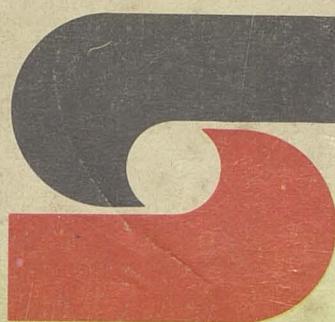


Michele Sindona at the trial which disclosed his connections with the Vatican

# THE FOREIGN DEBT ISSUE



IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OIL INDUSTRY FOR  
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ANGOLA, SONANGOL  
LIVES THE FUTURE OF ANGOLA



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