

The article reproduced below appeared a few days before a conference of foreign ministers of "non-aligned" countries in Georgetown, Guyana. The author is a member of Ascria, an anti-imperialist organization of Black Guyanese.

We do not agree with every point and emphasis in Mr. Kwayana's article. However, this article carries on an essential task. It develops the criticism and attacks against US-USSR and Sino-US collusion which the entire anti-imperialist movement will have to take up in order to achieve national liberation victories.

We distribute Mr. Kwayana's article as a valuable and instructive example to our readers.

SUNDAY GRAPHIC, Georgetown, Guyana; August 6, 1972.

'Big power' politics and the Non-Aligned group

By EUSI KWAYANA

SINCE the non-aligned summit in Lusaka in 1970, international relations have become clearer to the peoples of the world.

One issue that played over the heads of the delegates at Lusaka was the conflict between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union.

Today that conflict has led to a new relationship among the big powers.

This new relationship among the big powers spells hell-fire for the unliberated peoples.

The new relationship is simply this: The old contradiction or conflict between socialist society and capitalist society as represented by the USSR and the USA is now no big thing.

Each country now regards the social system of the other as its personal business. They have both formally and openly agreed to work together for what they are pleased to call "peace". Peace means the security of the USA and the USSR from attack.

The treaty between the USSR and the USA is only a formal stage in a kind of thinking that has been abroad for at least ten years. Kennedy was the instrument of American capitalism which started this trend early in the Sixties.

What is a little more surprising is the new relationship between the Chinese People's Republic and the same USA.

After years of secret talks in Europe between officials of the two countries, Nixon visited China. Since then there has been much co-operation between China and the USA.

China secured the promise that the USA would follow "the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all US troops and military installations from Taiwan."

So the split in the world socialist camp has drawn each of the two giants, the USSR and China, to seek a direct open separate and serious alliance with the USA.

The official Communist movement throughout the

world has been singing the praises of this new peaceful co-existence with the USA, the bastion of world imperialism.

The capitalists in the USA fully support it, because it means bigger markets in which to compete. The United Nations officially welcomes it as a relaxation of international tension.

We in the developing world must ask ourselves what this new harmony between the USA and the Soviet Union and between the USA and the People's Re-



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public of China means for us.

Has the new harmony caused the USA to be any more decent in its attitude to the non-liberated peoples of the world?

Has it caused the USA to be more responsible in its attitude to South Africa and the Smith regime?

Has the new harmony caused the USA to be more decent in its attitude to the Vietnam war?

Has the new harmony dampened the revolutionary temper of China?

Has it further softened the USSR in relation to subject and oppressed peoples?

Have countries like South Africa and Portugal, allies of the USA, become less brazen than before?

And if the oppressed peoples have not gained, then what is this new kissing-up for?

The USA has not changed its position. The period between Nixon's visit to China and his visit to the USSR

was also a period of increased barbarity in the American offensive against North Vietnam. Yet neither the USSR nor China responded suitably.

In the three weeks following Nixon's visit to the USSR, BBC commentators said that the USSR and China would not react to the atrocities against North Vietnam.

They said that the two Socialist lions valued their "peace" with the USA as highly as that. One commentator went so far as to say that neither Socialist giant would risk its neck over Vietnam.

It seems then, that while the imperialist world still has a base, the anti-imperialist revolution is without a base.

In Africa the white racist regimes, South Africa, Rhodesia, Portugal have all seized the chance to increase their murderous attacks on the African population.

South African pilots have conducted chemical warfare against the people of Mozambique. Tanzania has been attacked from the air by the white racists.

The USSR has failed promised weapons to the UAR. The USA has refused to keep UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

The lesson of Vietnam as a re-occupied country is very dramatic. It shows that the USA has found new ways of intervention in national liberation movements.

It cannot penetrate the Viet Cong. It cannot penetrate North Vietnam. But it has effectively, through friendship with North Vietnam's allies, cut down the weight of the Soviet and Chinese response to the USA's new crimes.

The economic base of the new harmony between the Socialist countries and the USA is a dual one. First, they seek security from the destruction of war on their own soil. Next, there is the commodity imbalance between the camps. They seek

to "correct" this commodity imbalance as a means to a higher standard of living for their peoples.

It is the USA that seems to gain most, politically at first, from the new harmony. It can confuse its own radical anti-war movement. It can put on a peaceful mask while continuing to aid South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal.

It can continue its humiliation and oppression of the Afro-American nation within its own borders and still escape the treatment given to Portugal and the colonial powers.

If the non-aligned movement falls into the trap of thinking that the USA needs to be pressured only on its involvement in Vietnam, it will be making an historic mistake.

If it does not see the black question in the USA as essentially a colonial question, the continued domination of slave-owners over slaves after emancipation, then it will not be a liberation movement.

The test of the anti-imperialist movement in the second half of the Twentieth Century is to see the Afro-American problem as a colonial question, as the question of an oppressed nation and to discuss it in those terms in the various world assemblies.

Southern Africa, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cayenne and the Caribbean with the black nation in the USA, these are the main remaining colonial peoples of the world.

There was a time when Marxists in the USSR held the view that the Afro-American question was a national question. Today they seem to be fighting hard to recognise the Blacks in the USA as permanently integrated second class citizens of that country.

The present meeting of non-aligned countries is taking place in an altered atmosphere. One of the architects of non-alignment, Jawaharlal Nehru, once declared: "The white domination of the world can no longer be tolerated".

The positions of the USA in regard to China and the USSR are aimed at securing the continued domination by white imperialism of the same world.