

## Prospects for Africa — Latin America Co-operation

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Dialogue between Africa and Latin America is very limited at present and any attempts at establishing closer links, especially between progressive groups in the two continents are, therefore, very welcome and should be strengthened<sup>1</sup>.

These two continents have a number of differences and variations, which exist even within the continents and in individual countries. There are, however, important similarities which call for similar strategies on a number of issues in both continents.

It has been argued that the two continents have very little in common, that divergence is more fundamental than commonness. Ferguson, for example, argued that Latin America as a region continues to be much more developed than the balance of the less Developed World (LDC). This factor, he suggests, makes Third World Co-operation somewhat more difficult.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, some well-to-do Latin Americans do not consider themselves as belonging to the Third World. Such a belief has been more pronounced in what have been described as core Latin American countries — Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina.

Such a position has no strong basis, it is mainly based on wishful thinking and/or temporal 'booms'. A few years ago many people believed Brazil was in the stage of take-off, and oil gave a feel of prosperity in Mexico and Venezuela. Today, few have those illusions as these countries have plunged into crises which are bordering on disaster. A similar situation could be found in Africa at one time. For example, Gowon of Nigeria stated that money was no longer a constraint to development in Nigeria<sup>3</sup> and in Kenya some leaders wanted the country to be designated 'developed' and not 'underdeveloped' fierce debate which continued until someone suggested that if Kenya was developed, it should give development aid to the poor African States.

Thus, we argue both Latin America and Africa are underdeveloped and that, despite variations, they are essentially in the same position. The differences lie in specific historical experience of oppression which has led to some different configuration of the two continents. Despite these differences, however, both continents are dominated by international capitalism. In this way, therefore, the two continents face quite similar problems. Two types of interrelated problems can be identified, those emanating from their position in the world capitalist system and those emanating from the internal socio-economic setups. These internal problems include retrogressive class structures, poor management of resources, and the existence of fetters, both human and natural, to the mobilisation of resources.

It is imperative that there should be attempts at co-ordinating efforts aimed at solving the problems facing the two continents and learning from other countries' successes.

This paper intends to discuss the following issues briefly. Firstly, the present state of affairs in the relationship between Africa and Latin America; secondly, the similar problems facing Africa and Latin America; thirdly, the struggles aimed at

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59. "The Facade of Foreign Assistance," *Daily Times*, April 26, 1971, p. 3.
60. *Ibid.*
61. "Go to Hell," *Daily Times*, March 14, 1974, p. 3.
62. Olayinka Sinaike and Bode Olowoporoku, "Economic Dependence: The Problem of Definition," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. XIV, 1-2, January and April 1979, p. 32-43.

resolving the contradictions existing in the two continents; and, lastly, the paper will discuss the possible areas where co-operation could be strengthened.

## THE PRESENT STATE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

As mentioned earlier, contact between Africa and Latin America is very limited indeed. It has been pointed out in numerous forms that, even on a broader level, the relationship between all Third World countries is, on the whole limited, that individual Third World countries have more links with 'developed' countries, what Fell and Boyd call the 'globally central regions' western Europe, eastern Europe including USSR, and North America, than with each other. According to them, members of these regions collectively or, in some cases, individually dominate the processes of global and transregional politics.<sup>4</sup>

In Africa, for example, there are serious communication problems among countries, especially between 'Francophones' and 'Anglophones'. The main reason advanced for this state of affairs is that these ties were created by colonialism or neo-colonialism and that they are very difficult to break. This applies to the links with international capitalist countries. Colonialism and Neo-colonialism has created institutions which are economic, social, and even political, which ensure continuous strong links between Third World countries, on the one hand, and Europe and America, on the other. The economic institutions ensure that Third World countries are the producers of raw materials for industries in Europe and America. More recently, import-substitution industries have been established whose effects can now be felt throughout the Third World. These activities are all co-ordinated and oiled by international finance institutions controlled by international capital. Politically, external forces have, at times, intervened in local politics in attempts to put in a government they favour. The position of United States in Latin America is a case in point, US marines having invaded Latin American countries. In 1964 for example they intervened in the Dominican civil war and recently, the most gross and crude interventions occurred in Grenada and Nicaragua. Generally, USA uses the Organisation of American States (OAS) against 'communism'.<sup>5</sup>

It is not intended to argue that all links with the capitalist system are negative but, on the whole, the relationships have created institutions which perpetuate the unequal relations with Europe and America leaving little room for developing links between Third World countries. It was the realisation that these links were very limited that led to a number of Third World forums emerging, some at continental levels and others more widely.

In Africa, for example, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established with the aim to strengthen the position of African States vis a vis imperialism and colonialism. Although the OAU grew out of Pan-Africanism rather than Third Worldism, all its members belong to the Third World and it is the basis for Africa's co-operation with other Third World forums.

The equivalent of Pan Africanism is the Pan-Latin America movement, an idea dating back to Simon Bolivar who convened the 1826 Panama Congress,<sup>6</sup> yet which began to be realised only after World War II, but specifically in the 1960s through the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). This UN organisation, under the renowned economist Prebisch, was the ideological progenitor of post-war regional and

sub-regional co-operation in Latin America.

The Pan-Latin America movement should be distinguished from Pan-Americanism, as the latter refers to the control of Latin America by United States. This inter-American organisation was consolidated by the signing of the Rio treaty in 1947 and the charter of the Organisation of American States (1948), a multi-lateral institution through which the United States exercises influence over Latin America.

Pan Latin Americanism, therefore, is concretised by sub-regional institutions, such as the Central American Common Market (CACM), the Andean common Market (ANCOM), and the Contadora group. It does not mean that USA has no influence over these institutions, but that these are attempts at Latin American Co-operation without direct control by the USA. Even the OAU in Africa, and the sub-regional organisations, including those sponsored by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), are influenced by external powers; the Reagan government, for example, did sabotage the OAU conference which was to be held in Libya.

Apart from these regional organisations, there have been established at a wider level a number of Third World forums. Starting with the non-alignment movement, a number of organisations and forums have been established to mobilise Third World countries. These include the group of 77, the Third World forum in UNCTAD meetings, the pressure groups in North-South dialogue and the general lobbying in international organisations and for the New International Economic Order (NIEO).

Some countries and leaders in Latin America and Africa have been champions of the fight for the NIEO. As Ferguson points out:

Latin American governments have played a prominent role in the United Nations General Assembly: successive meetings of UNCTAD, the so-called Group of 77 and the non-aligned countries and the ongoing UN conference on the Law of the Sea. Presidents Echeverria and Perez were among the architects of the NIEO and certainly two of its most eloquent spokesmen.<sup>7</sup>

In Africa, Nyerere of Tanzania has been one of the most active proponents of NIEO. Yet, many of the organisations and forums have met with problems and most of them are ineffective. It has been argued that the whole move is nothing but rhetoric presented as a feature of Latin America and that 'tercermundism' (third worldism) and NIEO have been used to camouflage conservative domestic policies. Such analysis has been used to explain the Mexican position where successive administrations have tended to adopt relatively 'independent' and even radical foreign policies, in order to bolster the PRI's 'revolutionary' image while pursuing relatively conservative domestic policies.<sup>8</sup> This seems to be an over-statement of the situation; there is little doubt people like Perez of Venezuela or Nyerere strongly believe in the need for an NIEO. What can be said, however, is that the efforts have come to almost nothing, partly because they are bargaining from a position of weakness; and instead of trying to stop the international capitalists from exploiting Third World resources, allow the surplus to be removed but then requesting some to be returned to the Third World. Partly there are no concrete steps taken to force implementation of the NIEO, as, for example, in the case of the present Third World debt situation, which is aggravated by the high interest rate in US and Europe where there is talk of balking from paying the debts but nothing concrete and collective has emerged.

Despite these problems and the limited effectiveness of the organisations and forums, efforts need to be made to strengthen and increase their effectiveness. Returning to the Africa-Latin America relationship, we see that, even by 'Third World' standards this effectiveness is very limited. There are, for example, stronger links between Africa and the Arab world and Asia. There was an Afro-Asian solidarity which, after years of inactivity, is being revived. There is no Africa-Latin America solidarity. Many African States do not have any ties with Latin America and vice versa. Very few African countries have diplomatic missions in Latin America.

What is the reason behind this? The reasons advanced for lack of links between Third World countries apply. Many African countries have more links with former colonial masters and institutions have been created to ensure this, as mentioned above. Only a few countries have attempted to establish links outside the traditional network. Tanzania is one of the few, having created relations with many Third World countries. Its link with China, which was cemented by the Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA) railway project between Tanzania and Zambia, led to a furore in the west, especially after visiting Chinese Prime Minister, Chou en-Lai, in 1966 stated that Africa was ripe for revolution. Even with such calculated moves, the existing economic institutions have ensured that Tanzania still has more links with the capitalist west than elsewhere.

Most of Latin America's links are with North America, a product and legacy of the Monroe doctrine of 1823. At present, links with Western Europe are growing, but the United States is still working to maintain the 'special relationship' between itself and Latin America. Only Cuba and Nicaragua are an exception, having links with many other countries, including the Soviet Union, to the chagrin of the USA.

With such a state of affairs, the traditional links leave little room for co-operation with other areas. Economically, with the present structures of the economy, there is limited room for trade since Third World countries in many cases produce similar commodities. There are strong links with the world capitalist system, as Furtado points out, for the case of Latin America. He shows that the links have created asymmetrical relations which are reflected in close dependence of countries exporting raw materials on the industrialised sector. He points out that there has been a creation of 'poles of command' controlling financial flows, orientating international transfers of capital, financing strategic stocks of exportable products and intervening in the formation of policies.<sup>9</sup>

In Tanzania, for example, there are only a few notable economic projects with Latin America countries. One example involves co-operation in the sisal industry between Mexico and Tanzania. Another involves road construction through a loan provided by the Bank of Brazil. There are also several areas of co-operation between Tanzania and Cuba, the most important being in Health and Education, with Cuba building secondary schools and providing doctors while Tanzanians have also been trained in Cuba as teachers and doctors.

The link between Mexico and Tanzania was cemented through a visit to Tanzania by the Mexican President Echeverria and reciprocated by President Nyerere. There was a proposal to build a sisal processing factory at Korogwe in Tanzania, unfortunately not yet finished.

In examining political links, one would have expected closer links among these countries since they all belong to the Third World. However, in the political arena consensus is usually problematic, due to ideological differences and differing state systems. Even within continents there are bitter cleavages and within nations there are bitter conflicts in the struggle for democracy.

In international organisations, states have had similar positions depending on issues of their interest. Tanzania has sided with progressive countries and positions, on many occasions with Cuba and Mexico. Its foreign policy has been very much influenced firstly by the development of the non-aligned movement as a new force in international relations; secondly, by an anti-colonialism and anti-racist policy, especially as regards the wars against colonialism and racism in South Africa; thirdly, it has been influenced by the call for a just world trade order, NIEO.<sup>10</sup> In this process the question of 'Third Worldism' has been a major factor.

In the socio-cultural arena, the links between Africa and Latin America are also few. Needless to say, for the majority of people in these continents the possibility of direct links are not there. For many, the question of survival takes up most of their time. Those with means and education in many cases look elsewhere for cultural identity. In Africa, I would venture to say, for many their knowledge of Latin America is limited to football where people are aware of such giants as Brazil, or are exposed to Latin American music. Perhaps these cultural links could be strengthened and so lead to other, stronger bonds.

Thus, it can be seen that the present relations between Africa and Latin America need to be improved, the problem being to create scope and action for co-operation. Unfortunately, there are many bloody dictatorships in Latin America and some in Africa which do not put much emphasis on Third World matters. With the absence from the scene of Allende, Velasco, Peron, Echeverria and Perez advocates of NIEO have been reduced in Latin America.

It is the argument of this paper that the present type of relations which leave little room for co-operation between the underdeveloped countries need to be redressed. This brings us to the second issue of discussion, that is the similar problems facing Africa and Latin America.

### SIMILAR PROBLEMS FACING AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA

There is consensus that at present both Africa and Latin America are faced by a crisis.<sup>11</sup> In the economic arena many countries are heavily indebted to foreign banks and governments. The situation here is frightening, to say the least, a vicious circle whereby, in order to solve the problem, Third World governments seek more loans before the capacity to repay the loans has improved. This is made worse by worthless and contradictory international monetary fund prescriptions of liberalisation of the economies such as devaluation of the currency and removal of import restriction. It is hard to understand where it will all end, especially when one notes that with the high interest rates many countries cannot pay even the interests to the loans. There is rampant unemployment as the economies are deteriorating at very fast rates. Many rural and urban people are marginalised and pauperised. In agriculture, production especially of food crops is declining and serious food shortages and starvation have increased.

The import-substitution strategy which was adopted by many countries is in deep waters, in that it has increased the need for imports from the capitalist countries. In other words, it has led to the opposite of the results expected. Politically, the crisis can be seen in terms of the emergence of bloody dictatorships in an attempt to quell peoples' struggles against the existing oppression. Intervention of imperialist

powers has increased in attempts to bolster these dictatorships. The situation is very prevalent in Latin America, where the USA has intervened in such countries as El Salvador and Guatemala where rightist murder squads are causing havoc to innocent people.

While everyone agrees there is a crisis, consensus is absent however, when it comes to the 'diagnosis' of the problem and solutions 'prescribed'. In this paper, as mentioned earlier, the external causes and internal causes of the crisis are closely linked.

In discussing the problems, Africa has benefited from studies carried out on Latin America and struggles which have occurred there. In Tanzania, for example, works by Latin American scholars (or scholars on Latin America), such as A.G. Frank, Josue de Castro, Furtado, Ernest Feder and Laclau, to mention only a few, have contributed to the understanding of the problems of underdevelopment. The 'dependences' school has contributed to debates on underdevelopment occurring in Africa. It is not intended to give a summary of the debates on the issue here, that would require a whole paper of its own. It is also recognised here that there are some scholars and people who would argue that the 'dependencistas' have not contributed to the understanding of the problems facing Third World countries. Some people have dismissed dependency theory as out-of-date as if dealing with problems of Third World is only a matter of picking up one Parisian fashion after another. In this paper, we are aware that within dependency school there are disagreements, sometimes bitter disagreements and attacks.<sup>12</sup> We are also aware that the dependency school has been attacked on the question of which is a dependent country and which is not. In other words, on the question of criteria for identifying dependence.<sup>13</sup> Despite these two observations, the dependency school was very instrumental, not only in Latin America but also in Africa, in bringing to the fore the question of underdevelopment and neo-colonialism. A lot of their positions are valid today.

In Latin America, for example, dependency theory gave a critique of the ECLA sponsored strategy of import-substitution industrialisation. Following the 'Prebisch thesis', ECLA suggested boosting import-substitution industrialisation and, over the longer-term exporting manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. In the 60s dependency theorists argued that import-substitution industrialisation, rather than alleviating dependency, had actually increased it, since much of the expansion in industry took place under the aegis of foreign multi-national corporations.<sup>14</sup> When the economies of Brazil and Mexico were expanding, many thought dependency theory was dead; today people understand what it means. The myth of the Brazilian, Mexican, Venezuelan and Argentinian expansion has been destroyed and these countries have proved to be giants on clay feet. The extent of their indebtedness to international capitalist banks is frightening, not only to them but to the banks themselves, which are frightened that these countries might balk from paying their debts.

In Africa, the question of underdevelopment came to the fore after the initial excitement about independence passed. It was realised that independence did not bring much change. People such as Walter Rodney in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, introduced the question of underdevelopment. He approached the question of underdevelopment as arising out of exploitation by Europe and USA. Even Africans in power realised it. Nyerere acknowledged soon that Tanzania did not have economic independence and Kwame Nkrumah, a pioneer in identifying neo-colonialism in Africa, realised that situation even earlier.

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The question of exploitation by international capitalism has come under much scrutiny. It is reduced, however, to two contending positions. The first looks at exploitation at the level of unequal exchange. When this position is translated into action it means struggles for fair prices at the world market. It is this belief that there is unequal exchange that has led to the call for a new international economic order which has dominated UNCTAD meetings and North-South forums, such as the Cancun Conference held in Mexico.

The second position looks at exploitation at the level of production. Translated into action, it means changing relations of production and changing the conditions under which the producers work. It is important, therefore, to discuss the question taking into stock the experience from the two continents. Our position is that a thorough examination of the relationship with international capitalism and the extent it contributes to Third World problems is a prerequisite to having permanent solutions. While the question of unequal exchange is valid, the control of production and capital by transnational corporations in the Third World countries is of prime importance.

Until now the call for NIEO has not been successful and discussions on economic fairness to Third World countries have mostly fallen on deaf ears in the West. The pressure Third World countries are exerting on the industrialised countries is not enough, it should be exerted on international capitalism from within the Third World countries. This can be done by looking at production in the Third World countries and attempting to reduce the control of international capitalism. Needless to say, this is not easy and aims should be modest; after carrying a National Democratic Revolution movement should be step by step. Some of the characteristics of Third World economies include too much emphasis on production of cash crops for the world market in an attempt to get as much foreign exchange as possible. This has led to serious food shortages and the meagre foreign exchange obtained has been used to import food. Efforts to ensure availability of food locally can be a very important step towards development. Grandiose schemes along capitalist lines or along socialist lines (highly capital intensive state farms in a setting where technology is not locally controlled) can, and have, led to — disastrous consequences.

International problems facing Third World countries include what can be referred to as retrogressive class structures, referring to classes within the Third World countries which do not stand for progress but are fetters to it. Needless to say, this is a matter of not only controversy but also of conflict, as class struggles emerge against the reactionary classes. The controversy has mainly revolved around the role of the capitalist class. Questions such as how strong and nationalistic are the local capitalists in the struggles against domination by international capitalism have been the basis of heated debates.

At times, however, there is consensus on certain classes which are regarded as retrogressive. In Latin America, the feudal class within the so-called traditional sector is a fetter to progress by any standards, capitalist or socialist. The Hacienda or Latifundio system which is the production unit and the social organisation of feudalism has come under attack from capitalist articles for failure to bring 'modernisation' and efficiency to the production process. From socialist circles, the Latifundio system has been attacked not only on the question of not being able to raise the level of productive forces, but also on the question of marginalisation of most of the rural people.

In Africa, archaic feudal structures also exist in certain areas, such as Northern Nigeria and Senegal, while elsewhere, as in Mauritania, slavery exists.

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Apart from the feudal class, there are the capitalist and the petty capitalist classes. Their contribution to progress, especially that of the petty capitalist group, is a matter of controversy. It is important in this case to identify comprador elements. When a comprador class gets control of a Third World state then it becomes a barrier against both progress and struggles against international capitalism. Such states, generally, would undermine Third World co-operation. In Latin America, for example, the call for NIEO has been rescinded since the ebb of the democratic left wave<sup>15</sup> with the absence of such people as Allende, Velasco and Peron. Not that they were extremely progressive, but at least, especially in the case of Allende, they were not comprador and had attempted to limit the power of international capitalism in their countries.

Progressive Africans and Latin Americans should learn from the struggles of the people of the two continents for democracy and progress, the struggle against comprador classes, especially from Cuba and Nicaragua.

Apart from the problem of retrogressive classes, in the two continents there is what can be referred to as a crisis in management. This crisis is reflected in an inefficient use of resources. Looking at the bureaucracies in Africa, for example, one finds overgrown and inefficient structures characterised by stagnation. The public policy-making systems show that many policies which are made do not seriously examine possible consequences, and, thus, these policies face problems at the implementation level.

Thus, there is need to improve efficiency in most of the countries in the two continents. The problem here is how to deal with 'vested interests' which prevent such a realisation. There are people who benefit from the inefficiency, because in the process they are able to carry out their corrupt practices.

One might argue that the internal problems should not concern international relations. It is our position that for international relations to be of benefit to the majority it should transcend party-making and 'diplomatic speeches'. Economic co-operation should receive greater emphasis, and to achieve this new economic relations which will attempt to cut the position of international capitalism. Third World countries should put their own houses in order.

The third internal problem is the failure to use the existing resources for development. This is related to the earlier mentioned internal problems. Africa, for example, is at present facing very serious food shortages and many people are starving. Many countries in Africa are international basket cases, dependent on food aid year-after-year. It is, however, also true that Africa has ample arable land and water resources. The same applies to many Third World countries, as the renowned work by Josue de Castro, *The Geopolitics of Hunger* shows<sup>16</sup>. A rational use of resources should be matter of prime concern. In such a move, small and simple projects rather than big expensive projects should be the strategy. Information on successful experiments in the different countries of Africa and Latin America should be collected and disseminated for the benefit of all. The need for tapping our own resources before they are tapped by international capitalism cannot be overstated.

### STRUGGLES AIMED AT RESOLVING THE PROBLEMS

In dealing with the exploitative relationship between the international capitalist system and Africa and Latin America, struggles have taken two forms. A number of states have fought for better terms of trade in the world market. Third World coun-

tries in the United Nations and elsewhere have demanded an NIEO, which calls for, among many things, an improved international financial system and better prices for their goods, especially primary crops. As mentioned above, an NIEO is also the call of such forums as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the Group of 77 caucus meetings, North-South dialogue and South-South conferences organised by the Third World Foundation.

These struggles for NIEO have not been successful up to now but should be encouraged as they provide forums for analysis of Third World problems. It should be realised, however, that there is a more effective way of dealing with the problems, and this is the second form of struggle. The initiative for this struggle lies with the people in Africa and Latin America. This is the struggle against exploitative relations of production. The struggles of the workers and peasants in Africa and Latin America are struggles against international capitalism.

By changing the structures of the economies which link these countries with international capitalist countries, there will be pressure for an NIEO. Calling for an NIEO by only looking at unequal exchange will most likely fall on deaf ears, as is the case with North-South meetings. There should be concrete steps to control production and to stop the siphoning-off of surpluses from Third World countries. But, initially, targets should be modest, as attempts at breaking all ties at one go have led to disasters in some cases.

One of the first steps to be taken by African and Latin American countries is to avoid the trap of projects initiated by the donors which have no benefit to the people of the two continents. In the quest for foreign aid many African and Latin American States grab anything which comes their way even when the projects are not in line with the priorities of the countries, leading to huge debts.

In the agricultural sector, priority should be given to food production, especially by smallholders, in order to reduce dependence on international food aid which is not always available when and where it is required. Concentrating on the smallholders would mean concentrating on the majority and improving the conditions under which they produce.

At present most of the producers have been ignored leading to struggles for better life. This explains the civil wars in some of the Latin American countries and the class struggle in Africa. States in Africa and Latin America should make serious improvements which would ensure basic services to the majority of the people. At present, the interests of smallholders and workers are largely ignored and pressure is exerted on them to produce for international capitalism. The states have a choice: either to improve the condition of the peasants and workers or be swept away.

Some countries in Latin America have attempted to deal with the international problems. On the questions of retrogressive class interests, in many countries revolutions are yet to come but they are around-the-corner, revolutions similar to the Nicaraguan popular revolution which ousted the dictator, Somoza. In Latin America, with the exception of Cuba and Nicaragua, agrarian reforms have not been made. In the majority of the countries, the so-called land reforms make good case studies of treachery, manipulation, and of documents full of loopholes aimed at maintaining the existing, highly unequal land ownership.

The same applies to some African countries. In some cases, settlers and local bourgeoisie own scandalously large tracts of land. In Zimbabwe, the settlers who precipitated the wars of liberation still have their land intact. Apart from the agricultural sector, in the manufacturing and business circles unscrupulous 'businessmen' are allowed to loot the national coffers with impunity. In Africa we

can give the examples of Nigeria, Zaire and Tanzania where banks and telephone houses and other institutions have been burnt to conceal the looting. The problem abounds when these forces are in power. In the final analysis, therefore, it comes down to the question of democracy. This question should not be underestimated as it is very important to Africa and Latin America. The first step towards solving internal problems and dealing with external problems is to struggle for democracy. Many of the changes required to develop Third World countries depend on what is referred to as 'political will'. In other words, the changes require political decisions. Only democratically elected governments can be sensitive to the wishes of the people. Democracy is thus a prerequisite to the mobilisation of people for production. Dictatorial regimes, therefore, cannot deal with the problem of underdevelopment.

### POSSIBLE AREAS OF CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA

Since the relationships between Africa and Latin America are weak there is need to strengthen the link. State-to-state relations should be strengthened, both at bilateral level and in Third World forums and international organisations.

At the economic level, trade in some commodities can be strengthened. Tanzania has been practicing barter trade with some Third World countries; this type of trade can be examined further. Efforts should be made to prevent transnational corporations from benefitting in such economic ties. Attempts by Brazil since the 1970s to expand trade relations with African countries, for example, have benefitted transnational corporations especially in the area of armaments and aircraft.

Apart from state relations there is need for specific groups and institutions of the two countries to be closely linked. Scholars in various fields should meet regularly so as to discuss ways of improving the situation in the two continents.

Discussions dealing with problems facing Africa and Latin America should be encouraged and such forums should come up with strategies to be followed in the struggles for development. Institutions such as Universities and Research Institutes should exchange notes. This should cover as many institutions as possible, so that research results can flow freely between the continents.

Social and cultural links should also be encouraged. This could cover art, music and sports. Such popular activities can reach very many people, including common people. The consciousness of the people about the other continent can be raised in this way. Thus, despite many factors militating against links between Africa and Latin America, constant efforts should be made to strengthen the link. The target should be co-operation in the struggle for development.

### FOOTNOTES

1. This paper was first presented at the Second Seminar, African-Latin America, Mexico City June, 1984.
2. Yale Ferguson "Latin America" in W. Feld and G. Boyd *Comparative Regional Systems* Pergamon Press 1980 p. 303
3. See *New African Magazine* April 1985
4. W. Fell and G. Boyd "The Comparative Study of International Regions" in W. Fell and G. Boyd *op. cit.* p.5
5. Ferguson *op. cit.* p. 32
6. *Ibid* p. 325
7. *Ibid* p. 340
8. *Ibid* p. 322
9. C. Furtado *Economic Development of Latin America* CUP 1970 p. 151
10. Sathyamuthy "Tanzania's Foreign Policy" mimeo. UDSM
11. See Andrew Gunder Frank *Crisis in the World Economy and Crisis in the Third World* Heineman, 1980
12. See, for example, A G Frank "Dependency is dead; Long Live Dependence and the Class Struggle: An Answer to Critics", *World Development* Vol. 5 No. 5-7-1977
13. Phillip O'Briess "A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency."
14. Ferguson *op. cit.* pp. 305-307
15. *Ibid* p. 320
16. Josue de Castro *The Geopolitics of Hunger* Monthly Review Press NY 1977