

# Resistance in the Postcolonial world

SDPCW-3, seminar notes by Dr. Tim Anderson

1. Resistance and self-determination
2. Current challenges for Self-determination
3. Forms of Resistance
4. Media wars

**Readings:** Tandon 2015 'Development is Resistance'; and Qumsiyeh 2011 The Logic of Popular Resistance in Palestine.'

**Question:** Why has 'resistance' become such an important theme in the former colonies? What are its main features?

## **Recap: imperial history and self-determination**

- ❑ Imperial history embodied the worst of all anti-social evils: colonisation, genocide and large scale slavery.
- ❑ The reaction to that history drove resistance and the demand for self-determination, which was widely recognised in the late 20th C;
- ❑ The right of a people to self determination was pioneered by the former colonies, grudgingly accepted by the former colonial powers;
- ❑ The period of USA dominance coincided with this post colonial era, and Washington double-speak distinguished itself from European themes;
- ❑ As a result, new forms of domination (aid, development, humanitarian intervention, global war on terrorism, etc) characterised this era and posed new challenges for resistance.

# 1. Resistance: what and why?

## Origins

- ❑ The right of a people to self determination was recognised after centuries of struggle against colonisation and intervention.
- ❑ 'Resistance', properly understood, comprises all efforts to assert this self-determination in face of invasion, colonisation, enslavement, domination, proxy wars and other forms of intervention.
- ❑ In the post colonial era there are common threats but a variety of forms of resistance - traditional and new, across many cultures: ideological, existential, developmental and military

*"Resistance has a common character but no idealised personality. It is informed by different cultural and religious principles, historical circumstances and social formations"*

*- Anderson 2019 Axis of Resistance, 14*

Syria's Grand Mufti Dr Ahmed Badreddin Hassoun, 2019  
"Resistance should not be based on any religion"

While Lebanon's Resistance movement is famously led by the Shia party Hezbollah, Syria's historic pluralism draws attention to the need to see resistance in broader and more inclusive terms.

A provisional list of key elements:

- ❑ Resistance is action aimed at realising the right of a people to self-determination;
- ❑ Resistance exists in various cultures and has common imperial, colonial and neo-colonial enemies;
- ❑ Resistance requires strong social structures to defend and reproduce independent cultures;
- ❑ Resistance cultures have unique values and histories, but also share common features - they are typically some sort of solidarity society, with strong social values such as mutual respect and extensive sharing.





**Fidel Castro (2000):** "Our battle of ideas will not cease as long as the current imperialist, hegemonic and unipolar system is still in place and remains a scourge of humanity and a mortal threat to the survival of our species."

<http://www.fidelcastro.cu/en/discursos/speech-commemoration-47th-anniversary-july-26-1953>

**Hassan Nasrallah (2014):** "Confronting foreign colonialism .. This resistance is an original expression and an original extension of the history and of these generations ... Resistance is the culture of direct jihadi military action, or remaining steadfast: the steadfastness of the owners of the land in their land ... The resistance is not a definite organisation, party, movement, trend, group or sect. It is a culture ... which can embrace diversified entities, which can be doctrinally and ideologically contradicting ... the bases of the resistance are innate in humans and the goals ... are a common interest."

Nasrallah, Hassan (2014) Speech at Launch of Jabal Amel Forum 29 March 2014, al Maaraf, online: <https://english.almaaref.org/essaydetails.php?eid=4739&cid=502>

**VIDEO: Fidel in Chile 1971**

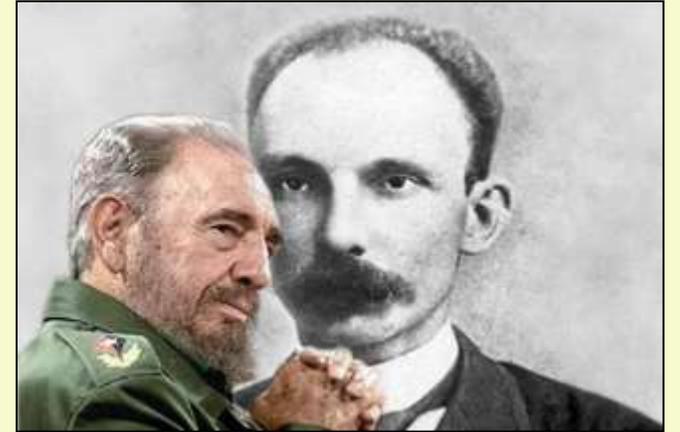


## The Cuban Revolution: key ideas

*"To be cultured is the only way to be free" - Jose Marti*

- ❑ Fidel Castro: a practical synthesis of the ideas of Jose Marti and Marxism-Leninism
- ❑ Socialist humanism, internationalism
- ❑ Rejection of foreign / imperial domination
- ❑ Land and resources belong to the people as a whole
- ❑ Mass education, culture and free public health
- ❑ Integration of the peoples of the Americas

Fidel Castro, on his own contribution, said that it "consists in having brought about a synthesis of the ideas of Martí and of Marxist-Leninism and having applied them consistently to our struggle" (quoted in Cantón Navarro, 2008: 11).



## 'Everyday heroism' in Cuban revolutionary culture

"On the occasion of the Day of Latin American Medicine ... receive our congratulatory embrace and recognition of your deeply humane and courageous performance on the front line in the confrontation with the Covid-19 pandemic. The pages of **everyday heroism** that you write in our country and in other nations of the world are a concrete expression of the social transformations in Cuba, where the health of the people was one of the essential aspects of the Moncada Program and that after the triumph of the Revolution it became a solid system that guarantees health as a fundamental human right."

Esteban Lazo, President of Cuba's National Assembly, 2020

Mensaje de Esteban Lazo a los trabajadores de la Salud

03/12/2020



## Character of the Lebanese resistance



**Naim Qassem (2009):** "Liberation of the land is practical evidence demonstrated by the resistance ... 'Israel' was without a doubt expelled from our country, our land returned with honour and dignity ... resistance is a reaction to occupation, aggression and injustice, it has proven its feasibility ... and] is built on the concept of strength, sovereignty and liberation."

Qassem, Sheikh Naim (2009) 'The Era of resistance has begun, there is no going back', Al Ahed, 24 August, online: <https://www.english.alahednews.com.lb/9036/493>

### **Hassan Nasrallah (2006): Islamic inspiration, but a universal message**

"The resistance is the result of occupation, continued detention of captives, robbery of our waters, the repeated breaches and attacks on Lebanese sovereignty ... the way forward is through building a just, strong, resistance, clean and honorable state."

Sayyed Nasrallah (2006) 'Speech on the Divine Victory Rally in Beirut on 22-09-2006', Al Ahed, online: <https://www.english.alahednews.com.lb/709/447>

## **The Islamic inspiration and 'secular' adaptation of Lebanon's resistance**

"Hezbollah members and sympathisers began active efforts to encourage Christian support for its resistance role immediately after the leaders' decision to enter the 1992 elections ... that followed Sayyed Fadlallah's lead ... In 1999 they formed a coalition with the Communist Party and various leftist currents ... Hezbollah is far from being fixated on unrealistic "all or nothing" objectives.

"Hezbollah faces a permanent military and political pressure and terrorist labelling ... [but its] political program remains an essentially secular one that will closely correspond to the agenda of leftist and national political forces. It will remain an essentially Islamist party on the intellectual level, but will most likely become a semi-secularised one on the national political level" (Dagher 2008).

Naji N. Dagher (2008) 'Hezbollah: Between Ideology and Political Pragmatism', Lebanese Army Magazine, Issue Number 63 - January 2008, online: <https://www.lebarmy.gov.lb/en/content/hezbollah-between-ideology-and-political-pragmatism>



## Resistance recognises shared values

"Yesterday, Chavez the Venezuelan leader expelled the "Israeli" ambassador in solidarity with the Palestinian people ... Chavez has done that out of his great sense of humanity and his revolutionary spirit ... some Arab rulers [should] learn about solidarity with the people of Palestine from a leader in Latin America."

Hassan Nasrallah (2009) 'Olmert cannot eliminate Hizbullah or Hamas', al Ahed, online: <https://www.english.alahednews.com.lb/7238/385>



## Iran, Cuba, Under U.S. Sanctions, Team Up for Covid-19 Vaccine Trials

Both regimes hope to roll out Cuba's 'Soberana 02' vaccine; Tehran battles worst outbreak in Middle East



Cuba cooperates with Iran and Syria



Popular recognition of Chavez, Nasrallah and Nasser



## Sumud: steadfast resistance in Palestine

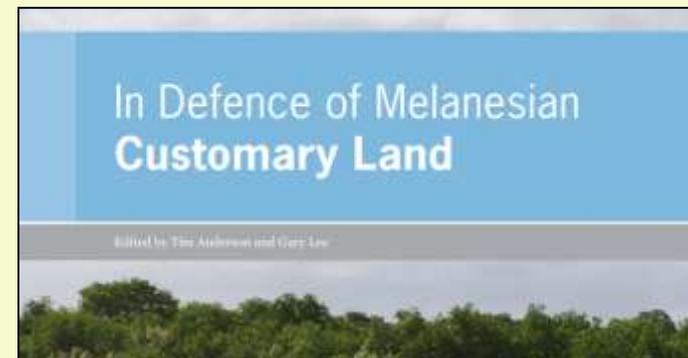
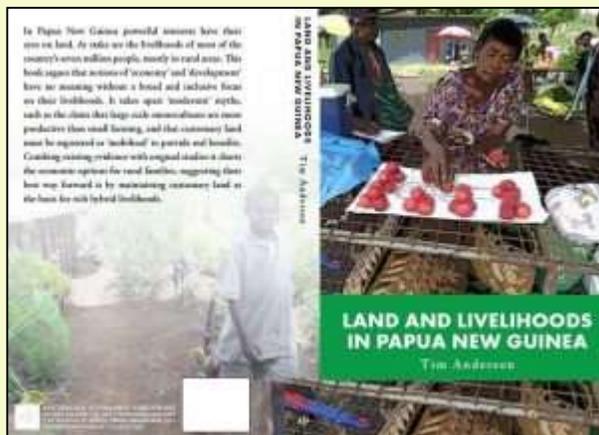
"*Sumud* ... was part of a collective Palestinian consciousness of struggling for and clinging to the land that goes back at least to the British Mandate time. However, as a national symbol, *sumud* only started to be frequently used in the course of the 1960s ... Refugees living in camps were identified as *samidin* (those who are steadfast) ... In the popular awareness of Palestinians in the occupied territories, keeping the *sumud* of families and community had been a matter of existential urgency during the war in 1967, when many once again faced a decision whether to stay or to leave ... *sumud* turned into a key concept in an intellectual debate among Palestinian scholars about strategic development under colonial conditions ... [however with foreign aid in the late 1970s] *sumud* became associated with inflated rhetoric, political agendas and corruption ... [so] an uneasy distinction was created between “active” or “resisting” and “passive” *sumud* ... [which] resonated with nonviolent approaches in general – sometimes called the “third way” (between submission and violence) ... *sumud* emphasized the “small” contributions of people’s resistance to occupation in daily life ... The debate often associated with *sumud* is whether or not it can be viewed as resistance. In response to the first intifada in particular it has been debated whether *sumud* should be regarded as passive or active ... [However many Palestinians see] *sumud* entail[ing] direct forms of resistance, such as going to demonstrations ... *sumud* represents a more inclusive notion of resistance ... refers to the personal responsibility of building social relations. For the women of the *Sumud Story House* this was an important aspect of being *samidin*."

Alexandra Rijke & Toine van Teeffelen (2014) 'To Exist Is To Resist: Sumud, Heroism and the Everyday, *Jerusalem Quarterly* 59, january, 86-99, online: [https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/To\\_Exist\\_to\\_Resist\\_JQ\\_59\\_0.pdf](https://www.palestine-studies.org/sites/default/files/jq-articles/To_Exist_to_Resist_JQ_59_0.pdf)

## Customary landowner resistance in Melanesia (PNG, Vanuatu, Sol. Is.)

- ❑ Clan owned and managed land (relatively undisturbed by the colonial era) remains the basis for sustainable livelihoods plus social and cultural reproduction
- ❑ CLOs resist land grabbing by giant corporations, aided by International Finance Institutions (IFIs) and at times their own governments.
- ❑ They say: cash economies should not displace customary land ownership
- ❑ 'Hybrid livelihoods' (using land, small business & employment) are a key innovation that can maintain traditional values in modern Melanesian societies.

The **African** saying that "land belongs to the few who are living, many whom are dead and the countless yet unborn is relevant and deep-rooted" in **Papua New Guinea** - Andrew Lakau 1994: 80 / LLPNG 2015, 11



## Customary land and society in Vanuatu (Melanesia)

"There are many important benefits that Vanuatu gains from the strength of its traditional economy. One of the most important is that everyone has access to land on which to make gardens for food, from which to access materials to make homes and from which to otherwise make a living ... Another important benefit of the traditional economy is its excellent sustainable management of the natural environment ... the traditional economy ... provides many social benefits ... there is a sense of a shared identity, "community" and "belongingness" among the large extended family groups that make up the basic building blocks of Vanuatu society. This gives a high level of social security for all family members ... Governments need to prioritise the putting in place of safeguards to prevent the growth of the cash economy from negatively impacting upon the traditional economy."

Ralph Regenvanu (2010) 'The traditional economy as source of resilience in Vanuatu', in Gary Lee and Tim Anderson (Eds) *Defending Melanesian Land*, AID/Watch,



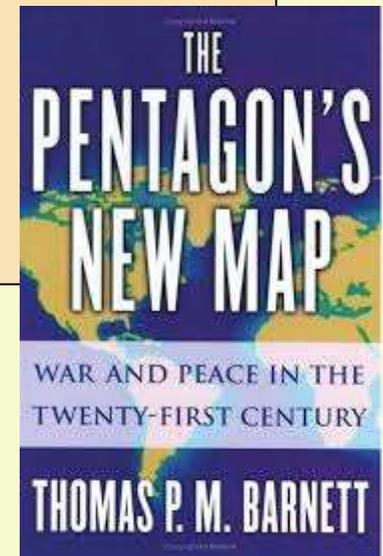
**VIDEO:** Aipapu Marai, 2010  
Resistance at the village level



Watermelon roadside market, Upper Ramu, PNG

## 2. Current challenges for Self-determination

- ❑ **Globalization, economic 'development' and 'hegemony'**  
the neoliberal 'Washington Consensus'
- ❑ **Invasions (Afghanistan, Iraq) - a thing of the past?**  
Hardt and Negri (2000) Empire: new forms of 'empire' and war?
- ❑ **Fourth generation war - ideological, economic and proxy wars**
- ❑ **New Pentagon doctrines:** 'Full spectrum dominance' &  
'destroying disconnectedness'
- ❑ **Humanitarian intervention** - 'a responsibility to protect'



## The Challenges of New Imperial Doctrine

**The 'Washington consensus'** – 'captured' states, 'open markets', privatizations, private property rights & IPRs - an ideology of liberal freedoms within hegemonic themes.

### **'Fourth generation war' - William Lind (2004)**

First generation war involved 'line and column tactics', second generation used infantry (later aviation) firepower and 'the goal was attrition', third generation involved 'blitzkrieg or manouver warfare', characterised by 'speed, surprise and mental as well as physical dislocation'; fourth generation warfare adds non-state opponents and ideological elements (incl. "the poisonous ideology of multiculturalism").

### **'Destroy disconnectedness' - Thomas Barnett (2004)**

"Most of the world is peaceable and functioning. I call that the Core, and it is basically the parts of the world ... where globalization has taken root ... The rest of the world ... is made up of the countries that remain disconnected ... The only way America can truly achieve strategic security in the age of globalization is by destroying disconnectedness"

### **'Full spectrum dominance' - USDOD (2000) - ideological, economic and strategic dominance**

Thomas Barnett (2004) The Pentagon's New Map, Putnam Publishing

Lind William S. (2004) 'Understanding Fourth Generation War, Military Review, Sept-Oct, 12-16

US DOD (2000) Joint Vision 2020, Washington DC

F William Engdahl and David Dees (2009) Full Spectrum Dominance: Totalitarian Democracy in the New World Order, Progressive Press

## Hegemony and development - 'loaded' terms

- ❑ 'Hegemony' has been used in both the Neo-Marxist and the Neo-Realist traditions: as imperialism (Gramsci, Kiernan) and as a benevolent stabilising power (Kindleberger)
- ❑ 'Development' also has dual meanings: as advances in economic capacity (Goulet, Sen) and as entrapment in neo-colonial 'underdevelopment' (Heryanto, Veltmeyer, A.G. Frank)
- ❑ In its more optimistic form, 'development' might mean a people's successful assumption of control over its own destiny, a form of liberation (Goulet; Tandon)

Kiernan, V.K. (1977) *The New Imperialism: from White Settlement to World Hegemony*, Zed Press

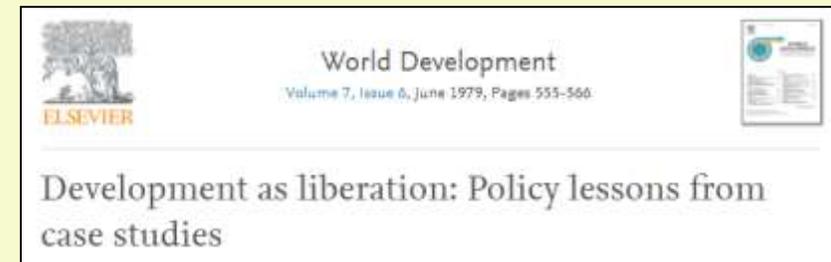
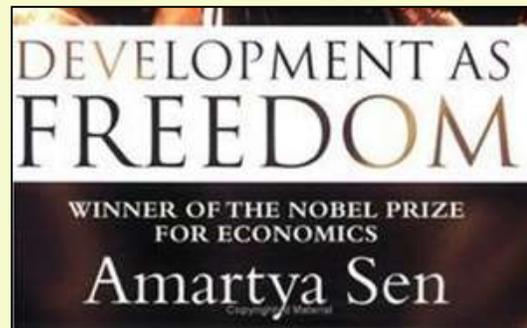
Veltmeyer, Henry (2005) 'Development and Globalization as Imperialism', *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Vol XXVI, No 1

Goulet, Denis (1979) 'Development as Liberation: policy lessons from case studies' *World Development*, Vol 7, Issue 6

Heryanto, Ariel and Nancy Lutz (1988) *The Development of "Development"*, Indonesia, No. 46, Oct

Frank, Andre Gunder (1966) *The Development of Underdevelopment*, Monthly Review Press

Sen, Amartya (1999) *Development as Freedom*, OUP



## **Dependency theory: Andre Gunder Frank, 1929-2005**

- ❑ 'Development and underdevelopment' are inextricably linked
- ❑ Feudalism is transformed by capitalist core-peripheral relations
  - LatAm ruling classes have no creative role to play in capitalist development [e.g. in a banana exporting country, the state tends to be dominated by large landowners]
- ❑ East Asian NICs are also limited as they are 'allocated the least remunerative and technologically obsolete' roles – controversy

See also Baran, Cardoso, Dos Santos – on the failure of industrial development in Latin America

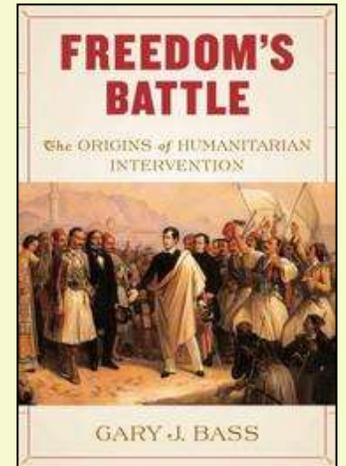


**Andre Gunder Frank**

**Q: explain market rights and human rights**

## 'Humanitarian intervention' has a long history

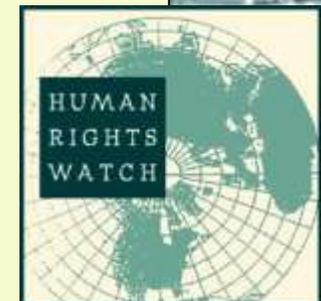
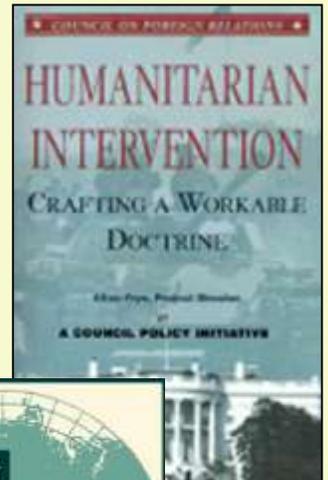
- North American view (Bass 2009) that contemporary 'humanitarian intervention' has a longer history, and was practised e.g. by the British Empire (against slavery) and by the US (Spanish-American war)
- Bass quotes John Stuart Mill (famous British liberal), an opponent of absolute sovereignty and slavery, and an advocate of intervention:  
"Barbarians have no rights as a nation, except a right to such treatment ... [to] fit them for becoming one ... [we should] mediate in the quarrels which break out between foreign states, to arrest obstinate civil wars, to reconcile belligerents, to intercede for mild treatment of the vanquished .. [and to help abolish] the slave trade'



## 'Humanitarian intervention', a US liberal project

- The Council for Foreign Relations (CFR), a Washington based think tank presented a 'three options' report to President Bill Clinton in 2000:
- Secretary of State – most ambitious: the need to intervene to suppress 'genocide and crimes against humanity'\*; others were more cautious
- All stressed US interests and Clinton's white paper leads with a consideration of US interests [a realist consideration]
- Intervention was seen as an important element of US 'moral leadership'

\* The Sec of State paper was written by Holy Burkhalter, previously a Director of HRW



## New hegemonic doctrine: a 'responsibility to protect'

### The 'responsibility to protect' – a new western doctrine

- ❑ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) 2001, promotes 'sovereignty as responsibility', ref. Cambodia, Rwanda.
- ❑ 2005 World Summit (follow up to Millennium Summit) includes par.s 138-139: '**Each individual State has the responsibility** to protect its populations from *\*genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity\** ... The international community should ... encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility ... The **international community**, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other **peaceful means**, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from [**\*\***] .. [and] through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including **Chapter VII**, on a case-by-case basis'

see: <http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>

ICRtoP

INTERNATIONAL COALITION FOR THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT



### 3. Forms of Resistance

- Human development and the post-colonial state;
- Resource sovereignty;
- Iran's 'resistance economy';
- Colonisation, ethnic cleansing and the right to resist;
- Resistance and terrorism.

## Human Development and the Postcolonial State

*Resistance exists in popular movements but is usually led by independent states*

### **What type of post-colonial state?**

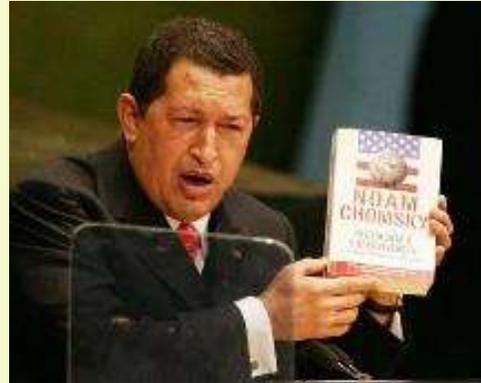
- The hegemonic power demands weak subordinate states
- Claiming that the state is an obstacle to individual and market freedoms – backed by IMF/World Bank doctrine
- Neo-Marxist views see the state as largely captured by dominant sections of capital (Poulantzas, Miliband, Offe)
- However independent development requires a 'strong rights enabling state'.

### **Human Development ideas: valuable but do not prescribe the *means*:**

- 'capability' choices (Sen) individualised and undefined (Stewart and Deneulin); even when 'capabilities' are defined (Nussbaum) agency is absent – so how does HD occur?
- Most development debates concern 'the means' - e.g. 'food security' - trade or local agriculture? e.g. 'right to education' - social systems or family-paid fees?

## Resource Sovereignty

**Video (1'45'')**: The late Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez links self-determination to the recuperation of natural resources



"In Latin America [today] we see the same process that was fought by Bolivar, by San Martin ... for independence! ... They want Venezuelan oil and gas, they had it for 100 years, we've now got it back. And now this petroleum is for the development of our people and for the poor of this continent. Venezuela will never again be a colony of the USA! Never more!" - Hugo Chavez, 2006

## Iran's 'resistance economy'

Case studies show that "oppressed peoples have [sometimes] successfully assumed control over their own destinies and development strategies .. [these provide] lessons on development as a form of liberation" - Denis Goulet (1979) 'Development as Liberation'

<b>Strategic concerns of Iran's resistance Economy</b>	
Leader's idea	Provide for 'growth and prosperity ... even under pressure'; turn vulnerabilities into opportunities
Boost domestic production	Substitute local production for imports; build local and export industries (e.g. steel)
Securitization	A military role in the organisation of production and exchange
Greater participation & improved management	Participation at elite, technology, cooperative and popular levels. Proper state planning, address corruption, stabilise currency
Strategic partners and Iran's regional role	Choose secure partners, especially for major investments; the state to engage in regional stabilisation
Source: Anderson, Tim (2020) 'Iran's resistance economy and regional integration', Journal of World Socio-political Studies, Volume 3, Issue 4, Autumn 2019, Pages 649-877, online: <a href="https://wsps.ut.ac.ir/article_77940.html">https://wsps.ut.ac.ir/article_77940.html</a>	

## Colonisation, ethnic cleansing and the right to resist

### The Israeli 'Plan D', 1948

The fourth and final plan (Plan Dalett, 10 March 1948) added: 'These operations can be carried out in the following manner: either by destroying villages (by setting fire to them, by blowing them up, and by planting mines in their debris), and especially of those population centres ... In case of resistance, the armed force must be wiped out and the population expelled outside the borders of the state.' (Pappe 2006: 39; Vidal 1997).



<http://michaelharrison.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Plan-Dalet-Beirut-1969.pdf>

## **The right to armed struggle against colonisation and apartheid**

UNGA 1974: "3. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle"

UNGA 1978: "2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle"

UNCHR 1982: "2. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence ... and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, against the illegal occupation of their territory by South Africa; 3. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movements by all available means, including armed struggle, for the elimination of the apartheid system and the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of South Africa."

UNGA (1974) 'Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights', A/RES/3246 (XXIX), 29 November, online:

<https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/C867EE1DBF29A6E5852568C6006B2F0C>

UNGA (1978) 'Resolution A/RES/33/24 'Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights', 29 November, online:

<https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/D7340F04B82A2CB085256A9D006BA47A>

UNCHR (1982) The right of peoples to self-determination and its application to peoples under colonial or alien domination or foreign occupation, 25 Feb, E/CN.4/RES/1982/16, online: <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f0c428.html>

## Resistance vs Terrorism

<b>Resistance</b>	<b>Terrorism</b>
Aim: expel a colonising force or apartheid regime	Aim: destabilise a civilian population (by foreign powers or adventurists)
Represents: the legitimate interests or an indigenous people	Represents: in most cases the interests of a foreign power
Methods: disciplined and proportionate force	Methods: attack 'soft targets', destabilise legitimate states
Examples: Palestinian and Lebanese resistance; Anti-Apartheid forces in Apartheid South Africa	Examples: US-Saudi-Turkey backed ISIS and al Nusra in Syria; US-backed death squads in Central America

## 4. Media wars

### Resisting the corporate, state and colonial media

- Social media monopolies -
- War and vexatious propaganda
- Resistance media innovations
- Embedded NGOs and hired 'media activists'

"In Cuba we have never cultivated hatred against the American people or blamed them for the aggressions perpetrated by the governments of that country. That would have run contrary to our political doctrines and our internationalist conscience" - Fidel Castro (2002)

online: <http://www.fidelcastro.cu/en/citas-sobre/BATTLE%20OF%20IDEAS%20>

## Social media monopolies

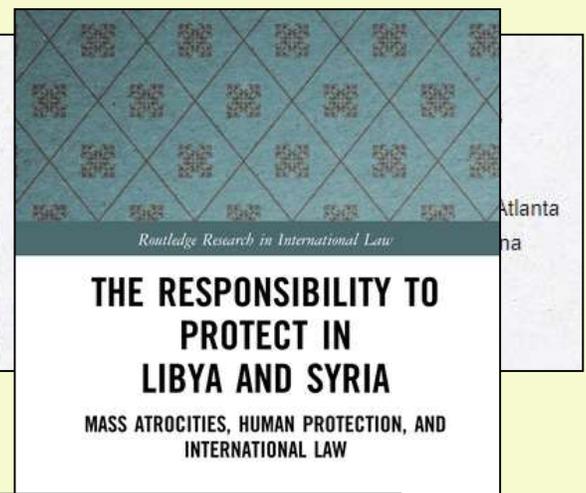
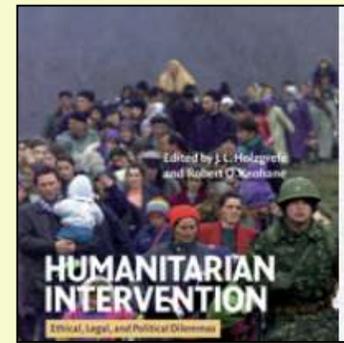
The new social media monopolies, like the old media monopolies, promote the normalisation of war, corporate privilege and neo-colonialism. The resistance must make use of these channels while developing its own.

FE Financial Express  
Sky not the limit for airport privatisation

Eurasia Review  
Yes, Privatization Makes Us Better Off - OpEd

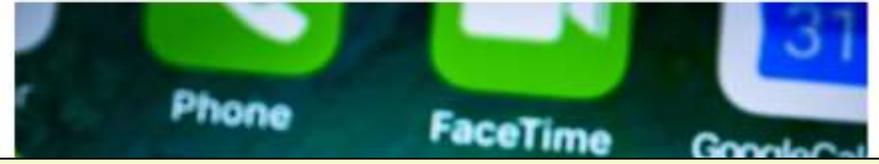
### Facebook admits censoring posts supporting slain Iranian General Qassem Soleimani

By Zena Chamas  
Posted Wed 15 Jan 2020 at 6:07am



### US-based nonprofit sues Apple to REMOVE Telegram over failure to censor 'hate speech,' cites Parler crackdown as example

18 Jan, 2021, 02:35 / Updated 49 minutes ago



## **War and vexatious propaganda: indicate the need for independent voices**

Vexatious propaganda creates stories which aim to distract more than convince, serving mainly to avert attention from the crimes of imperialism. It makes use of fantastic accusations, involving threats, accusations of horrific mass crimes, none of which can be properly determined by the audience.

The stories need not have substantial evidence, nor even be particularly plausible, but they must be insistent and incite fear. Such stories are completely disposable, they can be abandoned when their purpose is served. They aim to block reasonable discussion and have immediate and spread effects:

- they seek to monopolise and distract attention in a particular area or matter;
- they tolerate some criticism but not complete disregard;
- they intimidate independent public debate which seeks to disregard propaganda and 'move on'.

Examples of this vexatious propaganda include myths like:

- Israel (a demonstrable apartheid state) is the 'only democracy' in its region;
- Harsh criticism of Israel is anti-Jewish racism;
- Syria has repeatedly used chemical weapons against civilians;
- an unelected Washington puppet Juan Guaido is the real 'President' of Venezuela.

Myths can be tested with independent evidence: e.g. do the US military and DEA aim to repress drug production in Colombia and Afghanistan?

US occupied **Afghanistan**: 84% of world opium production  
US occupied **Colombia**: 70% of world cocaine production



"**Colombia** accounted for 70 per cent of the global area under coca cultivation ... cocaine manufacture is estimated to have almost doubled between 2014 and 2018" (UNDOC 2020: 21)

TA 07/20

"**Afghanistan** ... has accounted for approximately 84 per cent of global opium production over the past five years" (UNDOC 2020: 9)

[https://wdr.unodc.org/wdr2020/field/WDR20\\_Booklet\\_3.pdf](https://wdr.unodc.org/wdr2020/field/WDR20_Booklet_3.pdf)

Resistance collaborations: important for independent and genuine voices

## Telesur

Created in 2005 as a "counterweight" to the US-run CNN in Spanish, to show "our reality" TeleSUR is a Spanish-language regional news outlet headquartered in Venezuela, its main funder, with contributions from other members. Its broadcast reaches beyond Latin America and the Caribbean to parts of Europe and Africa.



**Telesur, lúcida alternativa a  
la infochatarra de CNN**

ÁNGEL GUERRA CABRERA

As well as countervailing media (Russia, China, Iran), there are ME/LatAm joint ventures, like Al Mayadeen in Spanish



Embedded NGOs: an older phenomenon which has proliferated in recent decades. There are now many hired 'media activists'

Freedom House (1941)	'private' body, but set up and funded by USAID, State Dept & private foundations	Campaigns against 'denial of freedom' in: Iran, China and other countries
National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (1983)	'private, non-profit org', set up by US Govt, funded by Dept of State	Campaigns for democracy in: Haiti, Venezuela, China, Serbia
Reporters Without Borders (RSF)	Paris based group, funded by USAID, State Dept & foundations	Campaigns for 'press freedom' in: Iran, Cuba,
Human Rights Watch	'Independent' but dominated by US foreign policy elite (CFR, <i>Foreign Affairs</i> )	Since 1990s has promoted the idea of 'humanitarian intervention'

Nobel Peace Laureates to Human Rights Watch: Close Your Revolving Door to U.S. Government

DECLASSIFIED UK  
 Revealed: UK sets up media influencing project in Venezuela amid secretive £750,000 'democracy promotion' programme

By Matt Kennard and John McEvoy • 6 January 2021

Robert Parry (2014) A Shadow US Foreign Policy [NED]  
<https://consortiumnews.com/2014/02/27/a-shadow-us-foreign-policy/>

## Overview: some resistance systems, state and non-state

<i>Resistance models</i>	<b>Iran: Islamic Republic</b>	<b>Hezbollah: Lebanese resistance</b>	<b>Cuba: Revolutionary Cuba</b>	<b>Melanesia: customary landowners</b>
<b>Inspiration</b>	Islamic values	Islamic values	Secular humanism, socialism	Inclusive customary law / customary land systems
<b>Strategic adaptation</b>	Wider Islamic community, engaged with pluralist coalition	Islamic community, adapted to pluralist nation and region	Humanist system engaged with diverse regional and international partners	Dual economy, cash and traditional systems
<b>Key values?</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Islamic civilisation</li> <li>○ Vindication of the downtrodden people</li> <li>○ Rejection of arrogant power</li> <li>○ Patriotic independence</li> <li>○ Diverse political economic ideas</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Resist zionist invasions</li> <li>○ Shia unity</li> <li>○ Lebanese patriotism</li> <li>○ Strong social support systems</li> <li>○ Regional resistance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ 'To be cultured is to be free'</li> <li>○ Land belongs to the people as a whole</li> <li>○ Resources and most production socialised</li> <li>○ Mass public education, health and culture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Resist land theft by outsiders</li> <li>○ Land belongs to clan groups</li> <li>○ Clans can include outsiders if they support and participate</li> </ul>
<b>How attacked?</b>	Terrorism, Economic siege, imperial propaganda	Zionist attacks, economic siege, imperial propaganda	Economic siege, imperial propaganda, terrorism	Corporate assaults backed by banks, neo- colonial propaganda
<b>Innovations</b>	Resistance economy, Regional 'axis' coalition	Cross-community and regional resistance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Mass doctor training,</li> <li>○ Medical internationalism</li> </ul>	Productive hybrid livelihoods

## **Resistance cultures - key points**

- ❑ Resistance is collective action aimed at realising the right of a people to self-determination;
- ❑ Resistance exists in many different cultures but may face common threats, struggling against foreign domination, intervention and dispossession;
- ❑ Resistance requires strong social structures to defend and reproduce independent cultures and social systems;
- ❑ Resistance movements are typically solidarity societies, they assert and preserve unique cultural values, but also share common values such as mutual respect, social conscience, sharing and self-sacrifice;
- ❑ They advance human capacity through their independent structures but need alliances to better defend and build their achievements.



