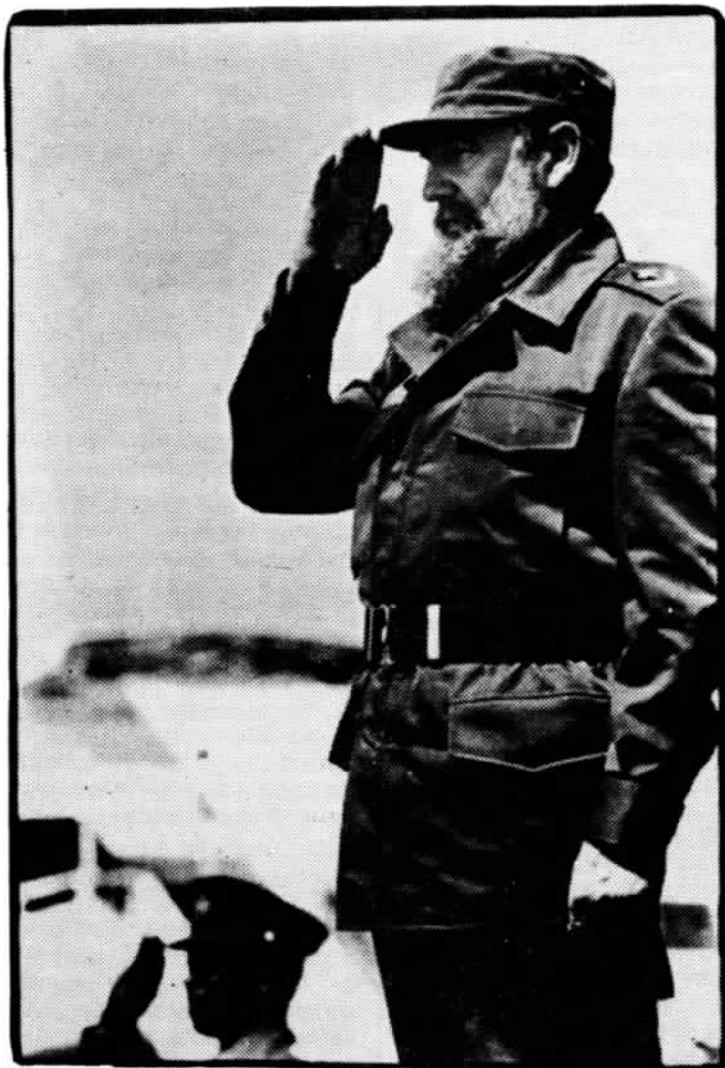


**Speech by  
President Fidel Castro of Cuba  
at the 8th Non-Aligned Summit in Harare**

September 2, 1982



**The Journal for Social Change is pleased to be able to reproduce in full, the text of Fidel Castro's address to the Harare Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement. The speech delivered by Castro, in our estimation, serves as an excellent all round analysis of the principle features of the most critical problems facing the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement. Fidel Castro was Chairman of the NAM from 1979 — 1983 as the leader of Cuba where the 6th Summit of NAM was held.**

Esteemed Chairman Robert Mugabe;  
Distinguished Heads of State or Government;  
Honourable Delegates;  
Distinguished Guests:

Only seven years ago, when we held our 6th Summit in Havana, we had the honour of welcoming the heroic Liberation Movement of Zimbabwe, which had not yet achieved its independence, as a full member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Today, the 8th Summit of Harare, in the youngest sovereign state of Africa, vanguard of the continent in the struggle against racism and **apartheid**, is a symbol of the strength of our Movement and the peoples' irrespressible march toward independence.

On electing Zimbabwe as the Movement's venue for the 8th Summit, we also elected the man who would chair the Movement during this period, the National Hero who led his people's struggle for independence: Robert Mugabe.

Esteemed comrade Mugabe, allow me, on behalf of Cuba, to associate myself with the atmosphere of respect and appreciation accorded you by this meeting. We are sure that under your experienced and responsible leadership the Movement of Non-Aligned countries will adopt important decisions in this Summit and take firm steps towards the future.

On this occasion I would also like to honour the memory of a great one who is absent from our meeting: the unforgettable Indira Gandhi. She led us with wisdom and dignity for the greater part of the mandate entrusted to India to chair the Movement. Her brutal assassination shook us all. We shall always remember her with deep respect and gratitude. In paying homage to her, I must at the same time stress what the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's steady and intelligent leadership has meant to the Non-Aligned Movement. He was able to guarantee the Movement's independence and maintain our unity in difficult times. Under his clear-sighted leadership, we have advanced successfully toward this Summit Conference.

Our world faces two mortal and hitherto unknown dilemmas: peace or total self-destruction; a just international economic order or the most horrible fate for the vast majority of the peoples of the earth here represented — even if peace were achieved.

The worst of the two dilemmas corresponds to the peoples of the Third World: we could be swept from the face of the earth in a war for which we do not have the slightest responsibility and in which we

take no part; we could be crushed by hunger and poverty by virtue of a world economic order which was not created by us who emerged and developed in spite of us, and against us.

One day, several years ago, I said before the United Nations that when the philosophy of plunder ceases, the philosophy of war will cease.

The conquest and colonisation carried out in the past centuries at the expense of the peoples of America, Africa and Asia by a handful of European powers that raped, killed, murdered, uprooted tens of millions of people from their homelands in order to enslave them, and that extracted as much gold and silver as possible from the entrails of our soil, and countless tons of sugar, coffee, cocoa, tea, cotton and other resources for the colonial societies to enjoy were wrested from the sweat of the slaves, were inspired by this philosophy of pillage, plunder and exploitation of other peoples. Thus capitalism, and later imperialism and neocolonialism emerged, bleeding from every pore.

This does not have to be studied in any book of Marxism because it is written with indelible signs on the flesh of all our peoples.

What is underdevelopment but a direct result of this historical pillage?

From the philosophy of plunder, from the old carving up and the new attempts to carve up the world among the imperialist powers came the two world wars that cost humankind rivers of blood. Imperialism today finds inspiration in this same philosophy when it unleashes the greatest arms race in the annals of history.

The developed capitalist powers refuse to resign themselves to giving up our natural resources, our raw materials, our markets, our cheap labour; they refuse to resign themselves to giving up the idea of no longer selling their products at even-higher prices and paying even-lower prices for ours; they refuse to resign themselves to ending the systematic plunder of our economies; to accepting the existence of new forms of production and distribution of the social wealth than those of their old and rotten capitalism; they refuse to resign themselves, in sum, to the true national independence of the former colonies and the

liberation movements of the peoples. There lies, in essence, the reason for the huge accumulation of US nuclear arsenals, strategic missiles, long range bombers, huge aircraft carriers, battleships, submarines, rapid deployment forces and imperialist military bases throughout the world.

There lies the reason for the compulsion to take weapons to outer space so that one day man cannot even be able to gaze at the stars without having his vision clouded by the idea of the lethal arsenal of nuclear weapons, laser beams, particle beams and artefacts of that sort surrounding him everywhere. No country on earth could thus feel secure. Those weapons in the sky have no object than appropriating the property of men on earth.

Thus, they have categorically refused to recognise the Law of the Sea, drawn up and agreed upon by the vast majority of the international community. They want for themselves all the ocean waters and all the minerals on the sea bottom within the reach of their sophisticated technology.

Let no one be surprised at my calling things by their name. If the United States were to attain the military superiority it so desperately desires, everyone present here knows that its oil, its iron, its copper, its chrome, its bauxite, its rubber, its lead, its zinc and other natural resources and raw materials would once again be distributed among the big capitalist powers to meet their insatiable consumption anxiety, and we wouldn't have a single weapon with which to defend ourselves.

This didn't happen during the oil crisis only because there is a new balance of forces in the world since the emergence of socialism and the emancipation of over one hundred countries for the colonial yoke.

Cuba, a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and one of its founders, finds pride in being a socialist country. Socialism, intrinsically, is incompatible with war, with the exploitation of the sweat and natural resources of other peoples. Socialism does not need investments abroad, nor military bases outside its borders, nor to carve up the world. It does not need to produce weapons to give impetus to the economy and enrich monopolies; it knows perfectly well that resources can and should be invested in factories, hospitals, schools, homes, recreation and cultural centres, and other more noble endeavors. The heaviest burden imperialism has imposed on socialism is arms spending. Our country, a few miles away from the United States, knows it perfectly well.

At this supreme and decisive moment for all peoples, it is specifically imperialism and not socialism that refuses to put an end to nuclear testing and rejects the only coherent, logical and acceptable policy for humanity; to stop the arms race, ban chemical weapons and other means of mass destruction, significantly reduce the number of conventional weapons and initiate a program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons in the

shortest possible period. This is the most deeply felt aspiration, not only of the people building socialism, but of all responsible and sensible people of the earth.

The nightmare threatening the entire human race must cease!

Nobody can speak of security in a world where one's own extermination is a real possibility at any hour of the day or night. And if humanity is to have any say in events that determine its own existence, it must, through the international community, including the peoples of the imperialist countries themselves — make these objectives prevail.

Peace is one of the most sacred duties of our Movement. Nobody is exempt from this obligation. In the recent meeting in Mexico, the group of six eminent international personalities stated that the struggle for peace is a task not only of the big powers alone but of all the peoples of the world. The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, with its great political strength and prestige, can and must make a decisive contribution in this direction.

The other mortal dilemma overwhelming us, that is, the economic one, also threatens our survival; but in this case we, the Third World countries, are its almost exclusive victims.

For this reason, we need not only peace, but the resources allocated to war and man's destruction to be earmarked for the world's socioeconomic development — in the first place, in the countries that have historically been plundered: the former colonies and today's new colonies. Military expenditures, however, which at the time of the New Delhi Summit Conference in 1983 surpassed 650 billion dollars, have reached the fabulous amount of 850 billion dollars in 1985, despite the fact that the nuclear arsenal is already equivalent to almost 16 billion tons of TNT; that is, the amount needed to exterminate the present population of the world 12 times over.

After World War II, in a period of barely 40 years, 17 trillion dollars has gone into military spending. This figure is many times that which would have been needed to bring all the Third World countries together out of underdevelopment. The hungry, the undernourished, the illiterate, the ill, the unemployed on our planet would not be counted in the hundreds of millions and in the billions; our countries' huge external debt of almost one trillion dollars — which although overwhelmingly high, represents only 5.8 percent of arms expenditures in the post-war period — would not exist.

As I said after the 6th Summit, "The sound of weapons, threatening language and arrogance in the international scene must cease. Enough of the illusion that the world's problems can be solved by means of nuclear weapons. Bombs may kill the hungry, the sick, and the ignorant, but they cannot kill hunger, disease and ignorance. Nor can they kill

the righteous rebellion of the peoples, and, in the holocaust, the rich, who have the most to lose in this world, will also die."

There can be no development if there is no peace nor can there be peace if there is no development for the vast majority of the peoples of the earth.

The fact is, that we are being exploited in an ever-more ruthless manner. What we import from the developed capitalist world, be it a truck, a tractor, a locomotive, an industrial component, a factory, a medicine, a medical equipment, a simple spare part, anything, becomes more and more expensive, and what we export is paid at ever-cheaper prices. If we exclude oil — the privilege of a few countries, which are also facing difficulties today — we now have to hand over three, four and up to six times more sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, sisal, copra, iron, bauxite, copper, etc for the same products we imported thirty years ago.

Today there is greater unequal exchange, more protectionism, more dumping, more disloyal competition, greater control of the markets by the transnational corporations, higher interest rates, more capital fleeing to the big financial centres in the United States and Europe, and more manipulation of international finance by the imperialist powers than ever before in history. The price we pay as neocolonies is much higher than the price we paid when we were just colonies.

I don't want to burden you with figures, but please allow me to quote a few in order to illustrate this tragic situation.

The external debt, which in 1977 reached 373 billions dollars, only eight years later, in 1985, came to almost triple this figure: 950 billion dollars. Between 1981 and 1985, the Third World countries paid more than 300 billion dollars in interest, and 526 billion dollars in service on the debt as a whole.

In 1985, Africa spent 32 percent of its export revenues on its debt service, and Latin America 44 percent.

Between 1980 and 1985, the Third World countries lost 104 billion dollars as a result of the unfavourable terms of trade and more than 120 billion dollars because of excessive interest rates. The drop in commodity prices forced these countries to purchase the same amount of imports.

Whereas in 1979, 40.2 percent of the international financial flow went to the Third world countries, in 1985 these countries received only 10.3 percent; while the United States, the richest and most developed country in the world, received 6.1 percent of this flow in 1980, it obtained 24.2 percent in 1985. The amounts lost to flight of capital resulting from the chronic evil of inflation, the high interest rates demanded by US banks and the lack of security in the countries of origin are incalculable. The money for the United States colossal rearmament, star wars, its huge budget and balance

of trade deficits, its aggressive policy and the other follies of that country's present Administration, had to come from somewhere.

The International Monetary Fund, imperialism's financial gendarme, demands categorically that the Third World countries suppress fiscal and balance of trade deficits, cut their education and health expenditures, eliminate state investments, devalue their currencies, raise the prices of consumer goods and services, cancel restrictions on free imports; that is that the burden of the debt and the crisis be turned back upon the already impoverished and plundered peoples. In Washington, however, only a few blocks away from the headquarters of the IMF is the White House, the seat of the US Government, which has incurred the most fabulous and incredible fiscal and trade deficits in world history. The IMF has never sent one of its experts to that place so nearby to demand an end to the fiscal deficit, the trade imbalance, protectionism, dumping, high interest rates, the manipulation of the dollar and other practices vile and nefarious for the world economy. Nor does it send experts to the European Economic Community countries that flood the world with subsidised agricultural products in treacherous competition with the Third World countries, with a selfishness that borders on madness.

The United States is rearming with the world's money and the IMF keeps silent. The United States lives and spends beyond its production at the expense of the world economy and the IMF keeps silent. That is the economic order imposed on us.

With the aid of mathematics, we have analysed all the variants being proposed to solve the problem of the debt: at present interest rates, at lower interest rates, with new credits or without credits, with or without a limit of payment related to exports, with or without a moratorium and even assuming sustained high rate of development, which is almost utopian, and the result of all analyses is that the debt, like a huge, monstrous cancer, whose malignant cells multiply rapidly, tends to reproduce itself and grow to infinity.

One day we decided to estimate how long it would take a man just to count Latin America's external debt, at the rate of one dollar per second, and the result was more than 12 000 years. There is a disease currently very much in vogue and worrisome: the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Well, the Third World's external debt is the AIDS of the world economy.

Mathematical analyses and serious reflections on this matter bring us to the conclusion that the Third World countries' external debt is unpayable and uncollectable; it is politically impossible, economically impossible and morally impossible for these countries. Our countries are not debtors but creditors. Capitalism's development was financed by



the blood, the sweat and the wealth of Asian, African and Latin American colonies. They have taken much more from us through unequal trade than the total amount of the debt. Protectionism and dumping block our exports and ruin our peoples. A large share of the money loaned fled to the Western financial centres themselves without benefiting our peoples in any way. Excessive interest rates multiply our already unbearable burden. The debt must be erased. The governments of the creditor countries must take over the debt from their own banks, without the need of new taxes or sacrifices for the depositors or taxpayers of those countries. Less than 15 percent of the annual military spending is enough to pay the debt in a rather short period of time. The world economy would be able to overcome the crisis only with the abolition of the debt and with the New International Economic Order already adopted by the United Nations but never implemented. By increasing the Third World's purchasing power by hundreds of billions of dollars annually, this would multiply international trade, bring the industries of the developed capitalist countries themselves to full production and help them face their worst tragedy: chronic, growing unemployment.

In order to prove that the resources do exist, suffice it to recall that in 1986 the developed capitalist countries will save no less than 120 billion dollars with the reduced oil prices. That amount would be enough to pay the Third World's debt service this year. Less than one-third of the annual spending wasted in the military field would be enough to cancel the debt and take on the cost of the New International Economic Order.

Peace, disarmament, the solution of the external debt and the New International Economic Order are thus inseparable issues. If the statesmen of the developed capitalist countries are unable to see it that way, they will be admitting to the anachronism, selfishness and all the irrationality of their inability to contribute to solving the problems of today's world.

We cannot sit idly by. We must demand solutions; we have a right to survive the dangers threatening us and to live with dignity and in peace. Jose Marti, the National Hero of Cuba, said something once that could well be the theme of this meeting: "Rights are demanded, not asked for; they are taken, not begged."

We represent the vast majority of humankind and we should not beg for our right to live. We must be able to take it.

**Distinguished Heads of State or Government:**

The young states and national liberation movements attend these summit conferences hoping that their just causes will be defended. It is not often that our meeting has awakened so many expectations in this sense.

Representatives of the FMLN of El Salvador, of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, and of

the courageous and fighting people of President Allende have come from our continent. In El Salvador, over 50 000 have died, victims of fierce repression. In Guatemala, a country where there had been no cases of political prisoners, 80 000 disappeared under the military regimes following the overthrow of Arbenz by the CIA in 1954. In Chile, thousands of people murdered, disappeared, a people brutally repressed but ready to defeat fascism. Grenada, a country invaded to crush a revolution that had already liquidated itself. Puerto Rico, a colonised and occupied piece of Latin America. Paraguay, a fascist dictatorship in power for over 30 years. These are but some examples of the results of US interference in our Balkanised continent.

Wherever there is a genocidal and corrupt government in Latin America, one finds a presence and support of the United States. Wherever there is social change, wherever the peoples want to be truly free, there is always the hostility, blockade and aggressions of that country. Cuba, with a piece of its soil still occupied by the United States and already suffering more than 25 years of brutal economic blockade, is an exceptional witness to that reality.

Nicaragua is, however, the most recent and eloquent example of that brutal policy of the empire: almost 50 years of Somoza's tyranny, the result of yankee military intervention in the closest alliance and with the total support of the United States. New Nicaragua, on the other hand, the result of the heroism of its sons and daughters, suffers from a dirty and shameless war of aggression: its ports are mined; thousands of mercenaries at the service of a foreign power invade its soil from Honduras, transformed by the Government of the United States into a sanctuary of counterrevolution, a foreign military base and a springboard for aggression against a fraternal people.

The United States dirty war has already cost Nicaragua tens of thousands of lives and billions of dollars. Latin America's efforts to attain peace in Central America through the Contadora Group have been dashed against United States determination to destroy the Sandinista Revolution by blood and fire and smash the liberation movement in Central America. Recently, the Government of the United States has openly and brazenly — like a slap in the face to the peoples of Latin America and the world — forced the approval of a new allocation of 100 million dollars to continue its bloody adventure against Nicaragua, even trampling on the ruling of The Hague International Court that categorically condemned those United States Government actions. But it will all be useless, there will be no force able to crush the unyielding spirit and heroism of the Nicaraguan people, even if the tragic lesson of Vietnam had to be repeated there.

Nicaragua has offered its hospitable and heroic soil as the venue of the 9th Summit Conference. To support such efforts would be gesture of solidarity.

Nicaragua is today a symbol not only of the struggle for the independence of a Central American country, but of the struggle for the independence of the peoples of an entire continent; a symbol of the right of any small Third World country to be the master of its destiny.

The British occupation of the Malvinas, territory from the Argentine Republic, is an affront to the peoples of America. Latin American blood was shed there in a battle against a NATO power, which as was to be expected, had the support of the United States.

Let no one be mistaken about the Malvinas: a nation has not emerged there as in Guyana or Belize. There is no community there that yearns for autonomy or independence. A handful of Englishmen who consider themselves English and who want to keep on being English live there. It is a colonial enclave, a foreign possession, an occupied territory that must be returned to Argentina.

The people of Peru are victims of the International Monetary Fund's arbitrary measures; they too, require our resolute support.

Panama also expects our permanent support regarding compliance of the Canal Agreements.

Bolivia demands and deserves support for its just aspiration to an outlet through a territory which belonged to it.

The peoples of Latin America in their desire for freedom in their just causes, expect all the support and solidarity of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

In the Middle East and the north of Africa, Cuba has been, is and will always be in solidarity with the just struggle of the Arab peoples, victims of imperialist and Zionist aggression. Cuba resolutely supports the PLO and endorses the noble cause of the Palestinian people and their right to independence.

We must support the sovereignty, unity and peace of the courageous Lebanese people; the integrity of Cyprus, and the self-sacrificing and admirable struggle of the Saharawi people for the unquestionable and inalienable right to national independence. It is difficult to explain why the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic, whose people are facing the most modern weapons that Yankee imperialism provides to the foreign occupation forces, has not yet been admitted to our Movement.

The Libyan Arab nation was recently the victim of bloody United States provocations and of a criminal and treacherous Nazi-style blow against its people. We have witnessed how the Government of the United States is capable of using its most sophisticated weapons to try to assassinate a head of state and his entire family. Our Movement should vehemently condemn these vile, terrorist practices.

The Iran-Iraq war, between two states of our Movement, should never have happened.

Unfortunately, all the efforts to find a solution to this complex and difficult conflict have been useless. Nevertheless, we must not be discouraged in our endeavors to achieve peace there and repair as far as possible the damages and wounds caused by this fratricidal dispute.

We express our resolute support for the search for a negotiated political solution to the problem of Afghanistan based on the strictest respect for the country's sovereignty.

We likewise extend our full support to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just and sacred struggle for the peaceful re-unification of the country, artificially divided and partially occupied by the United States.

We have clearly stated that the next Olympic Games should be shared between the North and the South; otherwise, our country will not participate in this event which was conceived in an irresponsible manner to lend legitimacy to one of the most repressive and discredited regimes in the world, completely disregarding the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Solidarity with that sister nation in such a legitimate aspiration must be demonstrated.

We also join the just demand to make the Indian Ocean a region free of foreign naval bases and nuclear weapons.

I have left the issue of Southern Africa for the end.

We are meeting here, only a few miles away from the evil **apartheid** system; beyond the Zimbabwean border, to the South, over 25 million people, the vast majority of the country's population, are deprived of the most basic conditions of human beings. Almost every day there is news of atrocious assassinations perpetrated against that people.

More than four decades after the defeat of fascism and its racist theories, which cost the lives of more than 40 million people, and on the threshold of the 21st Century, a State segregates its citizens and is established on racial bases.

Added to this racism is the fiercest economic exploitation of the oppressed, discriminated against the segregated masses.

**Apartheid** is a direct consequence of the colonial system, of the brutal way that the peoples of Africa were forcefully dispossessed of their land and natural resources and their sons and daughters enslaved and sold around the world. **Apartheid** has been able to survive thanks solely to the support of the United States and the NATO countries who see South Africa as a strategic ally, a source of raw materials, a market for the transnational corporation's investments and juicy profits, at the expense of the sweat and blood of millions of Africans.

The present US Administration categorically refuses

to allow economic sanctions against South Africa and systematically vetoes the Security Council resolutions that affect the Pretoria regime while it sets up economic blockades, with ever increasing furor against small progressive or revolutionary countries like Cuba, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Libya, and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Encouraged by the support it receives through the so-called constructive engagement of the Government of the United States, South Africa not only defies the world with the continuation and obstinacy of **apartheid** but it persists in its occupation of Namibia and prevents the independence of that colonially occupied country in open defiance of all the United Nations resolutions and agreements.

South Africa organises mercenary bands to destabilise its neighboring States; carries out treacherous surprise attacks against Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola; and violated the N'komati agreements with Mozambique through continued support for subversive groups. Now the United States is also using those destabilisation plans and introducing in Africa, with its overt and shameless aid for the UNITA bandits in Angola, the notorious methods it employs in Latin America.

UNITA has a long history of cooperation with the colonialists and the imperialists. It was founded by the Portuguese political police to sabotage the patriotic effort during Angola's liberation war. South Africa, in collaboration with UNITA, attempted to destroy Angola's independence and dismember the country in 1975. It has been using UNITA for the last 10 years as a tool in its dirty war against Angola.

When we were children in school we were told that two things that were each equal to a third thing were equal to each other. The governments of the United States and South Africa in upholding the same flags as the UNITA bands and by providing them common support, have expressed their affinity of ideas and goals; and they have shown themselves to be equal to each other.

What difference can there be between the policies of Washington and Pretoria? For the United States Government, the Palestinians who were thrown off the land where they lived for thousands of years; the admirable Saharawi fighters, the brave ANC fighters, the SWAPO patriots, the heroic revolutionaries of El Salvador and Chile, are terrorists worthy of extermination. On the other hand, the UNITA bandits who wipe out entire villages of defenceless civilians with no distinction among men, women and children; the mercenary Somoza bands in the service of a foreign power; and any ruffian who opposes any popular and progressive process are for that imperialist government outstanding patriots and freedom fighters; creditors of United States aid. Is it or is it not fascism? Is it or is it not racism? Is it or is it not cynicism?

Our solidarity with the African liberation movement and its heroic confrontation with colonialism, **apartheid** and racism is not merely verbal. In the struggles against Portuguese colonialism, Cuban revolutionaries fought together with Amílcar Cabral and Agostinho Neto in Guinea Bissau and Angola; some gave their lives for that noble cause. When South Africa invaded Angola in 1975 and occupied more than half its territory, and despite the fact that an entire ocean separates Cuba from Africa, Cuban internationalist combatants fought together with their heroic Angolan brothers against the racist troops and made them retreat 800 kilometres to the Namibian border, thus showing the world that South African soldiers, like Hitler's, were far from invincible.

Despite the enormous effort it implies for our small country, a contingent of tens of thousands of Cuban internationalist combatants has stood ready, for 10 years, together with the glorious Angolan Armed Forces, to avoid a repetition of the events of 1975.

Our cooperation with Africa is not only military. There are more than 15 000 young Africans studying in our country free of cost to them while thousands of Cuban doctors, teachers, technicians and other workers lend their services free of charge in this continent. More than 250 000 of our compatriots have fulfilled missions in Africa as combatants or as civilian co-operation workers.

This completely disinterested effort in the name of solidarity causes the US imperialists and the South African racists to lose sleep. They simply cannot believe that co-operation capable of raising a powerful barrier against aggression could exist today among the conquered, colonised and enslaved countries of yesterday.

By attempting to make it a condition for the independence of Namibia, both the US imperialists and the South Africa racists are doing everything in their power to have the Cuban internationalist troops withdrawn from Angola. The governments of Angola and Cuba have responded in a joint agreement: let United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibia be implemented; let the threats of aggression against Angola cease; let the dirty war and support for the mercenary bands cease, and the gradual and progressive withdrawal of the 20 000 Cuban combatants defending strategic lines in Southern Angola will begin. The rest of the Cuban military personnel would be withdrawn only when the sovereign governments of Angola and Cuba consider it convenient, with no conditions whatsoever.

The true key to the issue is that as long as **apartheid** exists in South Africa, as long as that country is governed by a racist and fascist government, there will be no security for Angola nor for any other country in Southern Africa, and the independence of Namibia will be no more than a myth.

That is why I can state categorically here that the presence of Cuban troops in Angola is based on principle; it is in no way motivated by Cuba's national interests or matters of prestige. When **apartheid** ceases to be; when the fascist and racist South Africa regime ceases to be, then no country will feel threatened, Namibia will immediately be independent, not a single Cuban soldier will be needed, and the immediate withdrawal of the Cuban troops in Angola may begin. Of course, Angola, whose sovereignty we have always respected and will continue to respect in absolute faith, may decide at any time if it needs our military personnel there or not. What I have just expressed is simply our readiness to keep troops in Angola as long as **apartheid** exists in South Africa.

I am certain that our Summit, as a substantive part of its contributions to the struggle for peace, development, justice and security in our world, will give its full backing and immense political and moral support to the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and then it will go down in history for its decisive contribution to the final battle against **apartheid**. This monstrous regime cannot be reformed, it must be demolished. It is already in an irreversible crisis. To the ANC and its dedicated fighters, to the men and women of the heroic lineage of Nelson Mandela and Winnie Mandela goes the glory of having inspired the irrepressible struggle of the people of South Africa and having shown the world that today, as yesterday, as tomorrow, as always, nothing can stop the march of history and no force on earth will ever be able to chain indefinitely human dignity and freedom.

ALL WORK  
AND NO PAY?  
'FRAID SO!

DRAW  
FOR FREE  
BUT  
DO IT FOR  
SOCIAL  
CHANGE



Artists  
wanted