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**CASTRO'S NAM
SPEECH**

THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM & COLONIALISM





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Words of Cde. Machel

Amilcar Cabral's
funeral

Little by little, the human contours of Amilcar Cabral are fading away - his warm fraternal and ironic voice, the dynamism of his every gesture, his radiant friendliness, which won over the hearts of even the most hostile, his acute perception of the world and the brilliance of a refined and cultivated intelligence at the service of the people.

Considering the balance of power between the forces in our lands, and the fact that there is a merciless, astute, organised and well-equipped enemy, now more than ever armed struggle is an eminently political process.

It is, for this, a matter of mobilising and organising the broad masses, of releasing their creative energies, so as progressively to transform our human potential into a force which crushes the enemy.

Amilcar Cabral did not die because he wanted just the independence of his country, a new flag and a new government in his country. It must be pointed out that this blow against the PAIGC today, like that against FRELIMO yesterday in the person of Eduardo Mondlane, and the armed attacks and conspiracies against the Republic of Guinea, Zambia, Tanzania, Congo and other brother countries, are all part of the same plan to liquidate the African Revolution. It was for this African Revolution that Amilcar died. ■

SUPPLEMENT: Cde. Fidel Castro's Speech

What is the Journal?

This Journal aims to promote discussion and debate on current issues of importance to our readers. The Journal is a voluntary, non-profit making collective publication.

Future Focus in 1987 will be: Industry and Technology, The Constitution, The Debt Crisis, Religion and Socialism, Youth and Culture.

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Editorial

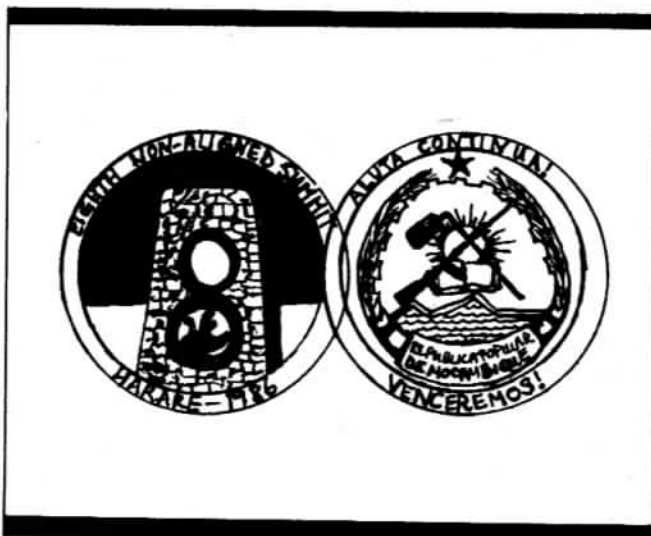
Issue editor Arnold Sibanda

In this issue of Social Change we express our deepest sorrow and shock at the death of a revolutionary and illustrious son of Africa, President Comrade Samora Machel, whose death, though mourned bitterly, only kindles the spirit of determination and commitment to the struggle for social justice and human dignity.

The patriotic people of Mozambique have been robbed of a brave fighter and leader in their fight against backwardness, poverty and underdevelopment, and most importantly, against an imperialist inspired war of aggression, which uses local bandits turned citizens, in keeping with the current murderous imperialist doctrine of so-called 'low intensity conflict'. Yet we resolutely say - Aluta Continua! Viva Frelimo! Let this journal contribute to the mobilisation, conscientisation and education of the gallant and patriotic masses, who will all the time identify the enemy correctly - including its open and hidden support groups - and especially the hypocritical and hidden ones, for they are the most dangerous and most crafty! We congratulate Cde. Joaquim Alberto Chissano for being elected the new President of Mozambique. We congratulate Frelimo for finding able leaders and we have confidence in their ability to continue the fight against backwardness and aggression and for socialism and peace. The goal of imperialism is to rob the people of their gains, to nullify their victories, to rob them of their leaders, to stem the tide of revolution. It is to destroy the wealth of their own hands, to make life impossible for the people, so that they may feel that their struggle for justice, for socialism, is a futile exercise. Yet the laws of the progress of human society nullify this imperialist and anti-human, selfish and barbarous philosophy and practice. The wheels of history never roll backwards! 'Forward forever, Backward never!', Cde Mugabe echoed the words of Cde. Maurice Bishop of Grenada - murdered also by imperialist inspired designs! Imperialism hates democrats!

As we here focus on the NAM, we congratulate the Honourable Prime Minister Robert Gabriel Mugabe for being elected

for the honourable but demanding task of leading the movement for the next three years. The confidence of the struggling peoples of the Third World and of all progressive mankind, in the ability and bravery of our leader in the fight for justice, was amply demonstrated. As he himself declared at the opening of the 8th Summit of NAM - for which our nation must also be congratulated for successfully hosting - the struggle against the arms race and for peace, against underdevelopment, poverty, and the Third World debt - shall continue. The oppressed have justice on their side.



This issue declares its support for SWAPO and the people of Namibia, and the people of Puerto Rico fighting against colonialism; the ANC and the people of S.A. against apartheid - a colonialism of a special type - and the people of Palestine against Zionism. It expresses its solidarity for the people of the Southern African Frontline States, for Nicaragua, Cuba, Afghanistan and Kampuchea, who face the now permanent plots against their sovereignty. All democratic and peace-loving people of the world support whole-heartedly the democratic and socialist movements such as the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the Revolutionary Democratic Front with the Farabundo-Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLF) of El Salvador. The struggle for peace and social justice is for everyone except those who, for selfish reasons, have lost the human heart! Let us seek, learn, understand and remove the real reason for human suffering around the world! Forward with the Non-Aligned Movement! Forward with the struggle for peace and progress in the World!



The Non-Aligned Movement

An Historical Overview

The Non-Aligned Movement sprung from the desire of the non-industrialised countries to escape from the intolerable position to which imperialism has reduced them. Their whole way of life has been distorted in order to serve the interests of the capitalist countries by providing them with minerals and cash crops that modern industry requires. They have ever been providing cheap, unorganised labour which enables the multi-nationals to close down factories in highly industrialised countries.

The Bandung Conference of 29 Asian African states in 1955 was the first coming together of countries who had won their independence and emerged from the colonial era as sovereign states. It was followed by a number of conferences of newly independent states in Africa and Asia. These conferences paved the way for the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Composition of the Non-Aligned Movement

The member states have only one feature in common - their underdevelopment in contrast to the highly developed industrialised capitalist or socialist states. The majority of their populations are still rural, although there are some huge overcrowded cities, teeming with homeless, jobless millions.

In other ways and in their size and potential there is a bewildering diversity. Some like Zaire are complete puppets of the US or of some other capitalist state. Others are developing on the periphery of imperialism and as capitalist countries themselves. Others with the help of existing socialist states have been successful in achieving socialism themselves like Cuba and the Democratic Republic of Korea. Angola and Mozambique are struggling to build socialism in extremely difficult conditions because of armed intervention and destabilisation by South Africa. Still others are socialist orientated, that is to say, their leaderships are striving to start building socialism. These include such coun-

tries as Congo, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Libya, Afghanistan and Vietnam.

In view of this great diversity it seems hard to see how the word Non-Aligned applies. Many leaders have disclaimed neutrality but consider their countries non-aligned because they are neither part of NATO, nor of the Warsaw Pact, or of any military bloc.

What does the Non-Aligned Movement stand for?

From the first conference to the most recent the Non-Aligned Movement has declared the main aims to be peace and international co-operation. In the sixth conference these aims were expressed as follows: 'The principles of peaceful co-existence should be the cornerstone of international relations. These principles of peaceful co-existence that have been staunchly upheld by the Non-Aligned countries since the First Summit Conference constitute the basis for the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of tensions and





the extension of that process to all regions of the world and to all aspects of international relations, with the participation of all countries on the basis of equality in the solution of all international problems. Active peaceful co-existence remains the sole option of mankind faced with the danger of general military confrontation and the policy of force. The principles of active peaceful co-existence should be universally applied in relations among all states, irrespective of their size or socio-economic system. In this regard the Conference called on all governments to implement them strictly and to adhere to them in their mutual relations and in their international activity in general'

The Non-Aligned States believe that the imbalance between the wealth of the industrialised countries and the poverty of the underdeveloped countries is a constant source of crises, friction and regional wars; with the danger of any one of these escalating into world war.

In order to transform this situation, as long ago as 1967, 77 Third World Nations meeting in Algiers put forward a plan for a New International Economic Order (NIEC) in the Algerian Charter.

New International Economic Order

The NIEC proposals include the following:

1. The right of nations to control their own natural resources.
2. Host countries to control foreign investments and multinational companies.
3. A balance between prices paid for Third World exports and prices paid by them for imports.
4. The establishment of a Common Fund to assist Third World countries.
5. Third World producer countries to receive a larger share of the profits from the sale of their exports.
6. Re-negotiation of Third World debts.
7. Benefits gained from exploiting the oceans to be made available to all.
8. The development of science and technology appropriate to the Third World.
9. Money devoted to the arms build up to be diverted to peaceful purposes.
10. The development of an international currency.
11. The setting up of an international Central Bank.
12. International institutions to be more representative of the Third World.

Not much has been achieved towards these goals.

THE MAIN PRINCIPLES AND AIMS OF NON-ALIGNMENT

- struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of racial discrimination;
- struggle to affirm the principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to consolidate peace and international security, to curb the nuclear arms race and promote complete and general disarmament;
- struggle to reshape international relations on an equitable democratic basis and to establish a new international economic order;
- struggle against information imperialism, for the establishment of a new information order;
- struggle against imperialist and other interference in the non-aligned movement, for the consolidation of its ranks on an anti-imperialist basis.

Relations between the imperialist countries and NAM

1. It is significant that the NAM has never met in a capitalist country, but only in socialist countries or developing countries.
2. The imperialist countries have consistently snubbed NAM at meetings of United Nations Conference for Trade and Development. They have even refused to give any serious consideration to the NIEC proposals.
3. The strongest proof that they regard its existence as a threat is the fact that the capitalist media almost completely ignores its existence.

Relations between NAM and the socialist countries

Relations between the NAM and socialist countries are close because interests of the NAM countries do not contradict the ideals of socialism i.e. the struggle against neo-colonialism, military blocs, racism, colonialism, Zionism and apartheid.

Those countries which are trying to end their neo-colonialist position have received enormous help from the socialist countries.



Conclusion

1. Before estimating the work of the Non-Aligned Movement let us look at what changes have been achieved since it was formed 21 years ago. There is no doubt that the movement against imperialist domination in all its forms have developed to a great extent. In that period Portuguese imperialism was defeated in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The British occupation of Zimbabwe has ended. The world-wide movement against apartheid has reached new heights and South Africa has been forced out of the United Nations. The boycott of South African sports is almost complete. Arms sales to South Africa are at least supposed to have stopped. The ANC is recognised as the legitimate representative of the people of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia. The S.A. state is in crisis and the revolutionary forces in S.A. have advanced considerably. The effects of the over 20 coups that the imperialist engineered after 1960 are gradually being overcome, as with the achievements of Colonel Rawlings in Ghana and Museveni in Uganda. There are still many examples of appalling regimes supported by the imperialists such as in El Salvador and in Turkey, and the IMF was able to bring about the defeat of Manley in Jamaica. Worst of all in this period was the overthrow of Allende in Chile, and best of all the defeat of USA in Vietnam. To be heartily welcomed is the victory of progressive forces in Nicaragua, although it is under such heavy pressure from Reagan. With Vietnam's fraternal assistance Kampuchea is on the road to national recovery after the overthrow of the fascist Pol Pot, whose government was responsible for murdering 3 million people.

2. Although the NAM is not responsible for these victories, or for the defeats, there is no doubt that its existence has helped to bring about the victories. Its existence has given inspiration and encouragement to liberation movements everywhere. The regular meetings of representatives of these states at different levels has meant they have learnt from each others experiences. The NAM has put their point of view in the UN and other international bodies.

3. On the other hand the tragedy is that in the non-socialist developing

countries the living conditions of the poorest people have not improved and in some cases have even got worse.

Practically nothing has been done to end the position in which the majority of the people go hungry and millions die from starvation and diseases. As long as these countries are run by an elite who are mainly concerned with increasing their own wealth, no fundamental changes will be made. However membership of NAM and constant contact with the socialist countries helps to develop the desire for change and the forces determined to carry it out within all the developing countries.

4. Another factor in the situation is that the socialist countries, whether developed or under-developed are suffering from the effects of the capitalist crisis, capitalist aggression and the enormous build-up of armaments which they feel they must respond to in order to preserve their own people's safety, even though the money is needed so much for peaceful purposes and no section of their people can gain from preparation for war and still less by war itself.



5. Although the Soviet Union and other socialist countries do all they can to help the developing countries it is impossible for them to protect them from all the ravages of the still powerful imperialist powers, especially the USA with its iron ring of military bases that encircle the globe.



6. Despite this, the victories we have mentioned indicate that time is not on the side of the imperialists. They are rent with internal contradictions and friction among themselves. Their whole system is such that every step they take to get out of the crisis, puts them further into it. Provided we are clear in our aims and united, the progressive forces in the Non-Aligned Movement, the national liberation movements, the socialist countries and labour and progressive people in the capitalist and developing countries can defeat them.

The Journal on Social Change and Development is grateful for this edited version of Kay Beauchamp's article, a complete version is available from Liberation, 313 Caledonian Rd, London N1, United Kingdom. ■

COMMENT

There was unfortunately a hint of hard truth in Libyan Colonel Kadaffi's biting appraisal of the Non-Aligned Movement. A 'farce' he called it! Ineffective in the face of growing imperialist aggression against all developing countries.

He implied it was simply a talking shop without the resolve or commitment to put high sounding words into concrete action. For those who sympathise with Colonel Kadaffi's sentiments, echoed by some other heads of State at the Harare Summit, ask yourself the following questions. Why does the capitalist media in the West choose to almost totally ignore NAM, its aims and objectives, its conferences and resolutions? The 'infamous' Time Magazine gave half a page of 'sensational' coverage to the Harare Summit, at which 99 Nations were represented. Why does the CIA allocate, according to the Cuban weekly 'Granma', \$20 million for its 'activities' at the Harare Summit? What is it that scares the imperialist circles about the next Summit of the movement being held in Managua? As far as the general population in the West is concerned, the Harare Summit was 'non-event' as it was given such scanty coverage in the major western newspapers. But was it really such an insignificant meeting?

Ignoring NAM may be interpreted as contempt of its member states. That would be a fair assessment of the attitude of most of the western media to NAM. But its not just contempt - its also fear



Col. Kadaffi

Ministry of Information

A fear of the world's developing nations reaching consensus on issues such as the 1000 billion dollars owed by these countries to the capitalist financial institutions, on extremely unfavourable terms. Fear of consensus being reached on the economic exploitation of the developing countries, by the powerful, profit-hungry multinational corporations. Fear of consensus being reached on US aggression against Grenada, Nicaragua and Libya. Fear of NAM's outright condemnation of apartheid and the West's extremely thinly disguised connivance with this abomination.

Or perhaps, just perhaps, it is fear that NAM's stated position on the question of world peace, and ways to achieve it, including its views on nuclear disarmament, come 'dangerously' close to the oft stated position of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies. If NAM was the waste of time Kadaffi makes it out to be (which comes pretty close to the apparent view of the Western Press), then it is a waste of time that makes imperialism nervous! ■



US Intervention in El Salvador

The Struggle for Peace and Justice

RUBEN ZAMORA is the Vice President of the Democratic Revolutionary Front of El Salvador. He spoke to **SOCIAL CHANGE** editors Arnold Sibanda and Charles Halimana.

Social Change: Could you give us a brief history of El Salvador and the current situation in the struggle for democracy there?

Zamora: El Salvador is a small country of 25 000 square kilometres, an area with a population of 5 million people. We were Spain's colony and became independent at the beginning of the 19th century. But it is at the end of the last century that the process of capitalist development started in El Salvador, introducing capitalism first in the

associated with American capital in a certain level of industrial development.

The situation created in El Salvador is a social structure that is highly polarised. On one hand we have a small group of families, the oligarchy, that controls most of the wealth of the country. They control the newspapers, the TV stations, radio and so on. And on the other hand we have the vast majority of the population without any land, earning very, very low wages, especially the peasants. They do not have enough work to sustain the family because, due to the character of export-oriented agriculture, there is work for people only during the season of picking coffee or cotton, or the period of cutting the sugar cane. The rest of the year there is no work for the people. This is basically the economic structure of El Salvador.

The military took control and the oligarchy supervised the government.

At the political level, this oligarchy also controls the government. We had a succession of Presidents that belonged to these oligarchic families, until the international capitalist crisis of the 1930's. The effect of this crisis on the country was very acute, and led to a rebellion of the peasants - what we call the 1932 peasant rebellion in El Salvador - which was defeated by the government through a big massacre of peasants. At that moment the country had something like 1½ million inhabitants and the government killed a little more than 30 000 peasants in a period of 3 weeks.

There was then a change at the political level. The oligarchy handed over direct control of the government to the military. And then we had the military taking control and the oligarchy supervising the government. That situation has lasted basically up to now. That means in El Salvador we have one of the longest military governments in Latin America. Of course there were elections every 4 years. But always everybody knew who was going to win the elections - the candidate of the military.



Mothers of the disappeared

agricultural sector, encouraging an export orientated economy. This was mainly based on coffee. The land was then taken by a few families that became an oligarchy controlling the best land and most of the land. Later on, those same families went into banking and in the middle of the 20th century they became



Well this socially polarised situation, and the exclusion of the majority of the people from economic benefit and political participation, led in the 70's to a rapid process of popular struggle. At the same time that the political/military organisations were starting to develop in El Salvador through guerilla activities, there was in the countryside and in the towns a mass movement developing that led these social movements to become very active after 1975. This led to a general crisis for the government. The government was overthrown in 1979 and for a brief period we had a government comprised of democratic elements. But this experiment lasted for only two months. The military regained the real control and that led to a confrontation between the civilian democratic elements in the government and the army. This led to the resignation of all the democratic elements in the government.

This situation opened the way to the present state of generalised war. The failure of the brief experiment at the end of 1979 led to a radicalisation process, not only of the masses but of the democratic elements as well. It was clear for all the progressive forces that the only way of changing the social and political structure of the country was combining armed struggle with political and social struggle.

A broad alliance of democratic and revolutionary forces: for social and political change.

In 1980 the Democratic and Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador was formed. And this front comprised 32 different organisations, political parties, the



main trade union federations, the peasant organisations, teachers' unions, professional organisations and even the universities. A few months after the formation of the FDR the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front was formed as well. This front comprised 5 political/military groups that were fighting the guerilla war against the government. Then came the alliance between the FDR and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front. This alliance was founded on a common programme that until now is the basis for maintaining this broad alliance of democratic and revolutionary forces in El Salvador.

Well, we have been in El Salvador in a situation of generalised war for nearly 6 years now. In January 1981 started the general offensive of Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) forces





and since that moment we've been fighting a war against the government. The government was increasingly being defeated. But then the US stepped in and started to give help to the Salvadoran government, with advisers, arms, ammunition and economic aid, trying to sustain the economy. And now I can say in El Salvador the popular sectors are fighting against the US government...true...

At the military level the present situation in El Salvador is that the US has tried to implement a counter-insurgency programme based on the new Pentagon idea that is called the 'low intensity conflict'. That is, to try to fight counter insurgency wars not directly with their own US soldiers, but with local soldiers. They put the direction but they don't put their blood. The blood is only put by the indigenous population.

The strategic objective of the US is to push the forces of the FMLN up to the Northern strip of the country, that's the less populated and the less developed part of the country, to try to isolate them from the rest of the country. In that they hoped to achieve 2 objectives: First to allow for certain recovery of the economy in the Central and Southern strip of the country. And secondly, now having isolated the FMLN force to the North - to carry on a process of milit-

trition against the government forces. This strategy has been implemented in the last 2 years and I think by now the results are very clear. First the FMLN are not isolated in the North, but are spread all around the country. For example in 1983, the FMLN was fighting in 8 of the 14 provinces of the country, and now they are fighting in 13 of the 14 provinces. Secondly, the FMLN strategy was to combine dispersion of forces with concentration of forces. Dispersion is for the day-to-day struggle against the enemy, wearing down the forces, but at the same time keeping the capacity to concentrate in certain moments enough numbers of forces to strike against an important objective.

Bit by bit, the FMLN is developing its strategy; that US strategy is failing. The FMLN in terms of the war, maintains the strategic initiative.

At the political level the plan of counter insurgency that the US government tried to implement was quite sophisticated because it was not only a military plan but also a political plan, trying to present a government that sprang out of elections, that was democratic, with a good face etc. Well that was what they did in 1984, with an election that was decided by the Americans. The election



ary annihilation of the FMLN forces. For this, they reorganised the whole Salvadoran armed forces; gave them a lot of arms; introduced aerial warfare with helicopters and planes; gave them a lot of artillery; and the US government has actually trained practically all the Salvadoran soldiers by now.

The revolutionary forces answered back with a strategy that was precisely the opposite of the strategic objective of the US plan. The FMLN idea was that, instead of accepting being pushed to the North, try to spread all around the country and start a process of wearing down the enemy. That means a strategy of at-

was organised with money from the US government and the party that won elections. They were the Christian Democrats. They received 2 million dollars from the US government just for campaigning etc! They tried to present us with that sort of window-dressing democracy. The reality of this stooge has shown quite clearly that this is not working at all. The government is losing a lot of support that they had at the beginning, because then they offered peace, political solutions and so on. Some trade unions that supported the government have gone to the opposition. The government has lost practically all its social base. At the same time, among professional sectors,



the middle class sectors and even the private sector, there is a lot of disenchantment, due mainly to the mismanagement of the economy and the corruption of many of the government officials. This has led the political climate in El Salvador to change. People have been opening up for new alternatives and new ideas. In that sense, although our organisations are illegal fronts in the country and can only develop underground work, we have been making a lot of contacts inside the country in order to develop a national consensus in favour of a political settlement. This year we presented a document to all sectors of the Salvadoran society, putting what we call the basis for a national consensus. This document has been quite well received by a lot of the sectors, including the church.

Social Change: Cde. Zamora, what are the main obstacles to a peaceful political solution to the problem in El Salvador, and what is the role of the US?

Zamora: Well, I think that the main obstacle for settlement are three: two are internal and one is external. The first internal obstacle is the Army High Command. Because the military has grown a lot during the war in terms of numbers and privilege and money. Therefore there is a lot of vested interests to continue with the war. The second internal obstacle is the oligarchy, who dominate the economic sector. Those people know that if there is a political settlement, that means democracy and social justice - and they are the ones who are going to lose! Therefore they are against any political settlement.

US government is the main obstacle to negotiation.

The third obstacle, that's the external and main obstacle, is the U.S. policy toward El Salvador, and also in general towards Central America. If you look at the regions in Central America, you can see that the Reagan Administration has a common policy for the whole region: and this is to win by military means against the popular forces. A rapid look at the Central American region - in Costa Rica, which is basically a peaceful country, whose constitution forbids it to have an army, and only has police - what do you see in Costa Rica? We see the US training police but not by American policemen,



Four elections in three years

but by Green Berets! That means that it is militarising the Puerto Rican police! In Nicaragua, it is clear. We see the blockade against the Nicaraguan Revolution and the military support for the counter-revolution, trying to overthrow the Sandinistas.

The Honduras, which is partly occupied by US troops and has a common border with Nicaragua and El Salvador, has become a sort of bunker for the Reagan Administration in Central America. There are between three thousand and five thousand US soldiers in Honduras saying that they are doing joint manouvers with the Honduran Army. Clearly they are occupying the country and pouring into it a lot of military material that partly goes to Honduras, and partly to counter-revolutionaries that are fighting the Sandinistas.

In El Salvador, the policy of the Reagan Administration is a policy of military support for the Duarte regime. Right now the Americans are spending 2 million dollars per day in El Salvador alone. And according to a US Congress study, 85% of that aid is direct or indirect military aid. In that sense then, you can see what the US is trying to do in Central America: to militarise the area and to win by military means. That does not square with the idea of a political settlement through dialogue and negotiation.



A POLITICAL OFFER TO THE DIVERSE SOCIAL SECTORS IN SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION TO THE CONFLICT

DECLARATION

FDR / FMLN

The Democratic Revolutionary Front and the Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation, to the Salvadoran people and the world, DECLARE:

1. That we are willing to participate in a national dialogue with all of the forces and sectors interested in the political - patriotic and democratic - solution to the conflict in our country, to conquer the peace with justice and dignity that our people long for.

2. That we commit ourselves to dialogue with all sectors, civilian or military, without distinction of social, political or ideological character, that are truly interested in elaborating a project of political solution and in struggling to make it reality.

3. That we are decided to commit ourselves to the political - patriotic and democratic - project of national consensus elaborated in this broad dialogue.

BASES OF COMMITMENT

INITIATION OF A JUST ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

The content of the political solution should intergrate social justice and respect for the economic interests of all sectors patriotically committed to the said solution. Therefore, the government that would surge from the political solution should apply the following measures:

1. Repeal the measures of the 'economic package' that harm the interests of the majority.

2. Put into motion the fundamental reforms agreed upon in the course of the national dialogue: principally the agrarian, bank and foreign trade reforms. The agrarian reform should resolve the land problem in favour of the working majority and the small and medium farmers.

3. Formulate a program of economic

reactivation that would begin to resolve the problems of unemployment and the just distribution of wealth.

4. Respect the right to private property and free enterprise of those committed to the political solution, taking into consideration the limitations derived from the reform program.

5. Develop a mixed economic system that would combine in a diverse way private enterprise and property with social and state enterprise and property.

DEMOCRACY AND THE RECOVERY OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

The political solution should originate an authentic process of democratization and a system of recovery of and respect for human rights, that would guarantee:

1. The end to the repression and violation of human rights in all forms.

2. The effective dismantling of the repressive forces, which violate human rights.

3. The return of the displaced and refugee population to their places of origin.

4. Absolute respect for all democratic freedoms and rights, of the individual and the collective; and

5. Creation of the structural and political conditions for the holding of clean and free general elections, and for their practical organization.

A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE.

1. The government that would arise from the political solution should insure a regional policy of peace, non-intervention and self-determination or independence; likewise, it should propitiate political solutions to the conflicts in the Central American region and lend support to international détente and the fomenting of sovereign relations with all States, based on the social interests of each State.



2. It should propitiate friendly relations as well as of mutual collaboration with the United States, based on the equality of rights and mutual respect for sovereignty and independence.

In formulating this declaration, we are animated by a high sense of responsibility to our people and to the whole nation. Assuming our responsibility in the promotion of a fruitful national dialogue, we put forward our contribution in the above statements, and offer them as the basis for discussion and for the building of the political solution to the profound national crisis. With the

contribution of all the sectors committed to the aspiration of a just, democratic, sovereign and independent peace, we are certain a political solution will be achieved.

We reiterate our will for peace and our confidence in the capacity of our people to struggle, demonstrated in the course of the war. We also express our unbrea-
kable decision to continue the struggle in the case that the US intervention blocks the political solution longed for by our people and our Fronts.

El Salvador, July 10 1986. ■

Phillipines: Problems after Marcos Fighting For True Democracy

The editors of SOCIAL CHANGE spoke to LUIS JALANDONI on 3 September 1986 in Harare. He is International Representative of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, can you give us a brief history of the Philippines up to the time of the overthrow of the Marcos regime?

CDE LUIS: The Philippino people are of Malay stock and origin. Until the 14/15th century they had a sort of semi-communal and semi-slave society. They had developed trade with other countries until 1565 when the Spanish colonists imposed colonial rule. This lasted until 1898. Between these dates there were more than 200 revolts and uprisings of varying strength and length against the colonialists. Mainly the peasants fought against feudal oppression and in 1872 there was an uprising that started the national consciousness of the people. By 1892 the revolutionary movement against Spanish rule and for independence was started, and from 1896 to 1898 there was a national revolution for independence which was successful.

Meanwhile the 'Moro' people in the South and the 'Cordillero' people in the North successfully resisted colonisation through the centuries. After the successful revolution the US came and imposed their colonial rule by bringing 126 000 troops and causing the death of 1 mill-

ion people, 1/7 of the total population at the time!

In the 1920's and 30's there were peasants and workers uprisings that were fuelled by the American colonialists. In 1942-45, during W.W.II., the Japanese occupation troops came and occupied the Philippines for 3 years. In 1946, at a time when colonialism was becoming anachronistic, and after the Americans had prepared a local elite that would promote their interests, they nominally gave independence to the Philippines. At the same time they secured huge economic privileges and a lease of 600 000 acres of land for more than 20 military bases for 99 years, free. This showed the puppet and subservient nature of the new government.

From 1947 to 1965 when Marcos took over, there was an interchange of rulers from the elite who represented the landlord, big business and US interests. However in 1961, and later, a national and democratic revolution occurred,

Luis Jalandoni





first with the protests against the US aggression in Vietnam and the Philippines' involvement in that aggression. In 1969 the New Peoples Army was formed to start the revolutionary armed struggle. In 1973, after the imposition of martial law by Marcos in 1972, the National Democratic Front (NDF) was formed and this has grown to 9 organisations with nationwide and broad sectoral character.

From 1973 to 1976 the NDF experienced serious set-backs under fascist rule and had to find new methods of doing political work. But by 1976 the NDF began to grow. The NPA developed more guerilla fronts and the mass movement in the cities emerged with workers strikes and students demonstrations. By 1981 this had grown to bigger proportions. In 1983 when opposition leader Benigno Aquino returned from exile and was assassinated, this triggered a series of demonstrations and mass mobilisation, together with the continuing armed struggle, which already comprised 62 out of 72 provinces in the country. In February 1986, with the people's uprising and the rebellion from the ranks of the military, the Marcos dictatorship was finally ousted, and we see this as a great victory of the people.



Aquino: 'It is I who will decide what we will do in this country.'

Marcos's regime was hated for its tremendous abuse of the people, causing the arrest of 70 000 people, the death of

8 000, the torture of more than 5 000 and the disappearance of many hundreds more.

However US domination remains, the fundamental problem of the peasantry regarding the land question remains, and therefore the NPA and the other organisations of the NDF continue the struggle for land reform, for national industrialisation, for the removal of foreign military bases and nuclear weapons in order to achieve genuine independence, democracy and sovereignty.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, what are the problems facing the Aquino regime, and the prospects for democratic transformation of the Philippines?

land must be redistributed...

CDE LUIS: The problems facing the Aquino Government are very serious and multi-faceted. First there is the question of the complete dismantling of the structures of dictatorship; that means that there are still many military officers, including General Ramos and the Defence Minister, who have been guilty of crimes against the people and have not yet been prosecuted and removed from office. They constitute a direct danger to the population. There are more than 600 000 people in protected villages. There is a 150 000 strong paramilitary that should be dismantled because of its many abuses against the people. There are private armies of war-lords that have to be dismantled. These are still big tasks which the Aquino Government is facing right now.

Another question which is deep-rooted and requires a deep-going solution is that of land reform for the peasantry which comprises 70% of the population. Many peasants are landless and many still suffer feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. Now, the NDF has been engaging in land reform by lowering land rent, elimination of usury, raising of farm workers' wages, as well as the setting up of cooperatives in the areas under its control. But the Aquino Government has to tackle the question of land reform with a view to redistributing land. So far the Aquino Government has not come up with any clear programme on this basic question.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, in Sudan just



before the fall of President Numeiri, and before the fall of Baby Doc (Duvalier) in Haiti, we saw the intervention of the military and the immediate regimes that come as a result of this intervention, and the protest of the people, and similarly you see Phillip Habib's mission to the Philippines and the rebellion of the military. Would you think that there are some kind of lessons to be drawn from the experiences of the Sudan, Haiti, and the Philippines?

CDE LUIS: Well, I think it is always important to take into account the role of the US. For 20 years they supported the Marcos regime, because for them it was the best instrument for promoting, maintaining and enlarging their huge economic and strategic military interests in the Philippines. Through the Marcos dictatorship they had a direct link with and control over the state apparatus in the Philippines. However, because of the extreme isolation of this regime the US studied various scenarios, and the first one, we believe, was to keep Marcos if it was possible, and so we see Reagan sticking with Marcos right up to the end.

However, with Phillip Habib's mission, and other reports they got, they saw that the strategic military and huge economic interests could go down the drain with the Marcos dictatorship. So they had other scenarios prepared. One was to have Defence Minister, Enrille and General Ramos to be the ones that take over power. Both are closely linked and very subservient to the US. This however was not possible because they were unpopular, being the main pillars of the Marcos regime. The next scenario was to have a junta of 6 people; 3 from the Marcos regime (Enrille, Ramos and Virapa) but without Marcos, and three from the opposition who would be pro-US. This also could not materialise because the people's uprising was possible because of the popularity of Aquino. The next option had to be taken: that of Aquino taking over but with Enrille and Ramos firmly holding on to the military. So we see that we should prepare and watch out for all the moves of the US which is always thinking of its military and economic interests. They will prepare various scenarios to maintain their interests. In that sense, it is very

important to learn lessons from Sudan, Haiti and the Philippines.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis we will come to the question of US military interests in the Philippines later, but can we ask



you why it has been difficult for the Aquino regime to carry out land reform? Is it because of certain representatives of land-owning class forces within the Aquino regime?

CDE LUIS: Most definitely. You see the Aquino Government comprises various forces and interests. At the far right you have Enrille, one of the biggest land-lords enriched by the favours granted by the Marcos regime. The Marcos regime usually granted large amounts of land to the top military officers as rewards for their loyalty. They would use this land to get great profits for themselves.

Next to this extreme right wing are the conservative, big landlords, big business and pro-US interests - the Finance Minister, the Trade and Industry Minis-



ter and the Central Bank Governor - these are big landlords and big business men linked to US interests. They are against any kind of land reform which would dispossess them of their land. There is of course a minority of progressives and liberals in the Aquino Government. This was the result of the popular movement and there are former human rights lawyers who have defended political prisoners, but they do not

key positions of power are held by pro-US conservatives...

hold the key positions. These are held by the extreme right wing and the pro-US conservatives. There is also the difficulty that Aquino herself would experience since she and her family own a 15 000 acre sugar plantation. So these are some of the difficulties that the Aquino Government faces. The government has come up with a land reform programme giving only palliatives to the problem.

big business and landlords do not support true land reform...

They think of technological support, setting up of cooperatives and increasing research. All these things do not address the basic issue of land redistribution.

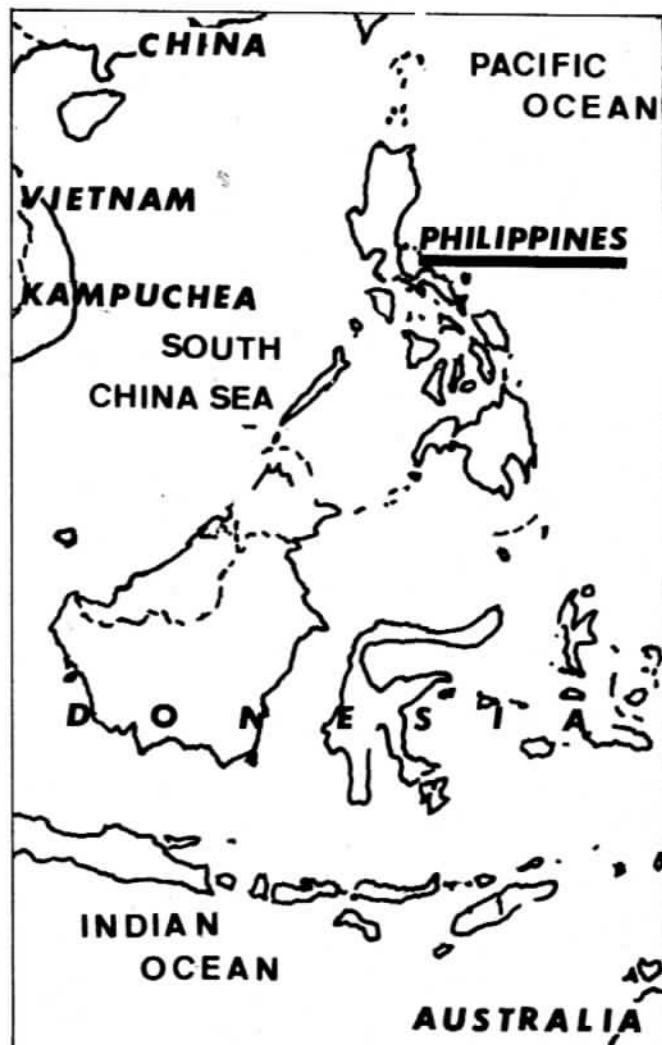
SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, what kind of military bases does the US have in the Philippines and what does the Philippine population think of this US presence?

CDE LUIS: Well, the US has more than 20 bases taking more than 600 000 acres of land in the Philippines. The biggest one is Clark airfield which is 130 000 acres and is the home of the 13th US Airforce and has been used as a launching pad for intervention against Vietnam. The second biggest is Subic Bay Naval Base, comprising 60 000 acres of land and 30 000 acres of water. This is the home of the 7th Fleet and is of crucial value for the military strategy in the Asian/Pacific/Indian Ocean, the Middle East and East Africa. It has been used as a launching pad for intervention as far as the Middle East. So these bases have tremendous capabilities and they form part of the nuclear first strike capability of the US. They've been described as crucial and essential for US global military strategy. Therefore these US bases with more than 20 000 US troops are of crucial value to the US. The

Philippino people have consistently protested against these bases. The agreements for them were never presented to the Philippine people in a referendum as required by the Constitution. There have been many demonstrations against the bases, even in front of the bases themselves and the US embassy. Many people's organisations in the Philippines demand that these bases be removed because they are a violation of our national sovereignty. They are a threat to the Philippine people, and they have been used as launching pads against other freedom loving peoples.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, following from your last comment, specifically that the bases that exist in the Philippines have been used as launching pads against other peoples, what do you think ought to be one of the main declarations of the NAM Summit on Peace and Disarmament and the imperialist attacks on freedom loving peoples?

CDE LUIS: Well, I think there should be a very strong condemnation of US





aggressive policies; its support for the apartheid regime, its support for the shameless bandit group UNITA, and its terrorist attacks on Libya and the present provocations against the Libyan people and government. There should be strong condemnation of the aggressive policies of the US in Central America, especially its aggression towards and destabilisation of Nicaragua. There should be strong condemnation of US support for Zionism. This should be condemned because Zionism, backed by US imperialism is the main obstacle to a lasting peace in the Middle East. Likewise, US aggression and interference in Asia, in the Philippines right now with its pressure on the Aquino Government and the doubling of military aid while peace negotiations are going on, and the deployment of special operations forces similar to those used in Grenada, should be condemned. I think that the NAM could start with the most concrete assistance to the struggle of the people of Namibia and the people of South Africa and the Frontline States to bring about a definitive collapse of the hated apartheid regime. And from there continue step by step supporting the liberation movements and progressive governments fighting US imperialism. That way NAM will be able to assist in the birth of new nations, independent and truly free, that can make a contribution to the NAM and make the NAM a really strong force, capable of collective self-reliance through South-South cooperation and develop further to achieve the other goals of the NAM, like the New International Information Order and the New International Economic Order. I believe that the 8th Summit, led by Zimbabwe and Cde Robert Mugabe will have this great task before it and I believe that the developments so far give great promise.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, could you give us a brief run-down of the social organisational base and strength of the NDF at the moment.

structures of dictatorship must be dismantled...

CDE LUIS: Well, the workers and peasants are the biggest number in our Front. About 800 000 peasants are organised and 6 million more are giving active support to the struggle. Then we have several hundreds of thousands of workers with a legal organisation of about 500 000 members who are very



active in the open mass movements. Besides, the youth and students also form a very strong organisation with the capacity to mobilise over 100 000. The women's movement is also growing strong and becoming one of the 4 basic mass movements in the country. We also have about 400 000 teachers in the country and about 45 000 are very well organised; there are also the health workers who give a lot of para-medical training in the rural areas, who give treatment to our guerillas and do organising work in the health sector. There is also the Codilliera People's Democratic Front of the peoples in the northern zone, an ethnic minority organisation in an area with an 800 000 population.

We have also the Christians for National Liberation composed of priests, sisters and pastors who number several thousand and have the capacity of mobilising the support of more than half of the church sector. These are the organisations in the Front. Altogether we have the active support of about 10 million people. These organisations are advancing and challenging the domination of US imperialism in the Philippines.



SOCIAL CHANGE: Cde Luis, as a round up, what is the programme of the National Democratic Front?

National Democratic Front Programme

CDE LUIS: First, the programme of the NDF reflects the aspirations and the demands of the various sectors and organisations that are in the Front. Since the workers and the peasants comprise the greatest number in the Front (almost 1 million) their demands will be clearly reflected in the Programme of the Front. Therefore, genuine land reform and national industrialisation are main planks of our programme. There is also the socialist perspective that the workers want. This socialist perspective which clearly rejects the capitalist road of development and capitalist exploitation is reflected in our programme. There is also the upholding and guaranteeing of all democratic rights as well as assuring a popular and scientific education for all, free from

the imperialist influence. At the same time our programme demands the removal of all foreign military bases and nuclear weapons from our country. This means that the principle of national sovereignty must be clearly upheld and the removal of all these threats to our security and the security of other peoples in the area would be undertaken. We also need to ensure cultural rights and the rights of self-determination of all the ethnic minorities and peoples in the Philippines. These are the main points of our programme. Naturally, part of it is to have a national revolutionary army that would protect the gains made from external and internal enemies that may want to rob the people of these gains.

SOCIAL CHANGE: Thank you very much for talking to us Cde Luis. We will campaign relentlessly for solidarity with and victory for the National Democratic Front of the people of the Philippines. ■

VIETNAM TODAY

Its fight for National Liberation and Reconstruction

I Vietnamese History in Brief

Vietnam lies in the heart of South-East Asia, on sea routes between the Pacific and the Indian Ocean, with an area a little smaller than Zimbabwe (329 600 km), but a population of seven times numerous in comparison with Zimbabwe (60 million).

Historical and archeological researches confirmed the existence of the Vietnamese civilisation dating back to the 2nd millennium B.C. This ethnic and cultural community soon had to confront a powerful enemy and was annexed to the Chinese Feudal empire in 2nd century B.C.

A long period of foreign domination lasting ten centuries could not break up a stubborn resistance. In the 10th century, the country completely liberated itself to become an independent state.

As early as the 10th century, the Vietnamese nation had gradually come into being, with clearly defined territory, a common civilisation and language, an effective centralised administration, and posing vigorous resistance to more than ten times of Chinese aggression.

By middle of 19th century, the then retrogressive monarchic regime could not

defend the Vietnamese nation from the aggression, this time by a powerful western capitalist power: France. Nevertheless, the Vietnamese people, with a long tradition of national struggle, rose up from the first day of French domination. They put up stubborn struggle against the aggression.

II Successful Struggle for National Liberation

After World War I, Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) introduced Marxism-Leninism into Vietnam and founded the Communist Party in 1930. Marxism-Leninism enlightened the Vietnamese people on the structure of Vietnamese



society, and on methods to be used in the national and democratic struggle. Vietnamese patriots understood that national liberation was an integral part of the world revolution, that agrarian reform had to be organically linked with the national struggle and the future Vietnamese society could only be a socialist one.

In August 1945, there was a powerful uprising of the masses combined with military operation against the French imperialists and the Japanese invaders. This culminated in a great insurrectional movement which led to the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on September 2 of the same year.

But immediately after that the Vietnamese people had to fight against attempt of reconquest and aggression by 2 great imperialist powers, France and the United States of America in a thirty year war of national liberation.

In this struggle against the aggressors, who are by far superior to them mat-



EDUCATION IN KAMPUCHEA



Photos: Jean Lash

erially, technically and financially, the Vietnamese people, from the North to the South, waged resolutely a "people's war", combining armed struggle with political and diplomatic ones. The struggle coordinated the action of three categories of armed forces: regular troops, regional troops and local self-defence troops. They attacked in 3 strategic sectors: the towns, the countryside and the mountain regions.

In supporting the French colonialists, the US could not prevent the Vietnamese people from defeating the French troops at Dien Bien Phu, which led to the signing of the Geneva Agreement in 1954, recognising the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam. But the country was temporarily divided into two parts.

Since 1954, while building socialism in the Northern half of the country which had been completely liberated, the Vietnamese were forced to wage a very arduous struggle against US neo-colonialism in order to liberate the Southern half. The socialist North constituted the great rear base, while the South formed the battle front where the fighting was hardest.



Photo: Jean Lash

Parents are keenly involved in the construction of schools.



The material destruction caused by US weapons was immense, as were the sufferings brought by US barbarity. But in both North and South, the Vietnamese people victoriously held their ground. In the North, socialism was preserved. Regarding the South, Washington was compelled to sign the Paris agreements of January 27, 1973 which recognised the

existence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. All the US troops had to withdraw from South Vietnam.

However, Washington still entertained the hope of continuing the domination by proxy in Vietnam. All proposals advanced by the Vietnamese patriots for the implementation of the Paris agreements were re-

vietnam

jected by Nguyen Van Thieu who was a puppet president. To the enemies' great surprise, a general offensive of the patriotic armed forces was launched in March 1975, and ended with the liberation of Saigon on 30 April 1975.

The collapse of the pro-US puppet apparatus removed all obstacles to national reunification: it was carried out through nationwide general elections and the founding of the socialist Republic of Vietnam on 2 July 1976.

III Healing the Wounds Of War and National Rehabilitation

A new era began for Vietnamese people to defend their country while building a new life. gradually rid themselves of poverty and backwardness. Of the many difficulties the country is facing, the biggest ones were caused by the war, 7 million tons of bombs were dropped over two parts of Vietnam, that is, three times the tonnage used during world war II on the world's battle fields. During the war of destruction in Northern Vietnam 70% of villages and 60% of towns were destroyed. In the South, at least 1,5 million civilians were wounded or killed during US raids. Millions of hectares of fields and forest were ravaged by bombs or toxic chemicals. War and neo-colonialism also left in South Vietnam 800 000 orphans, hundreds of thousands of juvenile delinquents, most of them drug-addicts, more than half a million prostitutes, one million consumptives and four million illiterates.

The Vietnamese people have



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not lost heart in the face of these tremendous moral and material difficulties. Buckling down to the work of national reconstruction the country has obtained outstanding results in all aspects, economic, cultural, educational and social.

The economy of reunified Vietnam embarked on a new path - that of economic rehabilitation, the orientation to be carried out on a nationwide scale but differently from one zone to another. A long term policy of industrialisation was defined in general lines in 1976. This policy consisted of transforming small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, which would have a modern agro-industrial structure where agriculture and industry are organically linked and interdependent, the former playing a leading role in the national economy, and the latter serving as a basis for industrial development.

A rapid restoration of lines of communication has ensured the communication between North and South. Illiteracy which was eradicated in the North twenty years ago, was cleared in

Bombs equal to 5 Hiroshimas fell on Kampuchea.

the South by 1978. Under the colonial rule, 95% of the population were illiterate. As early as 1945 three main tasks were set for education:

- A mass literacy campaign which developed in the

Cambodia is now called Kampuchea.



most varied forms.

- The use of the national language (Vietnamese) in place of French, for teaching in schools of all levels.
- The elimination of obsolete and reactionary elements in the curricula and textbooks left by the colonial regime.

The development of the education system has helped give schooling to 16 million pupils in 1985. At the same time, there are in Vietnam more than 80 universities and other institutions of higher education, with 150 000 students and 300 secondary vocational schools also with 150 000 students.

With reunification of the country along socialist lines, a comprehensive, long term programme of public health has been elaborated for the whole of Vietnam. Vietnamese modern medicine has put the working people at the centre,

as its prime objective, for this has made full use of all national means. Its guiding line, formed in the spirit of the offensive and respecting the national heritage, puts prevention first, without belittling therapy. At the same time it works for a scientific basis for traditional medicine. Particularly acupuncture has been widely applied.

The public health network of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has more than 2000 hospitals and centres of treatment run by the state and more than 10 000 village health stations sponsored by the inhabitants, with the total of 200 000 beds. The medical and social rehabilitation of prostitutes and drug-addicts has obtained good results.

Instead of a 'blood bath', people's power has reintegrated within the national community the overwhelming



The infamous Pol Pot

majority of 1,5 million soldiers, policemen and public servants of the old regime.

IV. The Situation in Kampuchea

The total and complete victory of the anti-American resistance waged by the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos opened a new era for the 3 Indo-chinese countries. They would enjoy independence and engage in national reconstruction; an end to American military presence in Indochina and Thailand and military confrontation in Southeast Asia. Peaceful co-existence could begin among the countries in this region.

Unfortunately the efforts of national reconstruction were interrupted by the hostile policy of the imperialist and reactionary forces.

In Kampuchea, following liberation in April 1975, from the pro-US regime; Pol Pot seized the leadership of the country, set up a genocidal fascist regime never seen before in human history, killing more than 3 million Kampucheans. At the same time they provoked clashes in the border area, and then started an all-out war against Vietnam along the frontier of more than 1000

kilometres, savagely massacring civilians, and committing countless crimes against the Vietnamese people.

The Kampuchean people were not resigned to the fate of extermination caused by this genocide. They founded the National United Front for the salvation of Kampuchea and appealed to the Vietnamese for help. Any foreigner who comes to Kampuchea can hear the following assertion by the Kampucheans: Had it not been for the Vietnamese help, Kampuchea would have run the risk of being completely exterminated.

After helping the Kampuchean people to overthrow the Khymer Rouge genocidal regime, together with the socialist community, Vietnam has spared no effort to assist in the rebirth of Kampuchea and is still making tremendous efforts to help the defence and consolidation of the young Kampuchean revolutionary state - The Peoples Republic of Kampuchea. The steady flow of seeds, farm implements, medicines, fabrics, household utensils, etc...which started coming from Vietnam right after Kampuchea's liberation helped the country weather the worst difficulties, ward off famine and check epidemics. Teams of Vietnamese experts brought experience to all branches of development and ran courses training Kampuchean cadres to replace specialists exterminated by the Pol Pot regime.

Within the short space of a little more than 8 years from January 7, 1979, the Kampuchean people, thanks to their tremendous vital-

ity and the whole-hearted assistance from friends around the world, have shown speedy and miraculous revival and recorded remarkable achievements in all fields.

After the general election of May 1, 1981, with the participation of 98% of the electorate, Cde. Heng Samrin, the President of the State Council elected by the National Assembly, signed a decree proclaiming the first democratic constitution of Kampuchea. In Chapter 1, the constitution states that the name of the country is 'Peoples Republic of Kampuchea', and that the Kampuchean people are 'the master of the destiny of their country. All power belongs to the people'.

V Vietnamese Troops in Kampuchea

The most truculent aggressors of the 20th Century and their followers, whose true colours are known to all peoples of the world, are riding the war-horse of defending the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Non-Aligned Movement, and claiming to defend the right of self-determination of the Kampuchean people. For the purpose of confusing the opinion and distorting the attention from the real issue, they have mounted a campaign of hostility on the Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea.

The presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea is in response to the request of the Kampuchean people in conformity with the terms of the Vietnam/Kampuchea treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation so as to deal with the threat of the return of the genocidal regime and intervention of foreign countries



in the internal affairs of Kampuchea. At present, the Thai territory is used as a sanctuary for Pol Pot remnants, from where they carry out hostile actions against the Kampuchean people.

Along with the remarkable recovery of the Kampuchean people in defending and

building the new Kampuchea, Vietnam has withdrawn partly and annually their volunteer forces from Kampuchea on five successive occasions since 1982. The withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces will be completed by 1990.

Having been victims of the

nicaragua

longest and most bloody wars of aggression, the three Indochinese peoples ardently desire peace and an early end to the undeclared war against the Kampuchean people, so as to reach a political solution to the question of Kampuchea and to that of peace and stability in South East Asia. ■

Nicaragua: The American Frontline

A SOCIAL CHANGE editor spoke to MARIA RUBIALES. She is the Chief of Cabinet in Nicaragua's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Social Change: Cde. Maria, we sometimes hear people drawing parallels between our two countries, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe. Do you see many similarities?

Maria Rubiales: Yes, there are many. We achieved liberation by armed struggle at about the same time, we in Nicaragua in 1979, and you here in Zimbabwe in 1980. We stand together for many causes, and we came together, as new coun

-tries, less than five years old, to the United Nations Security Council and learned to co-operate and understand each other very well there.

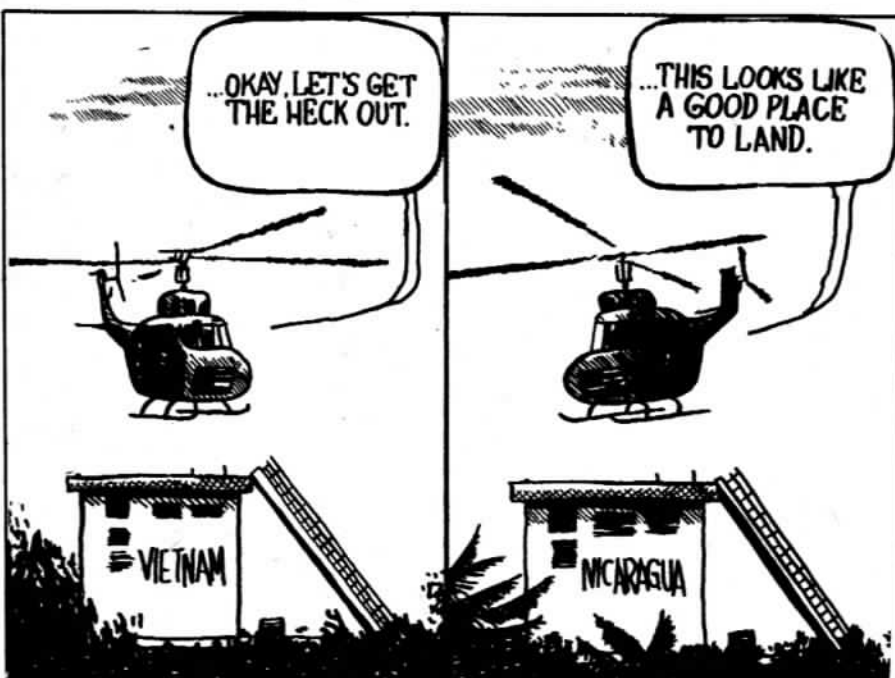
Relations with the US are very difficult

Social Change: But your struggle is not yet over. How do you see your relations with the US?

Maria Rubiales: Relations are very difficult. They say



Astorga: Ambassador to USA



Reported by Brian McGarry

of our biggest neighbour, Mexico, what is true of all Central America: 'Poor Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States'. For us there can be no compromise with the US. Ronald Reagan made it clear right from the start, with his Santa Fe Declaration of 1979, which outlined all the means he would use to overthrow the Sandinista government: manipulating the church hierarchy and La Prensa newspaper etc.. It is all there as it has happened since. As you know, the US has approved \$ 100 million in aid to the contras.

Social Change: Procedure in the US Congress looks com-



plex and tricky from outside. Was this aid approved as part of a mixed package? We heard that at one stage it was being linked to sanctions against South Africa.

Maria Rubiales: No, there is a clear majority in both US parties for the Reagan line. They only differ on tactics. Once their leaders label somebody 'communist', then the people will believe any evil of that person. Their political illiteracy is almost incredible.

There was even a recent feature film in the US called 'Red Dawn', about a communist invasion of the US: Russians, Cubans and Nicaraguans invading the US. It portrayed Nicaraguan paratroops landing in Colorado and massacring school children. And their people flocked to see this film! They really believe that this nonsense is possible! Their media offer no platform for discussing any alternative to the dominant opinion. Any dissent is shouted down by using the old 'red scare' tactics.

Social Change: We saw that kind of propaganda tactic

Maria Rubiales: That is the purpose exactly.

Social Change: What chance do you see of change elsewhere in Central America?

Maria Rubiales: There is little hope for a short time after the recent elections in the Honduras following the American line: 'You are defending the free world, and we are right behind you'.

Social Change: Must Central America be so dependent on US aid? Could they go to other sources?

Maria Rubiales: The whole region is in deep economic crisis, so the needs are enormous. Nicaragua gets more aid from the European Community than the other Central American countries do, but the US is using every kind of economic pressure to isolate us. The Central American Common Market used to cushion our economies in times of world recession, by helping us to trade amongst ourselves, but the United States is prepared to wreck this in order to isolate us. And this, even though such industry as there is in the region is;

threatened to withdraw support from the World Bank and the IMF if they gave loans to us.

Social Change: You mentioned Reagans attempt to cause divisions between Church and State. How is that situation now?

Maria Rubiales: There are no problems between Church and State, but there are divisions between the members of the Church and its hierarchy. Bishop Vega, whom we recently expelled, was treated very gently. He had been lobbying the US Congress for aid to the contras, and Reagan quoted him in his appeal for the \$100 million. That is high treason in any country. In the US, it would earn him at least two consecutive 30 year jail sentences; in El Salvador or Chile, it would get him shot in the street.

Social Change: Here in Africa we see fundamentalist evangelical groups spreading with US or South African support. Do you have these sects also?

Maria Rubiales: Yes, US-backed sects have grown enormously throughout all of Central America. The sects even provided a recent president of Guatemala - Rios Montt, who was terrible.

Social Change: And what of Catholic conservative groups?

Maria Rubiales: Yes, the international groups that oppose liberation theology oppose us. But our revolution is unique in the support it has from religious groups in the US and worldwide. The US Catholic Bishops and Jesse Jackson campaigned against aid for the contras.

Social Change: Here in Zim-



used here by the Smith regime, to make the rich afraid of losing any of their privileges.

an integrated whole, so that all the countries would suffer, and the US's own interests. The US even



babwe, some churchmen seem frightened when the government talks of Marxism-



Nicaragua: More entrenched than ever

Leninism. Is that the same in Nicaragua?

The revolution can hardly be anti-Christian when Fr. Fernando Cardenal led the Sandinista youth movement from the early days, and he brought many of our present leaders into the revolution

Maria Rubiales: The bishops do not understand pluralism, and they always sided with the elite. The revolution can hardly be anti-Christian when Fr. Fernando Cardenal led the Sandinista youth movement from the early days, and he brought many of our present leaders into the revolution.

Social Change: Here in Zimbabwe the rural people were very active in the liberation war, but now they seem more passive. How strong is popular participation in Nicaragua?

Maria Rubiales: The people are still very involved. There was very wide consultation on crucial issues such as the education system and the new constitution, even though this was difficult in the war zones.

Social Change: Is popular participation increasing?

Maria Rubiales: Yes, the act-

ive involvement of the youth reduced illiteracy from 60% to a negligible level in three years. Now

almost everybody except the mentally retarded can read and write. People's health programmes have been very successful. Polio has been eradicated, and the World Health Organisation called ours a 'model society'. Now even school children of 12 or 13 years volunteer to help in vital economic tasks like the coffee harvest.

Social Change: Now to come to your visit to Harare for the NAM Conference, how do you see the Non-Aligned Movement and this conference helping Nicaragua?

We came primarily as an expression of our solidarity with Zimbabwe, the Frontline States, SWAPO and the ANC

Maria Rubiales: Well, first, the Movement has been firm and clear in its support for us from before the triumph of our revolution and had condemned consistently the attitudes of the US Administration towards us. The sections of the documents on Central America are perhaps the clearest of all.

Social Change: The documents of this conference?

Maria Rubiales: No, previous

nicaragua

documents of this movement. As for this conference, the movement has expressed itself clearly on the need to draw up a plan of action for the elimination of apartheid and the independence of Namibia. More than anything else, Nicaragua wanted to see this succeed. That is more important than our own issue.

Social Change: Even though your own issue is your survival?

Maria Rubiales: Yes, we came primarily as an expression of solidarity with Zimbabwe, the Frontline States, SWAPO and the ANC.

Social Change: Then if you host the next conference, this will probably bring you the same kind of support as Zimbabwe and Southern Africa has gained from this one?

To push the people of Central America and Latin America ... to show that you can be non-aligned in that region

Maria Rubiales: Yes, but the importance of that conference would be that Central America is the only area of the world where there are no other Non-Aligned States. Yes, it would be a support for Nicaragua, but also, very importantly, an example and a push for the peoples of Central America and Latin America in general, to show that you can be non-aligned in that region, and motivate them to struggle for non-alignment, and to learn a bit more about the other regions of the world.

Social Change: Well, the Harare summit has certainly done that for our people. We hope that a Managua summit will do the same for Central America.



CUBA: CONFIDENCE IN ITS FUTURE

SOCIAL CHANGE spoke to **MANUEL DAVIS** about Cuba. He is a member of the Cuban Delegation to the NAM conference in Harare, which took place in September this year.

Reported by Paul Brickhill

He told us that Cuba has a socialist economy based on social control over the means of production. For this reason, he said, Cuba has the possibility to plan its production, and the exploitation of its natural resources. This is done by means of the 5 year plans. Cuba sets its possible to plan production

national economic goals and objectives for 5 years at the beginning of each 5 year plan period. Moreover, since the Cuban economy is becoming more complex, and also due to Cuba trying to integrate its economy more fully into the economics

of the socialist countries within the framework of CMEA, Cuba is planning its economy for a much longer period ahead, in addition to the 5 year plans. During the last two 5 year plans there has been a special emphasis on developing sectors outside of Cuba's 'traditional' sugar and agricultural based economy; particularly in mining, manufacturing, machinery and transport.

The developed socialist countries have been assisting Cuba to achieve this, particularly the Soviet Union. More than 80% of Cuba's foreign trade is

with the socialist states. Major efforts are being made to make Cuba self-sufficient in food needs. To do this Cuba has a well established policy of encouraging peasants to enter into co-operatives. It is strictly a voluntary process. The state provides assistance to the agricultural co-operatives in areas like housing and machinery. Co-operatives rely on government for financial assistance. The process of collectivising the land is not yet complete, but has made impressive progress. Emphasis is on ensuring the co-operatives efficiency and viability. Over the last ten years agricultural production has been constantly growing, especially as efforts to improve the scientific basis of agriculture have been intensified.

diversifying the economy

Since the revolution Cuba has been working very hard towards diversifying its economy. This is not such an easy process, as Cde. Davis pointed out to us. The first years of the revolution were very difficult, and the overriding priority of the revolution was the defence of the revolution against United States aggression. Cuba was weak. The main effort of the Cuban people was in defeating the counter-revolutionary forces. The economic revolution was not, in the first years, the most important part. In the last 10 to 15 years it has been possible to

CASTRO





concentrate more on the economic process. New products are being fairly rapidly developed now.

Nickel and copper mining is developing. Products like textiles and perfumes are now being made. An oil industry is growing with the assistance of the USSR, Mexico and other countries. Cuba supplies a 1/5th of its own oil needs. Two nuclear power plants for the production of electricity are planned. Railways and ports are being extended. Many products which were previously imported are being made in Cuba. The average real economic growth in Cuba is running at 3-4% per year. Light engineering is making substantial progress. Economic development is a constant struggle and much still needs to be done. The people's consciousness of this is high, and the Cuban leader, Cde. Fidel Castro, is calling for a consistently more rational and united approach in the economic direction.

participation of all people

A process which is going on all over the country is that of increasing the participation of masses in management and planning of the economy. Workers collectives meet to discuss all factors in economic planning, to make recommendations and even to criticise shortcomings on the part of the management and economic administrators. The importance of this is that it is the workers who are closest to the actual production process and who are the most knowledgeable of this process.

At the time of the revolution 27 years ago, Cuban

economy was dependent on the US and basically controlled by US capital. US business interests had a long history in Cuba going back to the time when Cuba was a colony of Spain. The Cuban economy was dominated by the sugar-cane industry, owned by United States companies. At the time of the revolution there was very little productive industry in Cuba.

our most important resource - human resources

The economic infrastructure was poor. The only really developed industry was the tourist industry, which was concentrated in the capital, Havana, and catered for American tourists. Very little efforts were made to diversify.

Cuba is not a very rich country in terms of minerals, and does not possess, for example, the mineral resources that Zimbabwe has. Cuba has no hydro-electric power capability. It is developing its most important resource - its human resources. Major efforts are being made in the fields of training of personnel, education and health care. Cuba has 14 universities and many higher colleges of education.

The only private ownership of factories, land or means of production in Cuba today is in the case of the peasants. About 40% of the land in Cuba is owned by peasants. At the time of the revolution an agrarian reform law was implemented, basically depriving the US landowning companies of their large estates and making this land available to the poor



That's who's worsening good neighbourly relations!

peasants. Many of the peasants have joined collective co-operatives and the ownership of the land has passed over to the co-operative.

no unemployment in Cuba

There is no problem of unemployment in Cuba. The right to work is enshrined in the constitution and unemployment has not been known in Cuba for many years. However, there are still some problems in utilising labour power of the country to its best. For example, the cities, like Havana, have more people than is desirable at present and Cuba is trying to develop its rural and provincial regions: to provide more jobs and houses in these areas.

Cuba today is characterised by a high degree of consciousness of the people in the social and the economic life of the country.

Nevertheless, a lot of work remains to be done at all spheres of social activity of the people.



Statement of the Non-Aligned Countries on US Aggression Against Cuba (New Delhi, 1983)

The conference recalled the solidarity offered to Cuba by the Movement of the Non-Aligned countries since its inception and re-iterated its appeal to the United States government for an immediate and unconditional cessation of all acts of aggression and threats and the lifting of the economic blockade, which has been maintained against Cuba for 22 years, and has recently been intensifying with the adoption of the Symms Amendment and by new restrictive measures against Cuba's financial, credit and trade relations. It also urged the cessation of the violation of Cuba's airspace and territorial waters and re-iterated its full support for the just demand that the US should return the territory illegally occupied by the Guantanamo Naval Base and pay compensation for the considerable material loss caused to the Cuban people as a result of the blockade and other aggressive measures.

Some Aspects of Cuba's History

Cuba is a tropical island in the Caribbean. During colonisation by the Spanish in 16th and 17th Centuries the original inhabitants of Cuba were almost completely obliterated by the colonisers. Cuba's population today is largely descended from Spanish settlers and a large number of African slaves brought to Cuba from the West coast of Africa. Cuba has a long history of militant anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. The Cuban people began to develop a national Cuban identity over 200 years ago, and began to fight Spanish colonialism in the early 1800's. From 1819, rebellion against the Spanish rule erupted in the country. This was crushed and Spain introduced extremely harsh reprisals against the Cuban patriots. By 1868 the anti-colonial struggle had matured considerably, and led by Cuban nationalist, Maceo, the Cuban people launched yet another assault against Spanish colonialism. This lasted 10 years. Tens of thousands were killed on both sides. This struggle succeeded in uniting Spanish Cubans and African slaves. The rebellion was defeated, but some considerable gains were won, including the abolition of slavery in Cuba.

In 1895, Cuba's national hero, Jose Marti, a poet and philosopher, returned to Cuba from exile to lead another revolt against Spain. He was killed in the first battle. Spain sent 200 000 troops to Cuba to suppress the uprising.

US replaces Spain as a colonial power

The Cuban rebels were on the verge of defeating the Spanish army in 1898, when the US intervened. The aim of the US was to replace Spain as a colonial power, as by now US companies had considerable investments in Cuba, and were desperate to gain total control of the profitable sugar plantations in Cuba. The Spanish were defeated and from 1899 to 1902 the US controlled Cuba. The Platt Agreement was forced on Cuba granting the US the right to maintain a military base on the island to 'protect' Cuba. It is still

Series of puppet presidents to protect US interests

there in Guantanamo. A series of US puppet presidents ran Cuba up till 1933. The last of these puppets was the infamous Machado, a brutal dictator. He fled in 1933 after a general strike organised by communists and students. By this time US business interests controlled almost everything in Cuba - banks, mines, railways, sugar plantations, tobacco farms, and so forth. The struggle against US exploitation began to gain momentum. After Machado's downfall Cuba briefly enjoyed a period of reform under the bourgeois democrat, San Martin. The US considered their interests in Cuba threatened, and called in the thug, Sgt. Batista, to lead a military takeover. Batista basically ensured that Cuba remained under US control from 1934. He took power himself in 1952 through an American backed military takeover when it looked as though a democratic party would win the elections. From 1934 onwards the fascist dictator, Batista, was the power behind a series of oppressive

Abolished the constitution and outlawed all opposition

and corrupt regimes. He looked after US 'interests', and under him prostitution, gambling, corruption, drug-trafficking and gangsterism flourished. Havana, the capital, became a sordid playground for rich Americans. In 1952, he abolished the constitution and outlawed all opposition. The majority of the Cuban population, long oppressed by Spanish colonialism and later by American neo-colonialism, lived in extreme poverty.



**Jose Marti — a national hero,
poet and philosopher**

On 26 June 1953 Fidel Castro led an outrageously brave attack on the army barracks at Manchado. The attack failed and the survivors were imprisoned. Opposition to Batista was growing - strikes, demonstrations and sabotage were being organised by



the Cuban patriots and revolutionaries. In 1955, Fidel and his comrades were released and exiled as Batista hoped that this would quieten the growing rebellion. They left for Mexico. In November 1956, Fidel and some 86 comrades (including 'Che' Guevara, a young Argentinian doctor), crammed into a boat intended to carry 14 people, the 'Granma', and returned to Cuba, having obtained weapons and trained in guerilla warfare in Mexico. Their first military actions against the Batista regime were unsuccessful as they landed on the Cuban coast. Undeterred they regrouped in the Sierra Maestra mountains and began guerilla operations. They won the broad support of the peasantry in their

area of operations and their ranks grew quickly. They mounted a series of daring attacks on Batista's forces throughout 1957 and inflicted heavy defeats on the enemy. During this period, 1957-1958, organised resistance to Batista intensified into a general uprising throughout Cuba - in towns, cities and countryside. Thousands of Cubans were killed as Batista attempted to crush the revolution. By 1958, Fidel's forces were able to go onto the offensive and by the end of 1958 Batista was overthrown and fled the country. The Cuban Revolution had succeeded.

Cuba — the first Latin American country to unfurl the banner of socialism

The Cuban Revolution was the first in Latin America to unfurl the banner of socialism and set the country along the socialist path of development. Since 1959, the US has attempted to destroy the Cuban Revolution through sponsoring counter-revolution (including the invasion of Cuba in 1961 by counter-revolutionaries armed and financed by the US), through subversion, economic blockade, bacteriological warfare, psychological warfare, assassination of leaders, and other types of intrigues. This year the Cuban Revolution is 27 years old. ■

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Namibia: Swapo's Hopes

NUJOMA talks to the Press.

Cde. Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, at a press conference during the NAM summit emphasised the importance of this meeting as support for the governments and liberation movements of Southern Africa. Speaking for SWAPO he recalled that they had just completed 20 years of armed struggle, which had brought the date of the independence of Namibia much closer. SA troops are pinned down in Namibia fighting a war that they can't win, while the victories of SWAPO increase: these include recently shooting down 4 aircraft and mortar and rocket attacks on ten military bases, while the popular mass demonstrations against the South African regime are becoming more frequent. This conference had brought more support; economic and military assistance with moral support in the form of diplomatic recognition, from many participants.

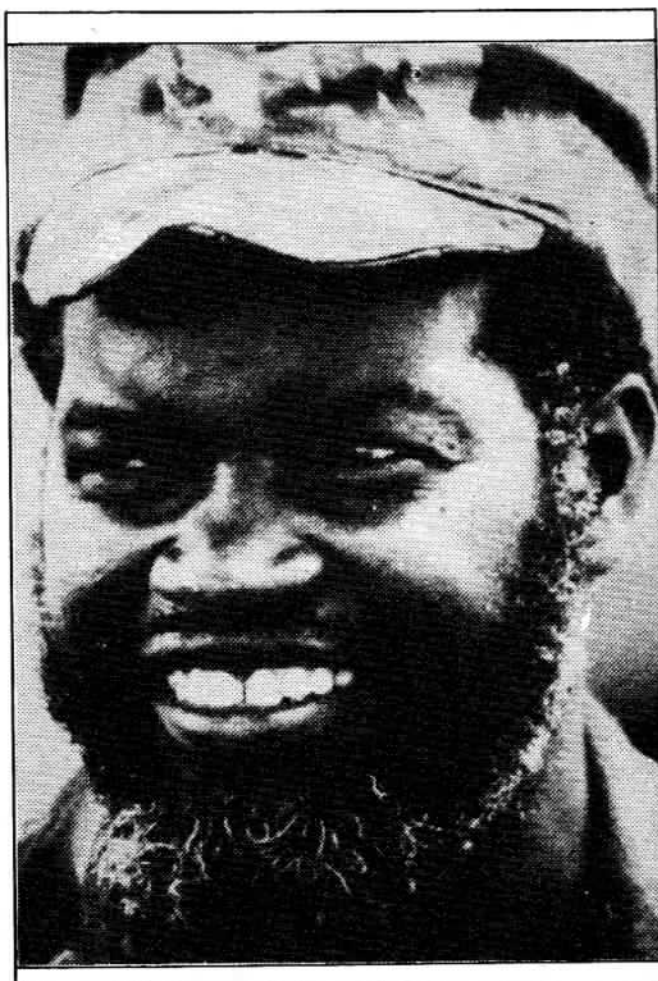
He said that all SWAPO's successes had been achieved without the help of a single foreign soldier. Questioned about the recent constitutional discussions in Lusaka, he said that SWAPO had agreed to go to the talks on the understanding that they would be negotiating with the SA government alone. The South Africans

Swapo agrees to go to the talks on the understanding that they would be negotiating with the South African government alone.

brought representatives of several puppet parties, backed by Britain, US and West Germany, and wanted them to be accepted as parties to the discussion. This was unacceptable to SWAPO, who hold that all discussions on the future of Namibia must be between themselves, as the only legitimate representatives of the Namibian people, and the occupying South African regime. It concerns no other parties. Foreign interference, like the US attempt to link the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of

the Cuban internationalist troops from Angola, is totally unacceptable.

He contrasted the brutalities of the 'koevoet' auxiliaries, who have killed over a hundred people this year including teachers and nurses, to the treatment SWAPO gives to its prisoners of war. The use of koevoet is a sign of desperation, but some of its members are coming over to SWAPO. External support is most encouraging; the Frontline States, eastern Europe, Scandinavia, Holland, the NAM, as well as the Namibian people, stand behind SWAPO.



only one bodyguard!

Leaders have different styles. We heard all about Colonel Kaddafi's attempt to bring one thousand five hundred bodyguards with him. Rumour has it that Fidel Castro, on the other hand, told his police escort politely that he was quite happy with only one bodyguard!!



SOCIAL CHANGE spoke to CDE NYAMU, who elaborated for our readers on these general remarks. He is the Official Representative of Swapo in Harare.

Reported by Brian McGarry

Social Change: Comrade Nyamu we have heard Cde. Nujoma say that your armed struggle has brought Namibian independence nearer. Can you say how you expect the struggle to end: by outright military victory, or by a weakening of South African will to fight on, as happened in Algeria with the French?

Cde Nyamu: No, military victory in that sense is not likely. We expect to wear the South Africans down until they agree to come to the negotiating table, to talk with SWAPO, the sole legitimate representatives of the Namibian people, about independence.

Social Change: As happened here in Zimbabwe?

Cde Nyamu: Yes, as in Zimbabwe, and as in Vietnam and Korea.

Social Change: Did the NAM Summit help your cause?

Cde Nyamu: It helped a great deal. It drew world attention to the problems of Southern Africa and to our struggle. It brought honour to Africa, and it helped all members of NAM to understand our situation. We have received a lot of moral support from members.

We now have 8 full embassies around the world, and we expect more states to grant us this recognition soon.

Two more states, as you have heard, gave us full ambassadorial status: Peru, an ancient established state in South America, and little Vanuatu, way out there in the Pacific.



So now we have eight full embassies around the world, and we expect more states to grant us this recognition soon. Our support is growing far beyond this southern African region, especially now in South America. A few years ago, they had not heard of us there, and many governments even supported South Africa. For example, the military government in Argentina was even trying to form a 'South Atlantic Pact' with the apartheid regime, but the new Argentine government showed strong support for us at this conference. All the world supports our cause, except the US, West Germany and the Thatcher

government in Britain, who are great supporters of South Africa. But even in the US, informed public opinion is coming over to our side. The people support us.

Social Change: But still the Reagan Administration is conducting its own private wars, against the will of its own people, supporting UNITA in Angola and the Nicaraguan contras. Could this not lead to a crisis of democracy in the US itself?

Even in the US, informed public opinion is coming over to our side

Cde Nyamu: Reagan is just a cowboy, supporting aggressors everywhere. He is even supporting the MNR in Mozambique. Do you think they could have opened the new office in Washington without US government approval? But the people will win! We will win!

Social Change: Cde. Nujoma said that you have received a lot of material support through the conference. Can you say any more about that?



Cde Nyamu: Well, there was an already existing NAM fund for Namibia, set up during the last summit conference in India. More contributions have been pouring into this fund from many members of the Movement. Some can only make small contributions, but we are encouraged that they show their support in this way.

Social Change: But this conference set up a new fund for the Frontline States. How will this help you?

Frontline States have been drawn into our struggle as S.A. expands its aggression. They have suffered and need support.

Cde Nyamu: Everything that builds up the economic strength of the Frontline States is good for all of

us. They have been drawn into this struggle as SA aggression expands. They have suffered and they need support. Whatever is done to build up their strength lessens the damage done by apartheid.

Social Change: Now how, at this stage, do you assess the attitude of the masses of the people here to your struggle?

Cde Nyamu: The masses support us all the way. We find strong support everywhere as people understand more about the struggle. The raids on Harare brought it home to many people here, and strengthened their support for us. The same happened in Botswana and Zambia after they were attacked.

puerto rico

Social Change: Looking at the experience of Mozambique, do you not think it is possible that the SA regime can keep an army in Namibia longer than they can keep control of their own cities?

Cde Nyamu: We can't tell, it might happen that way, but one thing is certain: if apartheid ends in SA first, we will get our independence immediately. And if it does not happen this way, when we gain our freedom, that will bring the liberation of SA a long step nearer.

Social Change: That is what we all hope for. Thank you very much for speaking to us, Cde. Nyamu, and be assured of our support.

Puerto Rico — A US Colony

SOCIAL CHANGE spoke to DORRIS PIZARRO in September this year. She is Undersecretary General of the Puerto Rico Socialist Party.

What makes Puerto Rico a Colony?

Social Change: Cde. Dorris, can you briefly tell us the history of Puerto Rico and of your struggle?

Cde Dorris: Puerto Rico, a small island in the Caribbean, the smallest of the Antilles, was colonised by the Spaniards in 1493. It was a colony of Spain up to 1898 when the United States invaded in order to get control of its strategic position and impose its economic domination. The first measures taken by the US was to try to change our cultures. So they approved this law in 1913 to change our language, but later recognised that the Puerto Rican people

were very strong in their language. They therefore eliminated this law, but still made a cultural aggression against the people through the schools, the churches, and the education process. Today they have had to recognise that we have kept our culture. We are very nationalist, with Puerto Rican traditions, language and culture.

The other measure was to give us US citizenship in 1917. Since then, our youths have to serve in the US army i.e. compulsory recruitment. Our people have served in World War I and II, in the Korean war, and in the Vietnam war. And now the US is trying to use our people in its aggression against Central

America, especially Nicaragua.

One of the main factors for colonisation by the US was the economic benefits they would get from Puerto Rico.

US has made Puerto Rico a centre for its investments. Since 1940, they have begun what is called 'Operation Bootstrap' - an economic model based on the investment of multi-nationals exempted from paying any income tax to the government - the Puerto Rican government gave the multi-nationals the infrastructure for free use in order to make more profits.

Right now, 'Operation Bootstrap' is in crisis. The government estimates that



unemployment has reached 22%. The real unemployment rate is 42%. So our people have no alternative for development. Because of this a 1/3 of our population has been forced to emigrate to the US. There are 2 million out of 5 million Puerto Ricans living in the main cities of the US.

42% unemployment — third of the population emigrates to the US

Another problem has been the repression. Every time the struggle intensified, the US started a process of neutralising or putting people into jail. Right now we have more than 30 patriots from the independence movement in the US Federal Prison.

Another dimension of our struggle has been our opposition to the sterilisation of our women. The US has approved a contraceptive and mounted a massive campaign for the sterilisation of the Puerto Rican women.

Social Change: Why is the US mounting this campaign to sterilise the women?

Cde Dorris: Because they saw that our population was increasing very fast while they have no alternative for the economic

Our women are cheated by US-backed mass sterilisation campaigns

progress of the people. Most victims are poor women who were cheated by the agencies directing these programmes. They also approved these contraceptives in order to market them, so they use our women to test these pills on! Right now a third of our women are sterilised, and the US recognises this because it

THE SECRET TO MY FOREIGN
POLICY IS MY PAIR OF
EAST-WEST
GLASSES



ANYWHERE I LOOK, I
SEE U.S. VITAL INTERESTS
AND THE SOVIET
MENACE



OF COURSE, YOU LOSE
SOME OF THE
DETAIL



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puerto rico

has been denounced in international forums.

There is another problem the US tries to deny. Due to International Community pressure to solve the colonial problem, the US has developed what it calls the 'Commonwealth of Puerto Rico'. This was approved in 1952, and the US argued at the UN that Puerto Rico has self-determination. But it is not true. In 1972, the UN Committee on Decolonisation approved a resolution recognising the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence. The US was forced to begin a process of decolonisation, but they want to do it unilaterally.

Social Change: Did you say that the UN recognised the right of the Puerto Rican people of self-determination?

Cde Dorris: They stated that the resolution 1415 applies to Puerto Rican people, so the US has to make a transference of power to the people in order that they may have their self-determination.

Social Change: In other words the US is violating the UN resolution?

Cde Dorris: True. They are trying to make unilateral decisions about our colonial status. Every time the Puerto Ricans speak about power, the US says they can give this power, but when the people ask for power, then they say No!.

Social Change: Well, this is quite interesting Comrade Dorris, because the US has portrayed itself as a country which has no hist-



ory as a colonial power, unlike the UK. Would you say that Puerto Rico is a colony of the US and your struggle is part and parcel of the worldwide struggle for decolonisation?

Cde Dorris: For sure, Puerto Rico is a classic colony of the US, despite the US idea that we had self-determination in 1952 when they approved the 'Commonwealth'. They control our economy, our communication laws, labour laws, they have all the agencies of repression and the US army in our territory. 20% of our territory is used by

the US military. They have the main military base where they develop manouv-ers towards the Carribean. Besides that, they control immigration, money, mail, everything. So, we are a classic colony, despite what the US says our status is. We use the US dollar, and we use the US passport. The US has all the power to decide who goes to Puerto Rico, it decides the important facts of our lives.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party

Social Change: What is the strength of the Puerto

Rican Socialist Party and how is it organised?

Cde Dorris: Our organisation was founded in 1959. We stated that the struggle for independence was a priority. We are working very hard for a liberation front which can unite all the progressive forces in Puerto Rico. We have a strong labour movement, a student movement, the women and the churches are aware of the colonial situation. So all these are the bases in which we work for liberation. It is important that all the political forces in Puerto Rico, not only the pro-independence ones, but all the parties, believe that the crisis is so acute and so deep that a political change is necessary in order to get a new economic model for our country. So, we are working to get a consensus in which we can take advantage of this political situation. But we are working for a mechanism of consensus, supervised by the international community, which will include some changes in the political situation. For example, we want a transference of power to the Puerto Rican people. The US must remove its military bases so that the people can exercise self-determination without any pressure.

Also, we are asking for a chance to develop other economic models so that people can see their own power. This is very important because the US has developed another strategy of economic dependence for our people. They give money directly to the population to avoid a possible social explosion because of the problems we have. We have a problem with



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crime because 60% of youth are unemployed. So they have to find an alternative. Some are forced to go to the army, or to get Federal forms and this creates social problems.

Social Change: You mean they are forced to join the US army?

No scholarships until youth can show military service documents

Cde Dorris: Yes, and very badly because they are manipulating the population. If you want to study in the university you have to go to the US army office to take out a paper, then you can take out a scholarship. And they do this to the whole population. Also, the Puerto Rican pro-colonialist government employs 27% of the working class. These public employees are forced to be pro-US in order to keep their jobs. They say that they want relations with the US because it is a mentality of dependence and manipulation. But, because of the crisis, the masses are becoming more conscious of the situation and looking for an alternative.

The Role of NAM

Social Change: Do you see any role for NAM in this process?

Cde Dorris: The role of NAM countries is very important because most of them have suffered colonialism. They know about the repression, so we know that we can get a lot of support from them. The US is trying to pressure these countries against them giving support to our struggle. We know they have threatened to cut aid, such as they did to Zimbabwe yesterday, if



they keep strong and firm to the principles of non-alignment. We have been a member of NAM since 1973. We came to Harare knowing that the NAM countries would be firm on this principle.

Social Change: Cde. Dorris, may we just go back to Central America. What is the position of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party on the crisis on Central America? Who is responsible for flaring up this crisis?

Cde Dorris: The US is the only one responsible for the aggression in Central America. They are violating the sovereignty of Nicaragua; they are trying to topple a legitimate government that was elected by the people. We know this because we saw their action in Grenada. They destabilised Grenada. Even our territory was used against Grenada. Now they are trying to recruit Puerto Ricans to be mercenaries against Nicaragua. There have been testimonies from different people. Also, the National Guard, that is the US corps in Puerto Rico, have been forced to go and train these mercenaries. So our support for Nicaragua is unconditional. In

the 60's the Puerto Rican youth had strong solidarity against the war in Vietnam. So we will fight the attempts to recruit Puerto Ricans against Nicaragua. If the US invaded Nicaragua, we will not only be in support but will also be soldiers of Nicaragua.

Armed Struggle in Puerto Rico

Social Change: In terms of strategy, does your Party see the possibility of armed struggle against US colonialism in Puerto Rico?

Cde Dorris: Since our struggle started against colonialism, we have had armed struggle. Right now we have an organisation of revolutionary armed struggle. They of course work secretly. But it is important to point out that we have given the US a strong strike in this sense. Four or five people from the Nationalist Party went to the White House to make a revolutionary protest to the US President. There has also been an operation against a US military base. This cost the US \$50 million dollars. A revolutionary command made an operation against 14 military air planes.



There are many patriots in jail because of the armed struggle and there are organisations who support the armed struggle as a means of getting our independence. So we believe in revolutionary violence because the US is the initiator of violence against our country. This is very important because we cannot achieve independence without the force to impose it on the US. Of course this is a question for the US as well. If the US increases repression, then we will answer in the same way. They know that. For example, we have obtained some papers showing that they are afraid of us because they know we can develop a strong revolutionary force, inside the US. We have 2 million Puerto Ricans inside the US. The US knows that it has never had a war on its own soil, so if we are forced to do that, we will do that.

Social Change: Cde. Dorris, to round up, what is the basic programme of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party?

The Basic Programme

Cde Dorris: In the long term we want a Socialist Republic of Puerto Rico. Because you can have independence, but with the same conditions of exploitation and be a neocolony. We would not want to be a neocolony of the US. So the first aim is to get independence in order to achieve the aim of a socialist republic. That is why one of our strategic aims is unity amongst the people, unity of the labour movement, the organisation of people of the US for support for and to participate in our struggle, and also our

international solidarity.

Right now, in the short term, we are trying to develop the liberation front. We are a Marxist organisation, but first our priority is to get consensus for decolonisation and independence.

Social Change: And of course part of your programme for independence for Puerto Rico is to remove military bases from your territory?

Cde Dorris: Yes, that is part of our programme. One of our most important campaigns is against militarism, for the strengthening of our Puerto Rican troops,

and our relation with other Caribbean countries and Latin American countries, and the removal of some federal legislation from the US.

We have been in contact with the other countries, because one of the tactics of US imperialism is to isolate Puerto Rico from Africa, and other progressive forces...so we have strong solidarity with African struggles, especially the South African people against apartheid, the people of Namibia, which is another colonial case, the Palestinian people, and this is not the first solidarity we have had with the people

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of Zimbabwe. We supported your anti-colonial struggle. We support Mozambique, Angola and Afghanistan.

Social Change: Cde. Dorris, is there anything you would like to say to the Zimbabwean people in your closing remarks?

Cde Dorris: Yes, I would like to greet the people of Zimbabwe, especially to greet Cde. Robert Mugabe, because of his hospitality and wisdom in this summit. We know that his Chairmanship of the NAM will bring strong achievements for the movement. So he knows

that he has the Puerto Rican people's support in all the decisions of this summit.

Social Change: Cde. Dorris, Thank-you. We will vigorously campaign in support of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people.

Africa in Struggle: A Week of Action for Africa Day

May 19 - 25 At the National Gallery

The original intentions behind the week of action were quite simple and modest: to commemorate Africa Day as a day of symbolising the real struggles, problems and achievements of Africa. To bring to life the day which signifies Africa's journey through early development and way of life, the slave trade, colonialism and the heroic resistance to it, the struggle for true independence and national liberation, and the continent's ongoing battles against neo-colonial forms of exploitation, imperialist aggression, and the evil apartheid system. We wanted to say to people, simply: look, on this day we remember Africa's tragic colonisation, Africa's tradition of heroism and resistance, and Africa's fine contribution to the world social and cultural development. We must learn lessons from past battles and sketch the path forward with confidence.

Notes and Comments

Monday

The week began with an official opening address by Cde Maurice Nyagumbo, as acting Secretary for Commissariat and Culture in ZANU (PF).

Comrade Nyagumbo welcomed the event and gave an overview of the significance ZANU (PF) attaches to Africa Day and its anti-imperialist and anti-apartheid character. Cde. Nyagumbo and Cde. David Karimanzira, Minister of Youth, Sport and Culture, were shown round the exhibits and expressed the hope that many Zimbabweans would visit and support this progressive endeavour.

That evening films were shown. 'Munda Nyuringu', an Australian film, showed that colonialism is a criminal plunder: of land, of human resources and the natural development of peoples. It also showed that wherever there is oppression there is also resistance. And today the aboriginals of Australia are fighting to regain 'stolen lands'.

'Isitwalandwe' told the story of the inspiring Freedom Charter, drawn up by the 'Congress of the People' at Klipfontein in 1955. 'The Anvil and the Hammer' showed the relentless courage and growing unity in action of the South African masses - 'Between the anvil of mass

action and the hammer of the armed struggle we will crush apartheid' said Nelson Mandela once. The symbol of the courage of Mandela was a constant theme of the week, in books, posters, videos and films. 'FREE NELSON MANDELA!' the week of action seemed to shout. This great son of Africa has shown us all that no evil, no oppression can break the will of a people fighting for freedom. 'Lead us, Mandela, lead us' sing the masses of South Africa in tribute





to a man for whom freedom of the people is not negotiable. Mandela symbolises for all Africans and all oppressed peoples, that dignity and liberation will be victorious, no matter when or how, so long as the masses are united, determined and courageous. No wonder that all oppressors fear that name -
NELSON ROLIHLEHLA MANDELA!

Tuesday

The next day, the video programme started at noon.

Some 30 videos were shown over four days. The videos played, mostly, to packed audiences, and covered the struggle against apartheid; Nicaragua; Angola; Uganda; Libya; famine; imperialism; the multi-national corporations; CIA intrigues;

are a powerful means of getting across anti imperialist ideas. Clearly, Zimbabwean progressives should look towards videos, in conjunction with other forms of communication, to inform, educate and mobilise. Videos cut through educational and literary barriers. All said and done, the videos were possibly the most successful and effective component of our week of action.

On Tuesday evening Cde's Micere Mugo, T.C. Gwarinda and Charles Halimana spoke at length on 'What is Cultural and Information Imperialism'. The point was driven home to a packed audience that cultural imperialism rests on economic exploitation and neo-colonialism and 'prepares the

colonialism. One would have liked to hear more facts and more concrete examples from the comrades. Also more in the way of practical measures to limit the effects of information and cultural imperialism would have been welcome. That said, the speakers must be commended for a fine all round analysis.

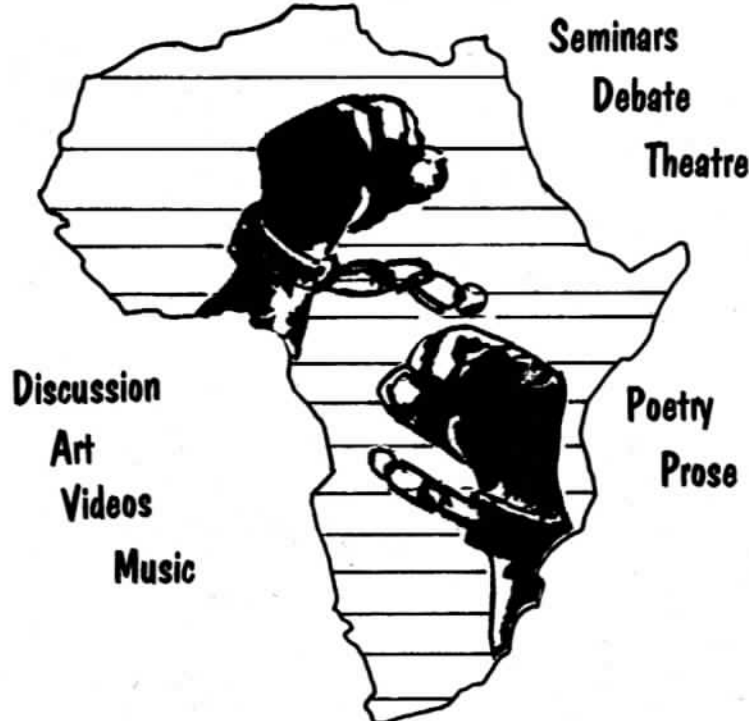
Later that evening, the Zimbabwe Writers' Union provided us with an evening of poetry and prose reading. Poetry and prose readings are so enjoyable to listen to, one wonders why we do not make more use of this form of progressive cultural activity. Comrades may remember the Z.W.U. tribute to Benjamin Moloise and Alex la Guma some months ago which made a wonderful impact - an excellent way to bring the struggle 'to life' and into people's hearts. Surely, such readings must be taken to the masses, and must involve the masses, for we have brilliant poets and story-tellers in Zimbabwe.

Wednesday

On Wednesday evening "Theatre and Struggle in Southern Africa" was discussed by Cde's Robert McLaren and Ngugi wa Miri.

"Down with non-partisan art" boomed McLaren; both comrades prepared well for their lectures and I was most pleased to see them talking the language of ordinary people - and talking to people, not at them.
Down with non-partisan art!

They spoke about a people's theatre', where the audience and players are one, where the audience is part of the play, not voiceless observers. They also explained that theatre was cheap and accessible as a form of art, and did not



AFRICA'S HISTORIC STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, PROGRESS AND
COMPLETE LIBERATION FROM COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM AND
APARTHEID

DEDICATED TO THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

women's liberation; the Palestinian struggle and many other topics. Videos

ground' for confusing the masses and weakening their resolve to confront neo-



require great technical expertise. Comrade Ngugi wa Mirii challenged the

a good half of the audience could be seen dancing on stage. For anyone who

Ken Livingstone and Arnold Sibanda



audience, and all Zimbabweans, to get to the people and make progressive, democratic and socialist organisation a reality. "What is stopping you?", he asked. We really appreciate this sense of urgency and echo the comrade's remarks. Revolutionaries must act, act sensibly, act according to reason and plan, act cautiously - but not waste time and opportunity.

Later that evening the audience was given such a treat by Zambuko/Izibuko drama group. Thunderous applause and roars of approval were ringing in my ears when the performance of "KATSHAA!!" ended. One member had explained to me earlier that "KATSHAA!!" is the sound of the A.K. assault rifle - a symbol of the struggle in South Africa. "KATSHAA!!" tells the story in song, dance, humour and dialogue of the long struggle for freedom in South Africa. It invites audience participation and at one point

hasn't seen "KATSHAA!!", please look out for future performances and go and see it. It can be crude and rough in parts but it is truly people's art and is going in the right direction. An old maxim says "Laugh at the stupidity and vulgarity of the oppressor" - keep it up Zambuko/Izibuko!

Thursday

Thursday kicked off with a memorable lecture by Ken Livingstone — the leader of the Greater London Council.

abolished by the Thatcher government. Popularly known as 'Red Ken' for his radical and socialist views, Comrade Livingstone won over the audience of around 350 people with his frank open and direct manner. People have asked: what on earth has Ken Livingstone to do with 'Africa Day'? Ken answered the question himself by showing that in all respects the struggle of nationally oppressed and class oppressed peoples

the world over is international and closely linked. All peoples suffer from the aggressive Reagan foreign policy, from the economic grip of multi-national corporations and from capitalist exploitation in general. Ken also pointed

Down with theory without practice!

out that a victory in South Africa is a victory for all progressive forces because it weakens imperialism. Zimbabweans have a lot to learn from a revolutionary like 'Red Ken'. Throughout his 40 minute talk, not once did he resort to jargon, to slogans, to theory without practical implications, or to language which ordinary people cannot understand. He talked about actually implementing anti-imperialist policies in a real and concrete situation. He brought "A New International Economic Order" to life, and into the realms of reality. Down with theory without practice!

Later that evening came the marvellous St. Peter's Kubatana Marimba Group and Chinyakare Mbira players. What a wealth of cultural heritage we have in Zimbabwe. In all fairness, what need have we for hours of 'disco, reggae and soul' on our radio stations? Yes, we must have all the world's music to listen to - but in what proportion? Comrades, the colonialists taught us to look down on and degrade our music - and we haven't recovered yet!

Friday

Friday, and for me the high point of our week of action! "Africa



and the World Revolutionary Process" - a lecture by Comrade John Hoffman. Zimbabweans were treated to a masterful and tactful analysis of the major trends taking shape in Africa. The approach was strictly Leninist in that the comrade applied the laws of Marxism Leninism to a given situation in a creative and useful way. His approach was revolutionary, cautious and positive. He confronted the notion that Africa cannot advance to the forefront of the world revolutionary process because of its 'exceptional circumstances and history' or because of its backwardness and pointed towards the crucial role even a small proletariat can play in African conditions. He dealt with the revolutionary potential of the 'middle strata' (petty-bourgeoisie) in Africa and of course its limitations.

After Comrade Hoffman we had more films. In 'Nicaraguan Journey', we saw the reconstruction of a country racked by 50 years of brutal dictatorship, through the eyes of a delegation of British and American women activists visiting that country. We saw the attempts by US financed and supported counter revolutionary thugs to turn back the clock and re-enslave a free people. It brings to mind Maurice Bishop's famous words, 'We are in nobody's backyard'. US imperialism has a long catalogue of crimes to answer for, not least of which is openly sponsoring terrorism in Nicaragua - America's backyard in imperialist eyes.

'Song of the Spear' featured the outstanding cul-

tural group of the ANC of South Africa, Amandla. A new and free culture is already in the making in S.A. and Amandla is an embryo of that culture.

Saturday

Saturdays programme presented a gruelling 8 hours of seminars and debate around the theme 'Africa's Struggle

Complete Liberation from Colonialism and Imperialism'. I will not bore the reader with copious lists of topics and speakers. So, what was achieved? Debate is important for sharpening our analysis, providing answers to certain questions, educating and orientating. To some extent the debates were valuable in the above respects. Debates can be

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like snakes eating their own tails; that is self-indulgent and self-defeating. Two points are very important. Firstly, the audience must participate. Nothing can be more boring than to listen to 'self-appointed' enlighteners droning on for hours on end. Secondly, the nature of the audience is also important. The audience must include a healthy contingent of activists. If the activists are mostly workers, that reflects the maturity of the revolution in Zimbabwe. The organisers of such debates must make every effort to see to it that activists are there and that they participate. In this respect, planning is essential. That said, the Saturday debates generally provoked useful discussion. Debates seldom answer more questions than they pose. So, in my modest view a good debate will pose the right questions for which answers are difficult; and the debate will be carried on far outside the debating rooms.

Saturday evening, and like taking a swim on a sweltering day, we went straight from 8 hours of 'seminaring' to the sweet sounds of Lovemore Majaivana and the Zulus in the Harare Gardens. Hot on the heels of Majai-vana came Dorothy Masuka backed by the Army Signals Jazz Band. All the entertainers left one with a feeling of optimism and high spirits. Viva Africa Day!

Sunday

Sunday began early at St Michaels Anglican Church with an 'Ecumenical Service with the Struggling People of South Africa and Namibia on Africa Day'

There we were, Christians of all denominations, socialists, communists, activists and ordinary folk, all joined by the common thread of 'down with apartheid' and 'forward to freedom in Africa'. This was Mbare township, not the National Gallery. Well done indeed comrade Christians! You left us inspired by your efforts and humbled by your huge congregation and sincerity.

Sunday still, back at the National Gallery, and more seminars! SWAPO, ANC and PAC dealt with various aspects of the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. I met people afterwards who were disappointed. Certainly there was some controversy. But for all the Zimbabweans it was education. Generally speaking, Zimbabwean progressives are pitifully ignorant of South Africa's long history of revolutionary struggle, and the depth of revolutionary tradition and theory in that country. The seminars were certainly useful in introducing the South African and Namibian struggles to Zimbabweans in a deeper context.

The final seminar began to introduce more practical aspects of solidarity work. Mararet Ling, the editor of Anti-Apartheid News and long standing anti-apartheid campaigner, brought us all back to earth with her 'nuts and bolts' approach. Solidarity is all about practical, and hard work - campaigning and informing, educating and pressuring, lobbying and organising. Weakening apartheid by exposing and isolating it internationally and strengthening the

liberation forces by all means possible. Certainly Cde. Margaret taught us not to under-emphasise the importance of solidarity work, both for its practical implications and for its politicising effect.

We wrapped up a whirlwind week with a drop of wine, and a joyful session of choral music.

A quick mention that the week of action included the largest and finest exhibition of 'solidarity and progressive' posters, photographs, books, art work, documentary material (from the National Archives) I have ever seen in Zimbabwe at one place and at one time!

On a final note of optimism! What we learnt from the week of action, a 'first' for Zimbabwe, is that such activities can not only be successfully organised; but there is no excuse whatsoever for not organising, mobilising and educating by these and other means - for progress to be made.

A quick note to mention that the week of action included the largest and finest exhibition.

The ruling party and government have on occasions challenged progressives and revolutionaries to get down to tackling these tasks!! Those who moan 'not enough is being done' (and actually mean that nothing can be done) have simply given up. Wake up, out of your lethargy, moaners, and WORK! I know of no revolution which was served up like a meal in a restaurant to comfortably seated revolutionaries.

Compiled by Secretary, Africa in Struggle.



Poetry Corner

slow deaths too soon for the migrant workers

man sits sullenly
 tending to vast fortunes of some
 absentee landlords
 his contorted disabled body
 hanging dejectedly in its grotesque form
 bearing witness to a life lived
 hard
 bony calloused hands
 desperately hanging onto a watchstick
 the only external show
 of some meaningless authority
 the external sense of pride and dignity
 having long been vanquished
 by accumulation of drudgery-filled years
 and the appearance of dignity
 is now a mere masquerade
 of a once proud man
 an alienated survivor
 in a world grown selfish unto itself
 where small mercies have become
 alien overtures
 yes
 you can ask him
 if you dare
 where he comes from
 probably
 he will look at you
 in unconcealed stupor
 for he really does not want to know
 anymore
 has lost sense of hope
 for a long time ago
 when his sinewy body flowed with hot
 young blood
 to come work in the mines
 that have enriched a thousand madmen
 and their spent-force women
 he left a wife and eight children
 somewhere in a village
 now conveniently he cares not to remember
 now
 so so afraid to go back
 to make small claims
 to being a father, husband, lover,
 villageman
 empty claims
 which he knows he can now no longer
 claim rights to
 claims
 he is even afraid to make
 only because...
 he stayed so long away
 making empty dreams
 in strange lands

in fruitless searches for wealths
 unattained
 finally
 being rendered impotent and alien
 from self, family and village
 made to live
 in loathesome fear in strange lands still
 so so afraid of going back home
 to a dying village
 to witness the slow death of family and
 village
 ...and of self
 a village
 barren and dry
 where once flowing rivers are now dry
 where rains have become
 strange happenings
 where exploitation
 has driven the able-bodied
 to far away places
 in search of survival
 does anybody care at all?
 for the life of a disabled migrant worker
 those mines
 which once made claims on his
 vibrant energies
 have discarded him
 like rotten fruit
 villages and country
 conveniently forgotten
 families painfully remembered
 what has become of them
 answers are not waited for
 the years
 have become
 painful slow deaths too soon
 for the migrant workers

KWANELE ONA JIRIRI/
 JULY 22, 1986
 HARARE, ZIMBABWE ■





The Land Question: Part Two

In the Struggle for National Liberation

For an agrarian people suddenly uprooted from the land or huddled together in marginalised pieces of unproductive land, as happened in most of colonial Africa, the demand for the restoration of the land to its rightful and original owners was natural. The demands for the repossession of land by the masses represented the larger rejection of the whole colonial system. The demand to regain the land from the colonialists became a rallying point for all social classes and strata in the struggle for national liberation and self-determination.

For example, this demand was the battle cry of the armed liberation struggles in Zimbabwe and other countries. The gallant struggle of the people in South Africa against the illegal apartheid regime is being waged under the banner: Land to those who work it! The South African Freedom Charter of 1955, the programme of the ANC of S.A. clearly defines the land question. Some of its provisions say:

1. People have been robbed of their birthright to land.
2. The people shall share in the countries wealth.
3. The land shall be shared among those that work it.

These democratic demands, centering on the land question in S.A. today as the people struggle against a colonial system of a special type, are the same demands which have been expressed in all struggles for national liberation in other former colonies in Africa. They are on the agenda in the struggle of the people of Namibia, led by SWAPO. The demand for land also led to the national democratic revolution in Ethiopia in 1974, and has paved the way to building socialism there. In other words the toiling masses of Africa have correctly defined their problem. They still identify control of land as a basic pre-condition for Africa's independence and self-determination.

Independence in Africa

The struggle for national independence

was and remains a struggle bringing together all national forces. Diverse social classes and strata combine into broad 'united' fronts to realise national independence. Within such broad alliance contradictions still exist. Revolutionaries who desired the creation of truly national democratic revolutions as a pre-condition for the struggle for socialism, as well as narrow minded nationalists who simply desired the removal of the foreign ruling classes and their replacement with African ruling classes, still participate in the struggle for national independence. 'Leftists' who do not understand concrete historical movements, who cry for immediate socialism at independence, also struggle for independence.

Independence in Africa has produced different immediate results. In some countries such as Angola and Mozambique, the revolutionary forces were stronger. In such cases independence carried with it the national democratic revolution where the land question, as broadly defined, was essentially correctly answered. Agricultural land, major industries, commerce and finance was defined as the people's wealth and was not left in the hands of the former colonialists, new foreign transnational corporations or a few African capitalists. The masses directly and through the State become the dominant controllers of the means of production - of land.

Often their political leadership tends towards fascism

Most countries in Africa achieved their independence with nationalists taking power. In such cases, the achievement of national political independence remained an important historical achievement. But, nationalists by their class positions can only view independence as providing the opportunity for individual accumulation. Objectively this denies the masses any meaningful advance in realising their socio-economic and cultural needs. The nationalists in such cases ally with imperialism against the masses and act as agents of imperialism in maintaining



neo-colonial relations. Often their political leadership tends towards fascism.

On solving the land question, the agreements made with imperialists in these countries are meant to deny the masses access to and control over the major resources. In some cases such agreements are claimed to be only temporary tactical arrangements to be dispensed with immediately after independence. History has shown that such arrangements establish their own motion and swallow up all attempts at serious reform. This is not surprising since the nationalists, in rushing for private accumulation, form fairly solid class interests and use State power to protect themselves against the masses, who in reality were the main force in driving away the direct colonisers.

If we examine closely the British inputs into the Lancaster House Conference and Westminster type constitutions, it is clear that foremost in their minds was the protection of the capitalist system. The 1980 constitution of Zimbabwe is a good example. Under sections 11 and 16, private property is clearly protected by law. This is further reinforced by other provisions relating to legislative composition of Parliament. Under section 16, if private property of whatever description were to be expropriated by the State, the only realistic way of providing land to the masses, heavy compensation must be paid, and the expropriated, if Zimbabwean or ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe, is to be allowed to remit such sum without charges outside the country! This is bourgeois legal treason against the people and national sovereignty.

The same provisions were forced on Kenya 17 years before Zimbabwe's independence. They are still there. Where this manifestly undemocratic protection of private property in land exists, the 'willing buyer - willing seller' ideas of market forces is given as the legitimate way in which property in land can change hands. The national capitalists and reactionary petty-bourgeoisie love this. But the broad masses have nothing to do with such 'freedom'. If they were to be asked democratically, they would totally reject the idea of buying the land and wealth that was stolen from them.



The manifestation of the unresolved land question in Africa includes the appearance of squatting on private and state land by the dispossessed masses. Punitive law, 'police and bulldozer' policies are then used on the masses, quite similar to those described by Karl Marx in Volume One of Capital, chapter xxviii: 'Bloody Legislation Against the Expropriated, From the End of the 15th Century and the Forcing Down of Wages by Acts of Parliament'. The peasantry is increasingly marginalised and rural poverty, diseases and malnutrition become their scourge. The working class in rural areas are groaning and sweating it out, producing wealth for rural capitalists. The urban situation is chaotic because unemployment, caused by private and mainly foreign, ownership and control of finance, industry and commerce, which form part of the land, is the order of the day.

What we need to establish is that the land question has not yet been solved in all African countries that follow the path of capitalist development. The land question cannot be solved in the interests of the working masses under capitalism, irrespective of the level of development of that country or whether it was a colony or not.

The 'solutions' that are offered by populists, nationalists and all types of the petty-bourgeoisie and idealist intellectuals who fear the overthrow of the big



capitalists include the occasional re-settlement of the landless on marginal or even small prime land, promoting the formation of co-operatives on isolated bases, building numerous village polytechnics where primitive production skills are taught, etc. The people, re-settled in this fashion or not, are left at the mercy of big landlords, rural capitalists, large monopoly finance and credit institutions, foreign loans and debt burdens.

Various high-sounding but empty concepts such as 'integrated rural development programmes', 'special rural development programmes', 'self-reliance', 'basic needs approach', 'grassroots approach', etc. are used to give the impression that the people's problems can be solved without violent democratic revolution in politics and the economy.

The land question has not been solved in all the African Countries that follow the capitalist path of development

In Zimbabwe, citizens who are forced to squat on private or state land, are being told, six years after independence, to go back to the 'communal areas where they originally came from'! (*Herald*, Harare. 8/5/86 ppl,5)

One may argue that Zimbabwe is only six years independent, and that such problems will be solved in due course. But we have seen in Kenya the same problem is manifesting itself even at a higher level 23 years since independence. Whether or not a correct solution to the land problem is addressed depends on the policy and ideology adopted and implemented and not merely on the question on how long a country has been independent.

So, a correct solution to the land question in Africa is an important indicator of whether or not a country is genuinely developing a revolutionary democracy or is for neo-colonialism. A neo-colonial economy which is promoting alliance with imperialism, like Kenya, cannot claim to have independence. This is why the State of Kenya is daily hunting down, imprisoning or forcing into exile patriotic nationalists and progressive intellectuals, while giving red-carpet treatment

land question

to imperialists. For such countries I see the necessity of revolutionary struggles involving broad national democratic forces so as to overthrow imperialism.

This may not immediately lead to socialism but to a national democratic revolution in which the people will begin to enjoy the fruits of their national wealth and to prepare the ground for socialism.

The Struggle for Socialism in Independent Africa: What should be done

I see the prospects for change towards socialism to be bright, notwithstanding the very real historical problems that face African countries. But the brightness of the prospects for socialist revolution can only be clear to those who view society and its movement from a historical and dialectical materialist view which sees society from the perspective of the class struggle. This makes it clear that the struggle of the African masses for the last thirty years has not only been for independence alone, but rather for national and social change. The attainment of independence does not stop further struggles for national democratic revolutions and socialism.

The classes that evolved in colonial dealings with the land and which have developed after independence provide the objective basis for our optimism that the struggle of these classes will certainly lead to meaningful national democratic revolutions and, eventually, to socialist revolutions. We have the leads in Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique.

Of course the transition to socialism will have to go through the intermediate stage of revolutionary democracy where this has not been realised. The transition will only take place through intense class struggles. The peasants, the proletarianised and the semi-proletarianised wage workers, the unemployed and a large section of the petty-bourgeoisie and sections of the intelligentsia will all have to be united politically to realise the national democratic revolution. They have to win the war over foreign and na-



tional comprador and monopoly capital. Once this war is won, the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, will lead the other progressive sections of society to full socialism, where ownership and management of society's wealth will be socialised.

What does this mean in concrete terms? It means awakening the masses. This requires arming them with revolutionary world outlook; that is arming the masses with revolutionary theory and ideology that awakens them to realise that they are the force and basis of the revolutionary process. The masses must be made to reject the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois solutions to the land question. They must demand that land be conceptualised broadly, that the solution to the rural land question is connected to the solution of the urban industrial, financial and commercial question. In places like Zimbabwe, the masses must certainly be made to regard the whole of Zimbabwe; its cities, its mines, its roads, commercial farms and other leading economic resources as theirs - and not only their poverty stricken communal lands!

The working class must, through their workers organisations and through the Party, demand not mere wage increases, but increases in their real incomes. They must demand better houses with decrease in rent. Ultimately the workers should be awakened to see that their eventual aim is abolition of the capitalist wage and taxes system! Those who doubt the intentions and desires of the working people to abolish the capitalist wages system and to replace this with workers' ownership and control of production only have to study very carefully the manner in which the rural and urban workers in Zimbabwe waged gallant and daring struggles in 1985, to compel their employers to implement the legal minimum wages. Did they not arrest plantation owners who refused to pay the wages, and lock them up in their own car garages (hand-cuffed), and then turn them to the police for 'safe custody'? Did they not declare that they would take charge of production? Did not those who worked in industries that the capitalists wanted to close down, or swindlers like the Paweni empire, write clearly on the walls: 'Down with Capitalism! Forward

with Workers Co-operative Ownership'? They did.

Also of significance in these activities of the workers is the concrete illustration that the land question is inseparable from the labour question - the basis for alliance between workers and the peasants.

It is imperative for ZANU (PF), if guided by its advanced revolutionary cadres, to grasp these signs of revolutionary mood, to organise the workers and avoid mere sporadic spontaneity which can be anarchic, and to help put into effect, these just demands of the people. This is how the Party will show that it is carrying out its mandate of the 2nd Peoples Congress in 1984, which required the Party to move forward to transform into a mass based Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party, and to move away from its present character as a mass national party.

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SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT
P.O. BOX 4405
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The socialisation of medicine, legal practice and all other necessary professional and social services should also be demanded as part of the solution to the land question.

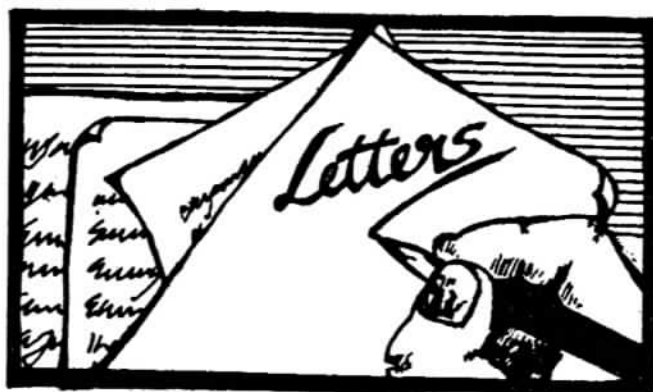
Land to those who work it

But, this cannot be achieved without expropriating the expropriators! Without socialisation of the means of production and reorganisation of production! Therefore the masses must demand the return of the land and what labour has produced on land to the people as a whole.

Will imperialism and their agents kindly accept these revolutionary changes? Most

certainly not! Imperialist terrorist activities in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia and Ethiopia are clear for all to see. Imperialism only reacts violently to the gains made by the people.

The answer lies with the masses. They are the force of any revolution and its defenders. The task of the revolutionary intellectuals is to awaken the masses so that the working people make revolutionary demands, force the nationalists to carry out the demands of the working people or sweep them aside with the tide of revolution.



Dear Journal for Social Change,

Why if you are a really serious magazine do you not raise the single most important issue facing every Zimbabwean today - the question of UNITY? It seems to me you should tackle this complex issue.

For the most part the question of Unity in Zimbabwe is presented in its superficial form, that of Unity between the Zanu and Zanu (PF) leadership. I do not say this is irrelevant - far from it. It is crucial. But it is still superficial. The leaders can unite into a single party. But what will be the content of that unity? Seldom does any article try to analyse and characterise what kind of unity is really required in our situation. 'Unity' can be just another slogan.

What is it that unites us? On exactly what basis is that unity to be realised? My contention is that unity in Zimbabwe is, party politics aside, a question of how to realise an effective anti-imperialist united front. A militant unity which unites purely on the basis of anti-imperialism. A unity which frees people from the fetters of the unreliable, deceitful petty-bourgeoisie. A unity which unites our working people under

the banner of struggle for real socialism, according to a clear cut, no nonsense programme. A unity which faces the truth, the facts, that our country is capitalist and a scene of an intense, occasionally hidden, ideological battle. A unity that openly enters into the ideological battle on the side of socialism, on the side of the increasingly poverty stricken working-class and peasantry, on the side of the emancipation of the exploited classes; a revolutionary unity which matches its words with revolutionary action. These are my convictions and I know that such unity is achieved only by a revolutionary approach and difficult and complex struggle and study, and through participation of the masses in its creation and defence.

I hope you can publish my letter, and that others will write on this essential topic. We do not want to land up with a caricature of unity, uniting the 'rich' and dividing the 'exploited'.

Yours sincerely

Roger Mutimbanyeka

**Future Focus in 1987 will be:
Industry and Technology, The Constitution,
The Debt Crisis, Religion and Socialism,
Youth and Culture.**

**Write to the Journal with your
contributions in letter, article, poem or any
other form.**

SUPPORT THE JOURNAL



Comrade Samora Machel



To Cde. Machel

On the 19 October, 1986, those hands whose endless movement, gesticulation, used to accompany the speeches of our great orator, came to an end.

To say that Cde. Samora Moises Machel is dead without capturing him as he was in life would not convey the memories that he leaves in the minds of millions.

Born in 1933, in the Gaza Province, he joined FRELIMO in 1962; underwent military training in Algeria, in 1963 was appointed First Commander of FRELIMO's political and military training camps in Tanzania, led the war fronts in Niassa and Cabo Delgado, was appointed FRELIMO Secretary for Defence in 1966 and elected to the Central Committee in 1968 and to President of FRELIMO in 1970 after the murder of the first President, Eduardo Mondlane.

He became President of Mozambique on 25 June 1975.

Today Comrade Machel has joined other African patriots who have challenged imperialism. Among them: Patrice Lumumba of Congo (Zaire), Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Attati Mupakati of Malawi, Herbert Chitepo of Zimbabwe and Jason Moyo of Zimbabwe.

The list is long. Some are well known, some are less so.

Why was Cde. Machel's blood spilt on South African soil?

Cde. Machel answered this question on August 23, 1982: 'Our conquests, our advances, annoy the enemy. They do not like the people to govern themselves. That is why they mutilate and murder Party militants, deputies and members of democratic organisations'.

In response to the S.A. allegation that Mozambique was concentrating sophisticated weapons on its border, he said: 'The sophisticated weapon is the people's right to create their own history, by directing their own destiny, by exercising their sovereign power. In short, the sophisticated weapon that really threatens apartheid is the alternative of civilisation that our society now represents'.

These words, said four years before his tragic death, are vindicated by the callous and desperate nature of the enemy facing mankind today - IMPERIALISM.

Machel, our inspiration!
Mozambique, Zimbabwe, one struggle!