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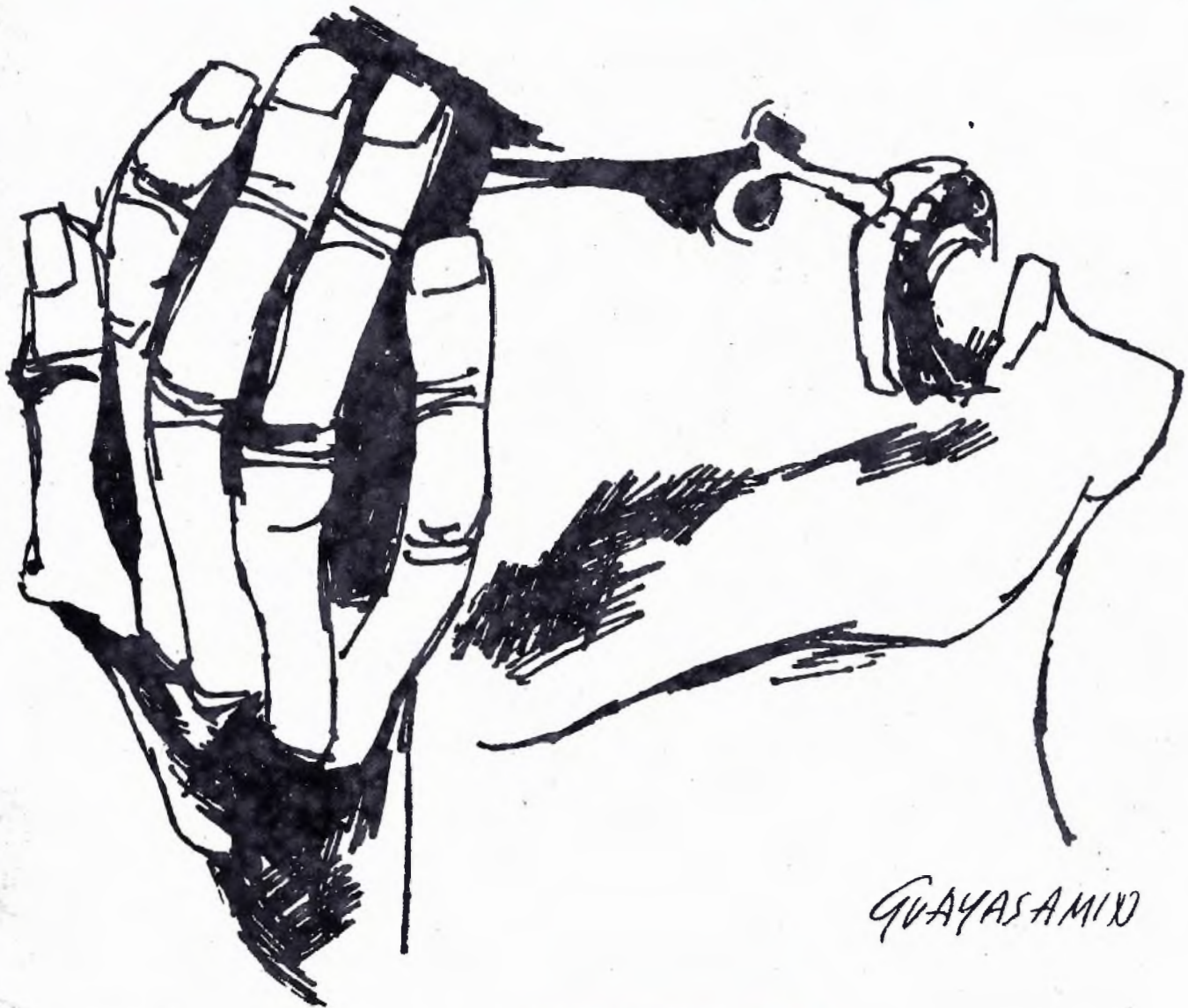
YEAR 30

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MAY 1996

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HELMS-BURTON LAW ANATOMY OF A BLUNDER



**MESSAGE FROM
FIDEL CASTRO
TO OSPAAAL**

**COOPERATION:
THE STRENGTH
OF THE SOUTH
REFLECTIONS OF
JULIUS NYERERE**

**SANDINO
A BEACON AND
A CHALLENGE**

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DIPOSITIVAS

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La Habana, Cuba

ISSUE NUMBER 134 IS OUT AND THE MAGAZINE HAS BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE unforgettable moments experienced during the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of OSPAAAL. A lot of memories were shared by those who took part in the 1966 Tricontinental Conference and all those who for the past 30 years have struggled to unify the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. But, above all, the most useful and profitable exchanges were those examining what has been achieved and what still remains to be done to attain the definitive independence and well-being of our peoples.

Tricontinental brings its readers a panorama of events at the «Third World Solidarity» International Meeting. Challenges in the Third Millennium». It contains a synthesis of the statements and papers presented there, a selection of messages received and a report on other important activities related to the 30th anniversary. Outstanding among these is an exclusive interview granted Tricontinental by that leader of Africa and the underdeveloped world, Julius Nyerere. With objectivity and optimism, Nyerere emphasizes the essential role of cooperation between countries of the South in a necessary and coherent development strategy.

This issue also deals with the U.S. Congress' adoption of the Helms-Burton Law, a heinous attempt to tighten the blockade against Cuba. A violator of the most basic principles of international law, with a marked and blatant extra-territorial character, this Law reflects a new and dangerous move against the Cuban people and against all those in the world who honor dignity, bravery, and sovereignty.

Consistent with the policy of covering the social, economic, and political news on our three continents, this issue presents an interview with Mr. Brahim Ghali, Defense Minister of the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic; as well as a penetrating look at the ideas of Augusto César Sandino and their validity in present-day Nicaragua by Alejandro Bendaña, director of the Center for International Studies in that Central American nation.

A strong and symbolic etching by Ecuadorian artist Oswaldo Guayasamín was appropriately selected for the cover. In a display of generosity and social commitment, the artist donated this work to help Tricontinental remain the Third World's voice in publishing.

The Director

MESSAGE FROM FIDEL CASTRO RUZ

Those who hold high the idea of solidarity will never be weak!

Havana, January 9, 1996

To the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America

Dear *compañeros*:

Thirty years ago, our revolutionary country had the immense honor of organizing the Tricontinental Conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. That event was a highpoint in the history of the Third World liberation struggles, and pointed to solidarity and unity, as indispensable conditions for the triumph of our noble objectives.

The seriousness of that meeting is witnessed by the impressive list of participants, public figures who later died heroically fighting reactionary and imperialist forces.

At the end of these three decades, amidst the new circumstances imposed on humanity, the essential idea is confirmed: only united, only with brotherhood and cooperation among our countries, can we defend the right to a world of peace, justice, and dignity. We cannot lose heart in the face of the hard and bitter reverses that the international revolutionary movement has suffered in these last years. In the same way, we also cannot be discouraged by the knowledge that the goals which we set forth then are still distant and that we live in a world increasingly full of contradictions, inequality, and irrationality.

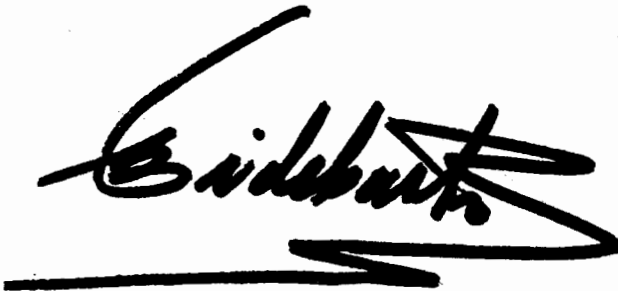
Millions of human beings, among them more than 40 million children, in the underdeveloped world die each year of hunger and sickness. Social and economic problems and the accelerated deterioration of the environment seriously compromise the future of these countries and of the Earth as a whole. It is said that the Cold War is over, but the peoples who make up the absolute majority of the world's population continue to suffer the impact of the arms race, military and nuclear hegemony, interventionism, and the politics of force, that today characterize the so-called new world order and the attempts to achieve unipolar domination over an increasingly ungovernable planet.

These realities, that exist despite the boastful rhetoric of the powerful, show us that a very long struggle will have to be waged, and waged in different scenarios, if we do not want to be recolonized and returned to a situation even worse than that which we faced thirty years ago.

I think, therefore, that OSPAAAL, whose anniversary we are also marking on this date, will have many opportunities in the future to continue to demonstrate its capacity for action and influence, in the same way that it has been doing throughout this period, despite its limited resources, creatively depending on the cooperation of friendly organizations and individuals. Those who hold high the idea of solidarity and unity among the peoples will never be weak, no matter what power or resources our adversaries may have.

I congratulate you with all my heart on your 30th anniversary, and wish you the greatest success in your work and in the event that begins today. I greet the participants, among whom are some of the founders of the Tricontinental organization.

Faternally,

A large, bold, handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be 'Fidel Castro'. The signature is written in a cursive style with thick, expressive strokes. Below the main signature, there is a long, horizontal, slightly wavy line that extends across the width of the signature.

NOTE.

The message from the First Secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and President of the Councils of State and Ministers, Fidel Castro, on the occasion of OSPAAAL's 30th anniversary, was eagerly heard by participants in the Third World Solidarity Meeting. Since it was impossible to provide copies of the message to all who requested it at the time, we decided to reprint the text in full in this issue of the magazine.



COVER

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INTERNATIONAL MEETING

THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY: CHALLENGES IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

THIS epoch demands of its men and women all the wisdom which we can contribute to lay the basis for a broad consensus involving all the forces willing to work around a new agenda, corresponding to the historic demands of our peoples and the demands of the times in which we live.

There are no preset answers. We must draw the best lessons from our own experiences, share them, (...); preserve our own identity, but identify ourselves as more united in our diversity than ever before; (...) without renouncing our past nor those who preceded us in these secular battles; and keeping in mind the chief legacy of (...) José Martí when he said, «glory does not belong to those who go backward, but to those who move forward».

Only the strongest determination to join arms and hearts in defense of the survival of humanity (...) will guarantee that our demands will be respected by that handful of powerholders who consider the planet as their exclusive inheritance.

And in these new solidarity campaigns, esteemed compañeros and friends, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, proud of its founders and of its history, will be, invariably, together with you in the front line of this struggle.



PHOTO: SOULL

Fragments from the opening speech
by Ramón Pez Ferro, OSPAAAL Secretary
General.



THE STRENGTH OF THE SOUTH LIES IN COOPERATION

MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTH CENTER

During the inauguration of the International Third World Solidarity Meeting, sponsored by OSPAAAL in January of this year, Julius Nyerere delivered an address that captured the attention of all present, not only because of his lucid analysis of the present state of cooperation among Third World countries, but also because of his suggested guidelines for a coherent strategy to turn this imperative need into a solid and fruitful reality for the South.

Two days later, Tanzania's former president, one of Africa's most brilliant statesmen, gave TRICONTINENTAL an exclusive interview. Without ceasing to be objective, he expressed the optimism with which he views the future of our peoples and which is behind his admirable running of the South Center, the follow-up to the South Commission which he chaired as of its founding in 1987 during the VIII Non-Aligned Summit.

SOLIDARITY among developing countries, the theme of this meeting, is a political concept. In part it already exists. For despite decades of failure in international action, it still exists as a sentiment among the peoples of Third World nations. The poor feel for the poor everywhere; the weak and oppressed feel for the weak and oppressed elsewhere. Those who have experienced colonialism—whether it was direct or indirect—sympathize with other countries which appear to be under threat of renewed external control. Even the most demoralized of our governments are forced to think twice before joining developed countries in an action against another developing country.

One example of this sentiment of solidarity will be familiar to the people of our host country today. For few doubt the wide popularity of Cuba, and its leader, Fidel Castro, among the peoples of other developing countries. In part, this is due to the charismatic personality of Fidel. But I believe even more important is that Cuba's post-revolutionary history provides an example of persistent courage in defending the right of a small country to determine and follow its own people-centered policies.

Whatever its faults, Cuba has come to represent the right of ordinary people to health, education, and a decent standard of living. And peoples all over the world—often, even in developed nations—salute the bravery and the seriousness with which this right is upheld by Cuba, despite more than three decades of embargo, of covert subversive operations, and of international attempts to undermine the validity of collective social justice.

The sentiment of solidarity, however, is not a great deal of help to a developing country under siege by a powerful neighbor. It needs action of support, not just moral support. It needs political, diplomatic, and sometimes economic solidarity, expressed in action by, or through developing country governments, individually and in concert. And this kind of government solidarity action is far from automatic; it is never quickly achieved; and it is sometimes demoralizing in its absence.

This should not surprise us, nor cause us to despair. However progressive their leadership, developing nations which have embarked on urgently needed development programs, or which are contending with famine or other disastrous economic conditions, understandably give the highest priority to the survival of their own people and nations. So when powerful nations put pressure upon them, solidarity usually proves to be much weaker than their immediate national interests.

The questions we have to consider are thus: what are the interests of developing countries which demand solidarity in

action? And how can we strengthen the ability of developing countries always to act in accordance with their own long-term interests?

Developing countries exist and have to earn their living in a world where all nations are linked together, and where it is impossible for even the largest now to isolate itself from the rest of the world. Modern science and technology have, for good and evil, destroyed that possibility. Information and communications jump over national boundaries as if these did not exist; finance operates on a global basis without any single authority controlling it; production too is fast becoming internationalized, while diseases spread with the constant and fast movement of persons from country to country. Most fundamental of all, we have been brought up against the fact that the world shares a single physical environment; global warming and the damage and destruction of the global commons can be caused for every country by the actions of any country.

But while all that is true, it is at the same time untrue! This one world is also a divided world. There is a huge and unhealthy imbalance in power between the developed countries of the North and the developing countries of the South. For in all of the world's major economic, military, and environmental—and therefore political—sectors, power and control lies in the North. Furthermore, the North countries have in general learned to work together for the management and security of their international interests and their combined power. This co-operation and solidarity make them even more powerful.

COOPERATION VS. VULNERABILITY

The end of the Cold War has clarified this division of the world into a powerful North and a powerless South. It has also exposed the vulnerability of the South to Northern pressures. It means also that for South countries there is no longer the possibility of a countervailing alliance with a Northern group which might protect them from the worst excesses of either Eastern or Western bloc hostility or demands. It is thus not surprising that most developing countries have in recent years found that the price of normal international economic intercourse can be that of adopting specified political, economic, or social structures, regardless of their own circumstances or cultural values. Separately very few have been able successfully to defend themselves against such pressures.

Third World solidarity and cooperation could at least reduce this kind of vulnerability. For although the North powers can, when it suits them in the short term, easily cut their relations with almost any single South country, or small group of countries, they would find it infinitely harder simultaneously to cut themselves off from the majority of the South countries.

Building up South-South cooperation can increase the reality and practicality of South countries' power to act in solidarity for their long term benefit and in defense of their real independence. For their separate vulnerability to pressure or damage emanating from Northern countries is very largely a result of their continuing dependence on North-South trade, expertise, or capital.



"I am happy to be with you today as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of OSPAAAL, and at the same time consider the future of the countries of the South in the next century...in the knowledge that the future of our countries will depend both upon our understanding of the world as it is becoming, and also upon what we ourselves do in the war against poverty, injustice, and environmental destruction," declared Julius Nyerere.



Only when trade and other forms of direct cooperation *among* South countries are at least nearly as important in their economies as their contacts with the major powers of the North, can their vulnerability to incidental or deliberate damage emanating from the North be greatly reduced. And South-South cooperation is, in any case, good in its own right; it can promote development and increase prosperity in the developing countries concerned, even while being good for all producers and all traders—in both North and South. Further, the past uneven rates of development in different South countries mean that the potential for South-South trade and cooperation is greater now than ever before.

Advocacy of South-South cooperation is not new, nor unpracticed. Expanded intra-South cooperation was adopted as an objective at the Bandung Conference in 1955. And although progress has not lived up to the hopes than expressed, it has certainly been very considerable, especially on a sub-regional basis.

ASEAN, CARICOM, ECOWAS, MERCOSUR, and SADC are all among the successful examples of economic cooperation at this level, albeit some have advanced further than others. At the regional level too, progress is taking place as the obstacles of poor communications and transport deficiencies are being tackled; SELA and the OAU have been active in promoting cooperation at this level, and U.N. Economic

Commissions in the three continents have also helped. Even at the most difficult level of all, that of inter-regional trade and cooperation, progress has resulted from the work of the Non-Aligned Movement, the different chapters of the Group of 77, and initiatives under the auspices of the Group of 15. In addition, the governments of some countries—including for example, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brazil, China, India, and now South Africa—have acted on their own to expand their national trade and technical cooperation with countries in other regions of the South.

The need for South-South cooperation is at least as great today as it has ever been, and its possibility is much greater. Thus, while growth rates in the South as a whole have fluctuated between 6% and 5% a year over the last three-and-a-half decades, and the major economies of Asia now achieve rates of growth of between 7% and 12% per annum, growth rates in the North have moved in a downward trend since the 1960s, and averaged only 1.7% in the first four years of the 1990s. Thus Northern economies no longer provide a reliable «engine of growth» for developing countries; while these rapidly growing economies of the South are becoming important importers of raw materials and exporters of manufactured goods to other parts of the world. They are becoming a significant «engine of growth».

And despite all their advocacy of international «free trade»,



the signs are that Northern protectionism, under different guises, may well increase rather than decrease in the future. For if people in the North believe that their already very high unemployment figures are being increased by more imports from developing countries, the pressure for protectionism will become irresistible.

It is also relevant that neither the Uruguay Round, nor WTO rules result from negotiations among equals. The disciplines will certainly be enforced upon the small and the weak countries, but does anyone really believe that they will, or can, be enforced against an unwilling USA or European Union? Only intensified South-South cooperation can enable South countries to defend their own interests at the level of global negotiations.

The Uruguay Round Agreement was in a number of respects a «framework agreement», which means that the details have yet to be worked out by discussion under the auspices of the WTO. In the area of «services» also, a great deal of negotiation remains to be done. Cooperation among the South negotiators involved is still possible and can advance the interests of the South and see that these are properly reflected in the interpretations of «framework» agreements and as regards international trade in services. Some flexibility and scope for a choice of development options can thus be retained through South cooperation and coordinated positions in different

negotiating groups.

In this respect it is worthy of note that, in general, the negotiators of the South in Geneva have mostly had a good understanding of the potential gains from working together in negotiations. Nearly all the South's missions responsible for conducting complex negotiations in trade and other technical matters are very small; and none of them can field the necessary expertise in all committees. For example, about four professional staff work in the Tanzanian Mission in Geneva; yet there were at the same time 14 committees dealing with detailed negotiations under the Uruguay Round—to say nothing of other meetings needing attendance in UNCTAD, ILO, WIPO, WHO, and so on. Yet among the South missions at Geneva taken together, there are almost always at least one or two experts in every field. If these could be allowed to spearhead negotiations on behalf of the whole South in the committees dealing with the areas of their specialized knowledge, the interests of all developing countries would certainly be advanced.

ADVANTAGES AND BENEFITS OF A JOINT STRATEGY

It is true that there is now greater diversity in the economies of developing countries than was the case in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s. But that does not prevent South countries from

making common cause on most of the issues likely to come up in international trade and trade-related negotiations, or from reaching coordinated positions, through «horse trading» among themselves at pre-negotiating meetings. Thus, for example, the more advanced and the less advanced developing countries may well have concerns in different sectors of international trade; but both will need to defend their retention, in one sector or other, of «comparative advantage»—a concept much beloved of free trade theorists! In that lies a vital common interest.

Negotiating problems created by the diversity in the economies of the South are, in any case, less important than the greater opportunities which this provides for mutually advantageous South-South trade.

Much still remains to be done in the fields of better transport and communications links within the South; their further improvement is unlikely to be undertaken without government initiative and at least, participation. The availability of information about markets and input sources which exist within the South is still too sparse to give effective help to most South producers and traders.

There are many other areas where the decisions and actions of South governments are essential if intra-South cooperation is to make rapid headway. To give just one more specific example, the Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries came into effect in 1989 with a membership of 40 countries; under it arrangements relating to tariffs, non-tariff barriers, and direct trade measures on a product-by-product basis are negotiated among developing country members. The second round of negotiations is now taking place, and all South countries can still participate if their governments so decide.

This is to say nothing more of the sub-regional Economic Cooperation Communities and other arrangements which are already working, and others which are getting established. These too are the responsibility and work of governments; under their auspices—most successfully with the cooperation of business and other non-governmental groups—hindrances to trade have begun to be reduced or abolished and joint production units are being established. The central banks of two or more trading countries can cooperate to facilitate payments. Export-import banks, such as that set up in Africa with the assistance of the African Development Bank, can facilitate trade.

Comrade Chairman: so far I have concentrated on talking about South-South cooperation in trade; but I must point out that while increased mutual trade is the most obvious way of building greater common interests among South countries, it is not the only one. And in any case, its expansion needs support and encouragement from other forms of cooperation.

Our peoples, and functional groups within our countries, need to know more about, and better understand, each other. SITTEDEC (The South Investment, Trade and Technology Data Exchange Center) established by the Group of 15 can become a major source of trade information, but it cannot replace knowledge about the cultures, forms of government, structures of production, workers' protection, or even just basic geography

and demography of other South countries. Exchanges of personnel from chambers of commerce, industry, and agriculture, from trade unions and cooperatives, from education and health leaders and representatives, non-governmental organizations and cultural groups (to say nothing of sports groups!) can be of great importance in spreading awareness of the South within the South. And while it is good that school and college students should learn about the history and geography of ex-colonial countries, or about the USA, it is even more important that African young people should learn something about Asian countries, or Latin American countries, and vice versa.

Of particular and urgent importance to the future of all South countries is South-South cooperation in scientific and technical research and development of all kinds and at all levels. For scientific research is a long-term undertaking from which quick results can rarely be expected, but without which all our production and exchange capacities will sooner or later be overwhelmed by new scientific advances elsewhere. Scientific research is very often also extremely expensive to undertake and to maintain. Joint or coordinated research institutes or programs, with different countries specializing in different aspects, or different fields of interest, can make the most effective use of the limited resources which poor countries can devote to scientific research and development. Some such institutions do exist now; but they are rarely given the attention and priority encouragement by their governments which are needed if they are to maximize their usefulness to the peoples and economies of the South countries concerned.

Scientific and technical research cooperation—like all other forms of South-South cooperation—can and must be organized at different levels—bilateral, sub-regional, regional, and inter-regional. Every South country will have something to contribute and something to gain in one or another of the multiplicity of needed research activities. The smaller and less developed of the developing countries will be able to contribute less in quantity, but not necessarily in quality. Cuba and Colombia are both small countries; [but] with their own domestic limited resources they have been able, respectively, to lead the world in preventive medicine for hepatitis and for malaria.

Deliberate efforts for the building of South-South cooperation by our governments, business sectors, trade unions, and peoples generally, are more urgently needed and can be more productive now than ever before.

As, by this process, our common economic, social, and political interests expand, so will our solidarity become much stronger. Our countries will become less vulnerable to economic blackmail, and to the temptations of separate so-called «special concessions», which are sometimes offered as an alternative to continued solidarity. They will thus become more able together to work out viable South positions and initiatives supportive of the development efforts of each South country. And South solidarity could become a real factor in international economic and political decision making, and in efforts to build a more just and stable world.

Thank you.

INTERVIEW WITH JULIUS NYERERE



PHOTO: SCULL

MEASURED OPTIMISM

Ivette Zuazo and Hugo Rius

TRI: *What in your opinion are the main challenges to South-South cooperation and what priority would you give them?*

J.N.: The main difficulty is the weakness of the countries of the South. There is a lot of pressure to globalize the economies, pressure coming not just from the transnationals but from the governments of the North. So for countries of the

South to cooperate, this needs a deliberate decision by the governments. And so, if a government does it, it is under this pressure.

Of course there are attractions in cooperating with the countries that are developed, their markets, their finances, their economies, their technology, and of course, they have the pressure. Nevertheless, it is important for countries of the South to cooperate. Yesterday I explained the

importance to cooperate in trade. Many countries of the South now are really developing. They used to be called developing countries without really developing. Now we have many countries of the South that are truly developing. Some of the Asian countries have very strong economies. China..., Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam... India is beginning to grow... These are growing markets and Northern countries are falling over

trying to enter those markets. And so that is one area where the South can help itself. The developed countries are no longer really great consumers of raw materials...but the countries of the South are great users and many are exporters of these materials. That is, the South is becoming a great market. Technology is also a field in which the South can learn from itself. Technology has experienced notable progress, innovations in numerous countries in Asia and even in countries of Latin America, and [this technology] is much more appropriate for the developing countries.

On the other hand, countries such as Indonesia, China, India, Singapore, Taiwan, among others, have huge surpluses and are beginning to invest in other countries in the South.

TRI: Do you think that this awakening interest in cooperation also exists on the political level?

J.N.: Many governments are willing to promote cooperation, but it is becoming quite clear that when it requires cooperation in economic matters, especially in trade, the pusher is the private sector. This is what has happened in Europe, it is the private

sector that has been pushing for economic cooperation.

So we will need to make known or available to the private sector, so that it will know there is money to be made in South-South business. This is realized in the developed countries. In the developed countries, the big pushers to the South are the private sectors. Their governments will help them...So in the countries of the South we don't have the same developed private sectors...the South Commission called it the business sector because it includes the public sector...even our public sectors must become more enterprising, they must push to do business in the South. But we have to make knowledge available to them. Our business community knows less about what is happening in the South, than what is happening in the North...And they do business with the North. And sometimes when there is surplus money in the South, when we export money, we export it to the North, and not to the South, which is also wrong.

TRI: Are economic factors the only obstacle to a more fruitful exchange and cooperation within the Third World?



J.N.: No, its not just economic, there are a lot of politics also. When I say that the governments of the North know how to combine economics and politics, I mean they use politics to push the economics. That's why I said those governments help the companies. A lot of the push for globalization today is political. A lot of the pressure on the smaller countries, even in the economic area, is political.

TRI: In the conference you spoke about the vulnerabilities of the South. What weak points does the North have that might be taken advantage of to the benefit of our cooperation?

J.N.: The fact that they want to make money. That is the biggest weakness they've got. So fine. And if you realize that they do want to make money in the South, especially now that a number of southern countries are becoming important areas where the North can make money. I say fine, so you people in the South are beginning to develop a strength, but singly you are too weak, so combine, make it stronger.

TRI: Could you briefly describe the fundamental results for our peoples of the South Center's work?

J.N.: The Center is there now, it is an inter-governmental organization, 43 governments, so I suppose those governments have found the Center useful, otherwise they would not have decided to make it a permanent institution, which was not the original idea.

Its usefulness is the articulation of the common southernness. No other organization does that,...a joint policy. The South Center is a potential, rather than something that is achieved. We continue advocating South-South cooperation, solidarity among the countries of the South... This is the only place where this is being consistently done. It provides advice and recommendations on policies, strategies that should be followed in economic affairs.

We are defending South-South cooperation at a time when some are asking, «What is the South? Such a

PHOTO: SCULL

thing doesn't exist». There was the argument that with the Cold War ended, there is no need for cohesion in the South. For what? Which in my view is very silly. The existence of the Cold War did in a sense emphasize the wrong division in the world, that is the division between West and East. But it was the division between the North West and the North East. And we failed to see the real historic division, which is the division between the developed and powerful North and the less developed and powerless South. This became clear immediately after the end of the Cold War.

That's why I was surprised, when the Non-Aligned Movement met in Belgrade in 1989, to hear people talking about abolishing the non-aligned. I thought this is silly. The movement of solidarity, to destroy it now, after the triumph of capitalism, when solidarity among the weak is needed more than ever.

Actually I believe that some of our friends in the former Soviet Union belong to the group of developing countries. They are very vulnerable, possibly some of them more vulnerable than some developing countries, and with less experience in how to deal with it. Sometimes I feel they can make use of our experience...

So the need for solidarity is quite clear. Today the countries of the South are recovering. The efforts for recovery are very strong. This is happening now, at different levels...what we need now is to learn from one another, to see how some of these sub-groups have been successful, others no.

South-South cooperation is quite strong. If you look at it globally, Asia, Africa, and Latin America there are still weaknesses, but in some sub-regional groups it is quite strong.

TRI: How do you see the African continent today?

J.N.: I think the worst is over for Africa, from all points of view, economic, political, and social. We have new leaders in Africa who understand what must be done. It will not be a revolutionary leadership, but it will not be a puppet leadership, but leaders who have in mind the interests of the

people.

For example, South Africa, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe all survived. The majority have very good economies, and in the case of Angola, there is the capacity to achieve a similar status. These countries struggled for their independence, worked together, their leaders are conscious of what took place. I believe that all, or almost all of them belong to SADC (Southern Africa Development Community) and cooperate among themselves. Therefore they are in a good position to take off. And that is a big part of the continent.

As for North Africa, it will take time before it manages to advance, but meanwhile there exists concrete possibilities for progress internally. For one thing, geography is in their favor. They are Mediterranean countries and the Europeans will not allow them not to develop, because they realize that if they don't develop, they will move into the North...The geography has its advantages and disadvantages in this sense, and I think they will reap some of these advantages.

West Africa has formed its economic community, ECOAWAS. But I think West Africa also depends upon the economic performance of Nigeria, that Nigeria will have to be in West Africa what South Africa is now in southern Africa. And the basis is there. But it is important for Nigeria to be the necessary engine. They are not now, except in some respects, but they are not what they could be. I think Nigeria will change. Nigeria has perhaps suffered more through military rule than any other, with the exception of Zaire, and I think that they will recover and perhaps this military phase in Nigeria will be the last, and so the military phase in Africa is ending.

And now we have to experiment with multiparty democracy and go through the disadvantages of that before we settle down. But really I am very optimistic now about Africa. Yes, its true, it is the weakest of the three continents, but in the future nobody will be able to say that's its dead nor expect to bury us, because in Africa we refuse to be buried, much less alive.

TRI: What expectations do you have with respect to a possible reordering of the balance of power in the world in the next 20 or 30 years, so that it is more just and favorable to us?

J.N.: If there is peace in the world in the next 20 or 30 years, if great countries in Asia, such as China, Indonesia, India continue to progress and grow at this dizzying rate of 12, 7, and 6%, they will become powers, and it will be impossible to avoid their influence. And from that comes a significant factor of balance, not only for the South, but for the world, which will in some way be different and will help in a new way of thinking, socially and ideologically. Latin America and Africa will advance more slowly, but I am sure they will advance.

Eastern Europe will rethink.... They threw out too much from their past, the good and the bad. They are assimilating the bad from the West. Nevertheless, they will recover and then they will rescue some values discarded during the process of breaking up. All this will contribute to the world balance.

TRI: A personal question. Do you consider optimism to be your principal virtue as a person and a leader?

J.N.: I don't know, perhaps. In any case I think it is unwise to be optimistic for the sake of optimism, without working for change....

If you are dropped into the sea, you struggle, you swim, and the time that you sink, is that time when you say, I give up. But as long as you struggle, you have not lost, that is real optimism. It is difficult, but this is where we are, struggling. So I am an optimist as part of my job, because optimism in that sense is a type of fuel. ■

NOTE:

Because of problems with the original English sound tape, it was necessary to reproduce parts of this interview from the Spanish translation.



Will for Peace: Demilitarization and Human Progress

MITSUHIRO KANEKO

Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party

THIRTY YEARS have passed since the First Tricontinental Conference which achieved that historic success. I attended that conference in January 1966 as a member of the Japanese delegation. The lively discussion and the conference atmosphere come into my mind as if they took place only yesterday.

Needless to say, the First Tricontinental Conference was held during the grave situation when the United States was daily intensifying its war of aggression against Vietnam, and when some serious complicated and difficult problems arose in international democratic movements.

But the conference overcame various difficulties and obstacles and made clear the course of the struggle against the war of aggression, against the violations and suppression of sovereignty by U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. It declared to the world that it would resolutely carry out the struggle for national independence, democracy, social progress, and peace for the people in the three continents.

The practical and theoretical vitality of the «declaration» and the «resolutions» has been fully displayed in the past 30 years by the Vietnamese people's victory; and also during the great changes and the present turmoil in the international situation.

...A new world domination strategy by U.S. and other imperialist, colonial, and neo-colonial forces, and their hegemonist maneuvers are still posing grave pressure on the peoples of the three continents.

The United States backed by its overwhelming nuclear weapons force, has placed its 43 allied countries under its nuclear umbrella, its nuclear deterrent force, based on which it is reorganizing and strengthening its military bases and military alliances, for promoting world domination.

The U.S. world strategy is characterized by the same hegemonism 30 years



PHOTO: SCULL

ago. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the U.S. still describes the Vietnam War as a war of justice «against aggression» and that they declare they will act on the same standards as those at that time.

The present situation does not allow us to assert: «The Cold War has ended and we now have peace».

Serious enough, Japan is made the biggest stronghold for U.S. «forward deployment strategy» against the whole world. There are still 136 U.S. military bases on Japanese soil with some 47,000 U.S. troops. These U.S. bases were strongholds for direct U.S. attacks during the Vietnam War, and now their mission has been extended to cover the whole world, including the «Far East», the Indian Ocean, the Middle East, and Africa.

I would like to renew my call on you to cooperate on this signature collection [for the Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki] and for the success of the coming 1996 World Conference against A and H Bombs, said Mitsuhiro Kaneko.

**6 AOÛT
XLII^{ème} ANNIVERSAIRE
DU BOMBARDÉMENT
ATOMIQUE DE HIROSHIMA
ET DE NAGASAKI**



RAFAEL MORANTE

in addition to the first, is to develop solidarity with the tricontinental people's struggle for the full realization of the right to national self-determination and against political and economic domination, oppression and the unjust intervention by U.S.-led imperialism, colonialism, as well as to develop the struggle to end poverty, hunger, unemployment, and racial discrimination, and against destruction of the earth's environment.

Today, in particular, I want to stress the importance of making a great effort to develop the international movement for getting an international treaty concluded for a total ban on nuclear weapons and their elimination, as the urgent vital task for all humankind.

It was of great significance that the first Tricontinental Conference, making much of this problem, decided to support the World Conference against A and H Bombs, organized by the Japan Council against A and H Bombs (Gensuikyo). The World Conference has now developed into being the only continuous conference of the anti-nuclear weapons peace movement. The 1985 World Conference against A and H Bombs called on the world's people to launch the signature campaign to the «Appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki for a Total Ban and Elimination of Nuclear Weapons», which is now being conducted in more than 160 countries of the three continents and the rest of the world. There has been growing repudiation of France's nuclear tests in the South Pacific. The World Conference against A and H Bombs last August proposed the international protest rally in Tahiti, and contributed to its success.

I would like to renew my call on you to cooperate on this signature collection and for the success of the coming 1996 World Conference against A and H Bombs to be held in August.

My conviction is that in order to develop the struggle and solidarity of the peoples of the three continents it is more important than ever to maintain the basic orientation of our movement as made clear by the first Tricontinental Conference —the position that the struggle must be first developed in each country to form, at the same time and in linkage, the base for mutual support and cooperation in our joint struggles, based on common tasks which the peoples in the three continents agree with.

Let us draw lessons from history and develop the movement. ■

Worse still, nuclear weapons have been taken into these U.S. bases.

It is also serious that Japan is rapidly being made a military power to supplement the U.S. strategy. Japan's military expenditure has been increased each year to meet U.S. strategic demands. In the 1996 fiscal budget which starts next April, military expenditure will be close on \$50 billion, which is Japan's record high and is second only to the United States in the world.

And U.S. military bases are densely concentrated in Okinawa Islands, the highest in the world. Even after the administration of Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972, there has been no letup on the crimes by U.S. soldiers. The total of such crimes exceeds 4,700. The people's anger toward the U.S. forces exploded last September when some U.S. soldiers raped a schoolgirl in Okinawa.

The U.S. military bases in Japan have extraterritorial rights, and the Japanese laws are not applied there. The Japanese Government resorted to an outrage to sue Okinawa Governor Ota as a defendant, who refused to give cooperation to the U.S. military bases.

In the opinion polls by some mass media, 80% of the respondents said they support the Okinawa people's struggle. The struggle of the Japanese peace and democratic forces for a truly independent,

non-nuclear and non-aligned Japan against the Japan-U.S. military alliance is now obtaining new conditions for advances.

The world strategy of U.S. hegemonism threatens the right of nations to self-determination and world peace. It is my conviction that blocking it off and fighting to end its military domination will be an important pillar of the struggle for peace and national sovereignty internationally.

In this new situation, and anticipating that this commemorative international meeting would address the following three aims and the fundamental tasks based on a wider perspective, I would like to make the following proposals on the basis of the policy formulated by the first Tricontinental Conference 30 years ago:

The first is to get a big development of the struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops and bases and for the dismantling and abrogation of military alliances and military blocs in the three continents and other parts of the world.

This reminds us of the 1960 Asia-Africa peoples conference in Conakry which unsparingly condemned foreign armed forces and military bases, stating that «a nation is not truly independent» with foreign armed forces and foreign military bases stationed on its soil.

Another task I would like to propose,



A Moment for Great Political Creativity

PORFIRIO MUÑOZ LEDO

Senator and Chairman of Mexico's Democratic Revolution Party



PHOTO: SCULL

IN THE morning the press asked me: Is this a meeting to reminisce over old times? And I responded: It is a meeting for the future. This I confirmed upon listening to the morning's messages. To recap: what has happened in these 30 years? The 60s were the decade of political decolonization; the 70s heard the progressive forces in the Third World; the 80s saw the reverses, the pursuit, and victory of our adversaries.

The 60s began with the most important event in multilateral history: the adoption of Resolution 1514 on the freedom of colonial peoples. In 10 years the number of United Nations member states doubled, the Non-Aligned Movement took shape; the Group of 77 was established in 1964 in the preparatory meeting for the First World Conference on Trade and Development; 30 years ago, in 1966, the Tricontinental Conference was held.

We arrived at the 70s with an open process of decolonization underway, with revolutionary movements and centers of action throughout the world, and with what is most important for me, the development and consolidation of an ideology of development. The main international organizations were conceived with this in mind: UNESCO,

In a statement that intends «to provoke reflection among brothers», as he pointed out, Muñoz Ledo says that the tide of history is turning with respect to left and progressive forces.

UNCTAD, UNICEF, FAO, took as their goals the development of the peoples.

What happened at the end of the decade? First, the exhaustion of the revolutionary cycles. The last year in which armed revolutions triumphed was 1979: the Nicaraguan revolution and the fundamentalist revolution in Iran; the unsuccessful revolution in Afghanistan took place in December of that year. As of 1980, not a single armed revolution has triumphed anywhere in the world. That is a fact of history, how long it will last, we don't know. As our Guatemalan comrades recalled, today all the armed movements, including that of El Salvador, are proceeding via the road of negotiations.

There opened a period of high concentration of financial resources which served as the instrument and pivot for the defeat of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the dismemberment of the camp of so-called real socialism. Economically speaking, the decade was one of an unmitigated annual increase in the speculation economy, to the detriment of the real economy. Ten years of falling prices on all raw materials, 10 years in which the political decolonization process was replaced by an economic neocolonization process, that today was magnificently described as post-modern colonialism.

Imposed is a unipolar strategy—with sleeping partners—which is an association of the big powers around a single great military power that guarantees all of them stability, and all of them profits, but security to none. Nevertheless—and this is the point that I want to stress—, without any utopian or nostalgic vision, I am convinced—and have the elements to back this up—that the tide of history has changed making us terribly relevant. And I say *us*, because all of us here have been participants in what we have borne for at least the past 30 years.

Why this turnabout in history? Because the concentration of capital, the so-called concentration of the rich has reached a limit. This has been marked by the very low rate of growth and employment in the central countries and by the open unemployment, the shift away from industrialization, the growing margination, and alarming increase of extreme poverty in the countries on the periphery. That makes for an explosive

cocktail that Friar Betto summed up in the marvelous expression «social apocalypse».

We have hit a limit in which the countries that have evolved toward more democratic forms have no solution to their social problems, nor do the industrialized countries find answers to their problems. The big question is, how can we, the forces of progress, of independence and justice, the forces of the Third World, design a strategy? How can we update our goals and create the means and the instruments suited to our tasks?

Let me explain. The left in the world is being reborn, but there are no longer privileged spokespersons for it. The left today is something else, it is in the developing world, in the big industrialized nations. Today the North-South has a different context. There exists a South in the North and a North in the South. During the negotiation process and discussion of the North American Trade Treaty, being, as I am, a senator of my country and head of the opposition to

the Treaty, I found more sympathetic voices and attitudes among the workers of the United States and Canada, among the middle class, small producers, Blacks, civic organizations, then among the rich and the oligarchies of Latin America. We have been working in North America on a new concept of North-South, what used to be called proletariat internationalism and that now has other sources.

I would suggest that we consider the following: What are the ways to reformulate the program of the new international order? Today's agenda should include: decolonization, the new international financial monetary order, the improvement of the terms of exchange, a program of energy transition, the issue of food security, and a policy of mutual interest oriented toward growth and employment? Second: what are the goals and immediate means to again give shape to the world's progressive forces.

I would say that today, as was said in September 1979 in the Non-Aligned Summit in Havana, the central issue continues to be the international financial and monetary one. Evidently, the Bretton Woods institutions are dysfunctional and go against the development of all the economies. If so, is there, or is there not the capacity to concentrate efforts to reformulate from their roots the international economic structure?

With respect to Latin America and the Caribbean, are we capable of establishing between now and the end of the century a Latin American political community with a common action program, a common negotiating capability, and with common parliamentary and executive institutions.

Third question: Do we have the capacity to organize, through civil society, political parties, progressive movements, and democratic states, a new front of South countries with negotiating ability?

I believe these are today's issues. I am sure that our ideas are still valid, that the tide of history has turned in the direction of our ideals. But I am also sure that we must make a great effort to be politically creative. We have to use innovative language, to define the program; efforts have to be updated, and we have to find a structure of relations that will permit us to confront the challenges facing our peoples. ■



RAFAEL MORANTE



History Demands We Come Up With New Alternatives

ROLANDO MORÁN

Member of the General Command of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity

THIRTY YEARS ago, in representation of the Guatemalan revolutionary movement, I had the honor of attending, along with Commander Luis Augusto Turcios Lima, the First Tricontinental Conference of Solidarity, which took place in Cuba, revolutionary and socialist then, today, and tomorrow.

The participants in that meeting in January 1966 lived in the certainty that they, the peoples of the Third World, were going to be the protagonists of great changes in the world order, depending on our own efforts, on the solidarity between our peoples, and on the nations that had begun structural changes in their countries.

Exceptional changes have occurred throughout this long historical period and a stage with distinct spaces lies open today for the people's liberation struggle in different circumstances.

We have seen enormous changes in these three decades. The revolutionary struggles of entire peoples attained great historical victories in Vietnam, Angola, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Palestine; and there were the victories over military dictatorships in Latin America. Globally, colonialism as a system was swept away and now, new models and structures of political life and development emerged in the world.

We also witnessed the defeat of revolutionary movements in which we had placed our hopes. Systems, concepts, and theoretical ideas, which apparently had undertaken the road of great changes for humanity, collapsed before our eyes.

The history of these 30 years has taught us some big, hard lessons. Perhaps it would be opportune on this occasion to single out some of them: in first place, to recognize in this moment of historical unfolding the need for an alternative, taking into account the diversity of the struggles and of the ways to achieve the liberating objectives of the



FOTO: SCULL

Third World peoples, in accordance with their national and historical characteristics. This diversity, far from clouding the common goal with a mechanical vision, enriches the contents of our struggle and makes it possible to properly confront the challenges of a changing world, as a crucible that pursues a new stability.

We are witnessing the rise of a new form of imperialism that hides behind the appearance of technological progress and the economic globalization of humanity, the infamy of an unjust world political and economic order, and the most criminal impoverishment of our peoples; one that builds up the obstacles to the economic, political, cultural, and ideological development of all the nations of the Third World.

The economic and political globalization of the planet, presented as capi-

To recognize the urgency of finding a way for the Third World to move toward a future of genuine Independence, democracy, and progress, taking into account the diversity of the present liberating, struggles, is one of the great lessons of History, said comandante Rolando Morán.

talism's triumph over the socialist models and over the revolutionary struggles against the neo-liberalism of market relations, is equally the historical expression of the unjust unipolar economic domination that surpasses the framework of nations and states.

While using new methods, assuming new clothes, and opening some political spaces, the unjust relation and oppressor of the countries and the powerful elites remain and threateningly grow stronger. It is the image of a privileged peak, which feeds off of, and lives on the vital efforts of the broad base—the majority of humanity, held in contempt, undervalued, and subjugated.

But the alledged victors do not escape from their essential and unresolvable contradictions, that will come to their unavoidable crisis and unravelling in the first stages of the next century. We, the revolutionaries, must insert ourselves in them to accelerate that crisis.

Naturally, while this differentiation exists there will be struggle and there will be revolution. It is important to be aware of the magnitude of the changes that have taken place in the last years of this century and of the consequences of the rise of unipolarism.

If it is true that humanity hasn't yet been able to give concrete shape to an alternative path to free itself of this new and repressive form of domination, it is also true that in all parts of the world revolutionaries, democratic and progressive forces, visionaries who see the future that will be achieved, with boldness and intelligence, are making great political and popular efforts to find new instruments of struggle for liberation. It is the revolutionary task and duty of the future.

We must not flee from the confrontations that this implies, but face them and defeat them on the conceptual and practical planes. From the violent historical turn in which we are living, have emerged the forces that society and humanity need to unleash the great battles of the future for the solution to vital problems and needs —of existence and of a humanitarian nature— with which we begin the Third Millennium.

The variations in the struggle that appear and forge the alternative to the order implanted at present can never be denied, but should be given prominence, the arms and instruments with which it was possible, despite the temporary

reverses to which the centers of world power believe they have condemned the revolutionary movement, to obtain significant advances in the historical process.

If it were not for these battles, fought over more than 30 years, our people would find themselves presently confronting an imperialism absolute on a world scale, leading to an irreversible social tomb. The price paid has been high and painful, but history shows that social and political changes demand an unrepayable effort. All revolutionaries must be conscious of this.

In one way or another, solidarity with causes, ideals, and goals has been key



ALBERTO BLANCO

in these battles. In no instance has it failed to accompany and support the fighters for justice and freedom in Third World countries. The content and purposes of that function have not been weakened with time. On the contrary, solidarity with the struggles of our peoples is as timely and necessary now, as it was when it was publically acclaimed in the First Tricontinental Conference.

A great historical victory has been the elimination of colonialism as a system. But racism, discrimination, exploitation, poverty, and oppression are endemic to our continents, and reemerge in some developed countries where it was thought they had been overcome.

The confrontation with these ills, denigrating to human beings, is a banner of solidarity in the hands of the peoples in the four cardinal points of the globe.

They are universal struggles.

Through solidarity, given structural and agile forms, we can exchange our experiences and interrelate our efforts to find propitious ways and means that will permit the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America to create and determine our own destiny, to have equal access to technology, to fight poverty, ignorance, and backwardness, in any part of the planet. Through solidarity it is also possible to prevent the plundering of our countries, and to avoid the earth's ecological destruction.

Together we have to fight for a system that recognizes just and equitable financial and trade relations between the countries that have developed at the cost of the backward peoples and those that have been and continue to be relegated to the sidelines in the world economic structure.

In our country, the revolutionary movement made up of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity is also seeking the option of the future for our people. The URNG is struggling on several fronts. Carrying arms at the same time that, interpreting the conditions existing universally at this moment, we try to find via a process of negotiations—that considers issues of substantive changes in society—a political solution to the war that we have fought ceaselessly for 34 years. We have already obtained important space in the electoral and public political struggle.

It is difficult to explain and to understand this singular case, which implies a revolutionary response in accordance with the sign of the times and a deep and genuine searching for an alternative in the face of the great international confusion in which we live, after the last 20 years of this century that have shaken the world.

The solidarity of the peoples will play a determining role in all this process.

Events such as this one, repeated on this stage, take place rarely in history—an event with an agenda of a universal nature, such as represented in this International Meeting of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Third World, under conditions that differ those existing at the time of the first meeting, but still confronting the essential problems faced historically by humanity.

Let us give this exceptional situation its true historical value and importance. ■



Sustainable Development and Democracy: Challenges to be Faced Jointly

BLADE NZIMANDE

Head of the African National Congress Foreign Relations Committee

WE MUST be proud of some achievements and advances in the struggle for sovereignty, national liberation, and self-determination, during these 30 years in which OSPAAAL has played a historic role in defining situations that must unite all anti-imperialist forces on our three continents. An occasion such as this one must serve to reflect some of these advances, but also the challenges that await us.

Our people have carried out a long struggle and have achieved an important victory by finally defeating the apartheid regime. Now we have a government of national unity led by the ANC. I am fully aware that despite our enormous sacrifices during the struggle, this triumph would not have been possible without the support of the international community. In particular, I would like, in the name of all the South African people, to thank the peoples of the developing countries for their support for our struggle. I especially recognize the unconditional solidarity received from OSPAAAL.

The South African people are also highly indebted to the Cuban people, for the role that they played in the defeat of apartheid. That defeat also laid, for the first time in decades, the basis for a true peace in South Africa and for increasing possibilities of peaceful and cooperative economic development in this region. The victory of the people of South Africa is also your victory.

Despite these enormous advances, this is not the end of the struggle for the South African people. We have reached a decisive stage in the transition toward democracy, where, as a liberation movement, we have obtained elements of state power. But there are greater struggles ahead for the reconstruction of our country, to make it prosper, and to assure the total transfer of power to



PHOTO: SCULL

the people. For this reason we maintain the movement, which still has to complete tasks of the national democratic revolution and the total emancipation of our people from the structural effects of apartheid.

The main platform for carrying out these tasks in the present period is the implementation of our reconstruction and development program, directed basically at transforming South African society and at eradicating the misery of racism, sexism, and the ignorance of the face of our country, as well as at how to consolidate our fledgling democracy.

Some advances achieved in the implementation of this program have been the introduction of free medical treatment for pregnant women and children under six years of age; the putting into practice of a scheme for feeding children in the

We would like to take this occasion to reaffirm that the ANC continues, as policy, to prioritize links with developing countries, and the strengthening of South-South relations and solidarity.

schools; we have taken the first steps toward the introduction of free and obligatory education for the first 10 years of schooling, including pre-school. Similarly, in the parliament we have taken legislative measures to facilitate the socially comprehensive development of an infrastructure and the transformation of urban, as well as rural, areas.

This process of change is not lacking in confrontation: on the one side are the democratic forces led by the ANC, and on the other are those who had benefitted from the former apartheid, who are trying to sap the consolidation and deepening of the democratizing process. This year we are engaged in the top priority task of completing the structures of representative democracy. Our Constitutional Assembly is about to finish drafting a definitive constitution for a democratic South Africa. For that reason, the solidarity between the peoples of Latin

America, Asia, and Africa is still of fundamental importance, and not just for South Africa but for the whole region of southern Africa, which is still immersed in the labor of rebuilding its countries, whose economies have been battered by apartheid regime aggression.

The process of democratization and economic development is far from over. In fact, in our own struggles to transform the country, we confront the same situations that one day led to the founding of OSPAAAL: the need for sustainable development, the eradication of poverty, and the reality of being a developing country that also suffers the consequences of an unequal international economic order. The battle to transform our country is concurrent with the struggle of the developing countries to stop being the perpetual payers of debts, to become truly developed nations capable of making their people's eco-

nomie, political, and social aspirations a reality.

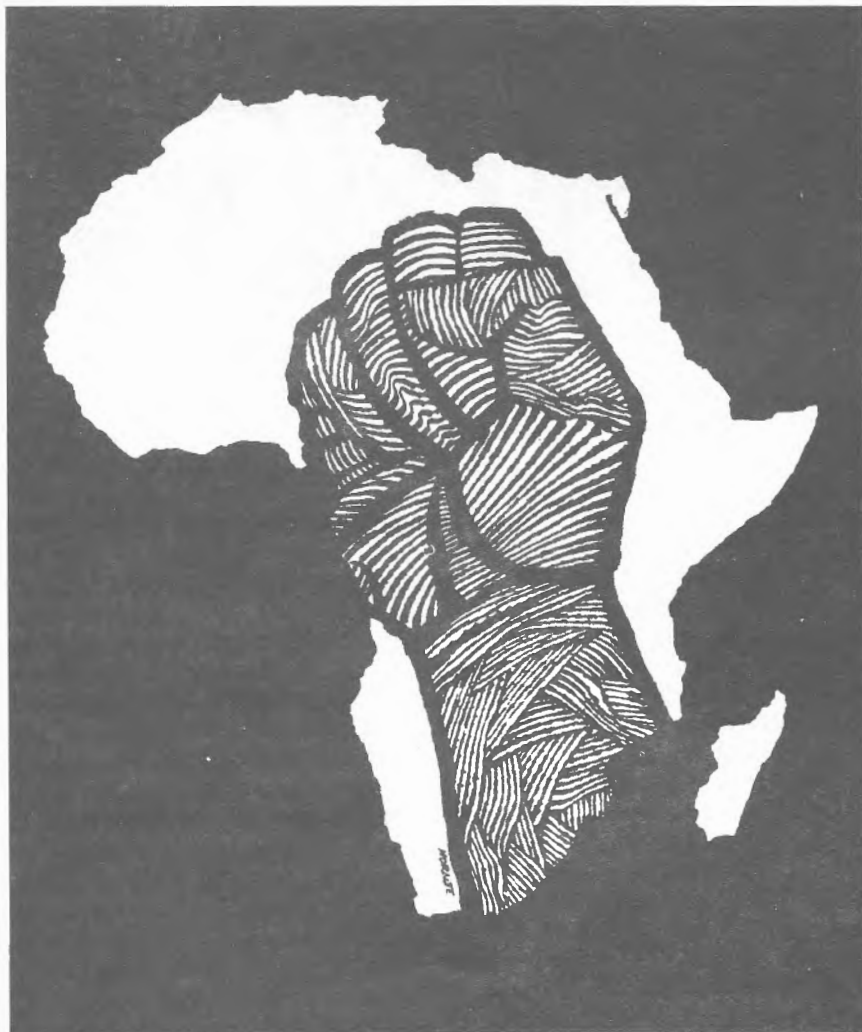
The ANC and the governing National Unity Government remain committed to the efforts of these countries in their search for democracy, progress, peace, and a just world economic and political order. The emerging order is characterized by inequalities that threaten to corrode any success that our three continents may have had toward these goals. The end of the Cold War has not brought any economic improvement to the world's peoples.

In this historical context it is key for us to list some of the challenges facing Latin America, Asia, and Africa. First, it is important to bring our peoples closer together so as to jointly face the challenges. Second, we must continue to promote programs directed toward giving concrete meaning to the concept of sustainable development and the eradication of poverty in our societies. Sustainable development must correspond to the socio-economic needs of the majority of the poor of our continents.

It is in the poor countries of the world where we have learnt the lesson that democracy doesn't flourish in situations of poverty, hunger, sickness, and ignorance. For that reason we must continue the mobilization of our people for the democratization of international political and economic institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF. The agenda for confronting poverty and unequal economic relations can be shaped only by the people of the South, who best know what misery and hunger have brought to their societies.

Our organization firmly belongs to the camp of the anti-imperialist forces, and to all those who support and value the right of nations to self-determination and a new economic order. Consequently, for example, the ANC and the government of South Africa condemn the illegal blockade of Cuba by the United States, and joins the rest of the world in calling for its immediate suspension.

The ANC strongly believes that OSPAAAL has a crucial role in the struggle for a just world order, as well as for the democratization of multilateral bodies such as the United Nations and international economic institutions. ■



RAFAEL MORANTE



Global Struggle as an Alternative to Globalization

The Italian *Coordinadora* of Support for the Cuban Revolution

THIRTY YEARS after the founding of OSPAAAL, in the face of a world situation which differs only in appearances, we can affirm that the concept of solidarity has not changed since the 60s, when Cuba began to build tangible international solidarity that can still be felt today.

Today more than ever, precisely because we find ourselves in the phase of the so-called economic globalization, it is not possible to separate the problems of nations or regions on the same continent, nor those of one continent from those of the others, and in particular those of the rich and poor countries cannot be presented separately. All the conflicts and adversities of the planet must be dealt with starting from the problems arising from the imposition of a single system, the capitalist, in its imperialist phase.

The generalized spread of the neo-liberal policy throughout the world increasingly worsens the conditions of workers and of the poorest sectors of the population, deepening the specific differences between the North and the South, which suffers the most tragic consequences.

The effects of the liberalization of markets, of the monetary and financial crises that affect capitalist interests, has repercussions and rebounds from one country to another. Within the European countries, the social state has just been destroyed, workers' gains have been eliminated, as have been the very mediating institutions of the former liberal state.

We could recently see the first generalized protest in a European country against neo-liberalism: «The revolt against globalization» protagonized by French workers, who had managed to again unite against the elimination of social rights by the Juppé Government.

The situation in Italy is no different. The conditions of the working class worsen daily, at the same time as



PHOTO: SCULL

squabbling continues between different sectors of the bourgeoisie for bigger shares of power. In the pursuit of a European integration—in which Italy participates with great difficulty—, cuts in public spending are made, funds for pensions are reduced, as are those earmarked for social security, public health and education. Public institutions are privatized, for the purpose of obtaining higher profits. At the same time, workers in both the private and public sectors are being laid off.

According to the statistics the present Italian economy reveals the main contradictions inherent to capitalism today. On the one hand, we note increases in industrial production, gross domestic product (+2.2%), exports (+14.7%), and consumption (+1.6%), but at the same time the unemployment figures rose to 11.3% (about three million people) and

Italian solidarity activists argue that the growing Interrelation between the dramas suffered by the North and South, as a consequence of the generalized ruthlessness of capitalism, calls for confronting these from a position of solid world unity.

purchasing power decreased as a result of an unfair fiscal system which does not provide enough to pay the interest on the debt.

Unemployment —affecting mainly young people (32.4%) and women (5.7%)— is unequally distributed inside the country (North-South). Laws regulating young people's work have increased the exploitation of this sector of society that is confronting its first job experience. Working conditions are more and more precarious since only 75.3% of those employed hold regular jobs. The labor and criminal underworld grow reaching new forms of slavery. Cases involving violence, desperation, and inner emptiness, are reported daily.

In this context, Italy is transforming itself into a country of emigrants, which at the same time receives innumerable immigrants who become the target of those suffering from the malaise of the society. These reactionary responses are backed by most of the media, as well as by the right wing parties which in such a cheap way profit from an easy social consensus. As usual during periods of crisis, racism becomes a safety valve for those sectors of society most affected by the economic crisis. They find in it a scapegoat to explain away all the problems of society. In order to limit the number of immigrants entering the country, even a measure such as the deployment of the army along the coasts was taken, as if they were there to defend the borders of an empire. Meanwhile scores of illegal immigrants encounter death at sea and men trafficking in other men get rich by transporting these modern-day slaves.

The present system neither can, nor is it interested in, solving the existing contradictions in their own societies. It is even less interested in creating better living conditions for immigrant workers. While social security is being dismantled on the level of the entire society, it is very convenient to have a mass of marginalized people with a low social cost and high productivity, living in precarious conditions, under the pressure that comes from knowing they can easily be deported to their country of origin, frightened of racism, and used as tools of political propaganda. Europe is running the risk of the emergence of new and grass roots racist movements led by reactionaries, as in the case of Italy, where a recently issued decree law has encouraged racist behavior on the part

of the authorities, further worsening the plight of many immigrant workers.

By now, it is quite clear that the capitalist system is totally incapable of solving its own contradictions. Once again, in order to perpetuate itself, it will try to find temporary solutions to the problems it creates. Much less, will it be capable of bettering the situation of the Third World, since the exploitation of the latter's resources is fundamental to the survival of capitalism.

The only alternative we have is the potential of both the proletariat and of the Third World peoples to react against that reality of the coming fragmentation and individualism, of going back to Leninist perceptions which become more and more relevant today, of bringing together the liberation struggles for the self-determination of the peoples of Asia,

Africa, and Latin America with the struggles of the proletariat in capitalist countries. The struggle for liberation did not end with the decolonization wars, since they brought neither real independence nor an adequate model for development.

It is imperative to find ways and means to bring together the proletariat in all countries and to acquire a common awareness of the links between all common problems so as to achieve new forms of solidarity in opposition to backwardness, exploitation, violence, and racism. Unity is the only way to achieve a true respect for cultural differences. It is only by rejecting the idea of domination by one class over another, by one country over another, by one group over another, that one can think of the possibility of overcoming all existing conflicts, exploitation and destitution. ■



THE THIRD ISSUE of our newly reborn magazine was presented to participants in this Tricontinental gathering. The *Coordinadora* contributed greatly to our being able to publish again. Our pages have been used by our Italian friends to call on participating delegates to cooperate in order to assure that *Tricontinental* magazine will continue to appear regularly. This, according to Adriana Chlala, a member of that organization, is a most valuable tool to keep alive the voices of the African, Asian, and Latin American peoples, and also the voice of those human beings who, living in rich nations, make up the ranks of yet another Third World.

«The historic task of communication carried out by *Tricontinental* for almost three decades, for which we in Europe feel a debt of gratitude, is a source of inspiration in the struggle for the survival of a true collective effort,» Chlala told the diverse, numerous, and very receptive audience.



PRESENT IN SPIRIT

As if geographical distance and involuntary physical absence were just insignificant facts of life, a number of leaders of friendly countries and organizations inextricably associated with OSPAAAL made us feel —through their messages of solidarity addressed to the Tricontinental commemorative gathering— not only their spirit of adhesion to the OSPAAAL purposes, but also their confidence in the continuous existence of our organization and its leadership role in raising awareness for solidarity —more necessary today than ever before— with and among the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This was the spirit of the messages sent by Sam Nujoma and Eduardo Dos Santos, the Presidents of Namibia and Angola.

December 19, 1995

Mr. Ramón Pez Ferro
Secretary-General of OSPAAAL

Dear Mr. Ferro,

It is my sincere pleasure to send you a message of greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

On this propitious occasion I would like to take the opportunity to express, on behalf of the government and people of Namibia, our heartfelt thanks for the contribution of OSPAAAL to the liberation struggle of our country, and in general to the socio-economic development of peoples of developing countries.

Undoubtedly, the ideals for which OSPAAAL has fought throughout these years are the very same which must be upheld during the second phase of our struggle. Those ideals constitute the source of our inspiration in the battle we are fighting now to overcome injustice, economic dependence, and all their consequences. In this world of constant change, it is of utmost importance that organizations such as OSPAAAL continue bringing together the peoples of the South in the search for better standards of living and to improve the situation of those still living in poverty, without being able to satisfy some of their most basic needs.

To achieve the necessary political and economic changes it is imperative to adopt strategies and a modus operandi suitable to the new circumstances. Likewise it is important that we, as members of this organization, would again bring together our efforts to help the most vulnerable groups within our own societies. It is an undeniable truth that political emancipation would be empty for the majority of our peoples if it does not bring with it substantial increases in their standard of living.

The record of OSPAAAL's work during these 30 years speaks for itself. Its struggle has been carried out by men and women who dedicated their lives to promote social justice for the peoples of the South and throughout the world. It is my sincere hope that in the course of the coming years, while we get closer to the 21st century, their dedication and commitment to that task would be greater and even stronger. In the same spirit, I also hope that OSPAAAL will continue to play its role in the worldwide socio-political arena, representing those who cannot make their voices heard otherwise. At the same time OSPAAAL should continue to revitalize and encourage South-South cooperation and dialogue.

Once again I wish to congratulate OSPAAAL on behalf of the government and people of Namibia, as well as in my own name, and to express my hope that the organization will be capable of facing the challenges confronting it in the future with renewed strength and inspired vision.

Sam Nujoma
President of the Republic of Namibia

Luanda, January 15, 1996

His Excellency Mr. Ramón Pez Ferro
Secretary-General of OSPAAAL

Excellency,

On behalf of the government and people of Angola, and on my own behalf, I have the honor to congratulate Your Excellency, and through you the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, on its 30th anniversary. The 30th anniversary of the establishment of OSPAAAL and of the holding of the first Tricontinental Conference which took place in Cuba is a most outstanding event worthy of being recalled because of the role played for three decades by the organization, led by Your Excellency together with others, in the mobilization of progressive forces and of international public opinion of those times, for the liberation of the peoples who then still lived under colonial oppression, as did the Angolan people, whose glorious saga encouraged by unequivocal proof of international solidarity ended with our national independence which was also a contribution to the final eradication of colonialism in Southern Africa.

Despite the fact that colonialism is practically eradicated and notwithstanding the great changes that have taken place in the world, such as the end of the Cold War, I am convinced that at present OSPAAAL can still play an invaluable role in the cause of peoples who struggle for peace and for the defense and promotion of human rights, favoring progress and their social and economic development.

It is my pleasure in taking this occasion to convey to you and through you to OSPAAAL our sincere wishes for success in the achievement of the organization's objectives favoring humanity's noblest ambitions.

High consideration,

José Eduardo Dos Santos
President of the Republic of Angola

The following leaders of parties, organizations, and movements also sent warm greetings and expressions of support to OSPAAAL and the commemorative gathering:

Abdellahid Mehri, General Secretary of the National Liberation Front Party of Algeria

Saad Qassim Hmaoudi, General Secretary of the Conference of the Arab Popular Front

Nayef Hawatmeh, General Secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Morad Ghaleb and Nouri Abdul Razzak, Chairman and General Secretary, respectively, of the Organization of Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples

Guillermo Toriello, Chairman of the Association for the Unity of Our America

Miguel Anacleto Júnior, Chairman of the Brazilian Institute of Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples

Boricua People's Army-Macheteros of Puerto Rico

National Democratic Front of South Korea

Korean Committee of Solidarity with Asia and Africa

Nino Pasti International Foundation for the Peace and Independence of the Peoples (Italy)



MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

THE participants in the International Meeting «Solidarity with the Third World, a Challenge on the Eve of the Third Millennium», held January 12 to 14, 1996, in Havana, Republic of Cuba, the cradle of the Apostle, José Martí, would like to take this occasion to issue this message of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution on its 37th anniversary.

The Cuban people suffer not just for Cuba, but for all of humanity, just like the Vietnamese weakened U.S. imperialism with their blood for all the oppressed.

Despite the enormous obstacles they have had to face and overcome over the past three decades, the Cuban people have reaped important economic and social achievements, which rank them, according to many indicators, at the head of the underdeveloped nations, and as regards others, among the industrialized countries.

The Cuban people have also offered, generously, consistently, at a scale disproportionate to its size and resources, and selflessly, the most varied solidarity to many Third World countries. All this, without abandoning the defense of their independence and sovereignty and the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination, warranties of their decision to build a society wherein, as Martí proclaimed, the first law was to be reverence for the full dignity of man. Cuba gives untold inspiration to the world's oppressed.

Of a specially negative impact for their economy, the dramatic changes that followed the disappearance of the socialist bloc, particularly the Soviet Union, severely worsened the already deleterious effects of the economic, commercial, and financial blockade which for three decades the United States Administration has imposed against Cuba. This criminal attempt to subject our Cuban brothers and sisters by starvation and impoverishment was further

tightened, as of 1992, through the so-called «Cuban Democracy Act», know as the Torricelli Act, and is still patent in more recent monstrosities like the Helms-Burton Bill, flouting world opinion condemning this policy because of its anachronistic, anti-judicial, inhuman, and thoroughly unethical essence.

The combination of these factors has mired the Cuban people in a profound crisis and has forced them to live under a «Special Period» in times of peace, which has put to the test their ability to withstand difficulties that many considered insurmountable, in the globalized post-Cold War international scene under the political and military hegemony of its life-long enemy, the United States Administration.

The wise strategy designed by the Cuban Revolution, headed by *Comandante Fidel Castro* to resist and advance without forfeiting its principles or its most cherished social conquests, has enabled Cuba to carry out the necessary transformations to reinsert itself into this monopolar world dominated by transnationalized capitalism and imperialism drunk with arrogance.

Today we can verify that this policy is starting to bear fruit and that there are signs of economic reanimation, which, no doubt, will help salvage, maintain, and enhance the levels and the quality of life the Cubans have attained.

For all the above, the participants in this Meeting would like to take this opportunity here in Cuba to reiterate our unconditional solidarity with the dreams and hopes that sustain the Cuban people in their struggle and further demand of the William Clinton Administration, the immediate and unconditional cessation of the blockade against Cuba.

Havana, Republic of Cuba, January 14, 1996



Black American Kwame Toure, a member of the Revolutionary Party of all the African Peoples, read this message of support for Cuba, unanimously adopted by the event.



Economic Sanctions and their Humanitarian Incongruencies

LUIS MESA DELMONTE

The United Nations was established to prevent threats to international peace and security. But today the danger is that the U.N., time and time again, applies economic sanctions as punishment for entire peoples and as tools of political interference by some States in the affairs of others.

IT SEEMS obvious that the present stage of the recomposition of international relations and what is commonly referred to as the New World Order consider the imposition of coercive measures in general, and economic ones in particular, as a tool of choice.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and of the strategic-political Eastern European bloc, together with the outcome of the first war of the post-Cold War period, *i.e.* the Gulf War, have established new standards of behavior in world affairs. The new role played by the United Nations Security Council and the special influence exerted by U.S. policies within it are features of this new development.

The Iraqi occupation and annexation of Kuwait—in blatant violation of international law—facilitated the establishment of a broad world-wide consensus to punish Baghdad, which generated the adoption and implementation of a thorough group of sanctions, including economic sanctions.

After that, the Security Council began adopting sanctions of various types with greater frequency. Those established against the former Yugoslavia (1991), Somalia (1992), Liberia (1992), Libya (1992), and Haiti (1993), among others, are proof of the above.

Article 39 of the United Nations Charter establishes the exclusive power of the Security Council to determine the existence of any threat to peace or acts of aggression. In order to face any of these situations, and before deciding to recur to military sanctions (regulated in

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Article 42) the Charter, in Article 41, authorizes the possible application of other non-military sanctions, including those of an economic nature.

At least hypothetically, coercive measures or collective sanctions are intended as a tool to modify the behavior of a «delinquent» State, be this through a considerable reduction of its political and strategic capabilities (cases in which the sanctions include the breaking of diplomatic relations or an embargo on arms sales), or by means of producing a sizeable increase in domestic pressure as a result of a deteriorating economic situation (cases in which economic sanctions are applied).

It is precisely the case of economic enforcement action that requires deeper analysis, since it gives rise to certain ethical and humanitarian issues which can lead to practical situations that run counter to the desired results. At the same time, one should consider the incompatibility between this kind of decision taken by the Security Council—frequently at the initiative of the United States—and numerous resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly, which has historically called upon States to reject economic coercion as a means to achieve political goals.

Libya and Iraq: two clear examples

With respect to the implementation of economic sanctions in the present post-Cold War period, it is interesting to examine the cases of Libya and Iraq. This is so because of the numerous contradictions stemming from the Council decisions and because of the growing

number of hardships of all types being faced by the peoples in both countries.

In the case of Libya, resolutions 731, 748, and 883, adopted by the Security Council, have demanded of that country that it surrender two of its citizens suspected of having participated in the bombing of PanAm and Air France planes. The sanctions established in them are mainly directed against Libya's commercial, technological, financial, and productive activities, but have also affected the fields of health and social security.

Libya is willing to clarify the situation by means of surrendering the two citizens to an international court. However, the United States has consistently rejected such a proposal, thus favoring the dragging out of this affair, as well as its negative practical effects. If the real purpose of the sanctions was to clear up this affair—or even to pave the way for the adoption of other stronger measures against Libya in the event that that country were found guilty—then the proposal advanced by Tripoli would be adequate for that purpose and should have received a positive response from the Council.

With respect to Iraq, a rather broad consensus exists on Baghdad's fulfillment of the main elements of the various Council resolutions adopted during the Gulf War, i.e. the recognition of Kuwaiti sovereignty, the destruction of arms and other military programs, and allowing a permanent monitoring of the country's strategic programs. In fact, such an all-encompassing on site inspection pro-

cess has been established that it goes far beyond the initial spirit of the resolutions adopted and is being looked at askance by Council members such as Russia, France, and China.

The five-year extension of the sanctions has already begun to have considerable negative effects on the Iraqi population, and has produced a critical situation in the health field.

In this particular case an element of economic interest should also be considered: if sanctions were to be lifted, Iraq would almost immediately be able to join the world oil market and supply about two million barrels daily. That development would result in a drop in world oil prices. This would notably affect some producers in the Gulf and in the United States since the ruling Arab monarchies would have a more difficult time repaying the debts incurred during the Gulf War operations. Their debts have increased considerably since the war because of their buying of new high-tech war material.

In these two cases, the United States' goal of using these sanctions to achieve objectives more related to its own policy interests than with trying to reach an international consensus, becomes quite clear in the light of Washington's rejection of both the Libyan offered alternative solution for investigating her two citizens, and the obvious steps taken by Iraq to comply with an extensive sanctions regime. Actually the purpose is to maximize as much as possible the economic scarcities affecting the Libyan and Iraqi peoples in order to achieve the destruction of their respective political programs.

Modifying behavior or penalizing peoples?

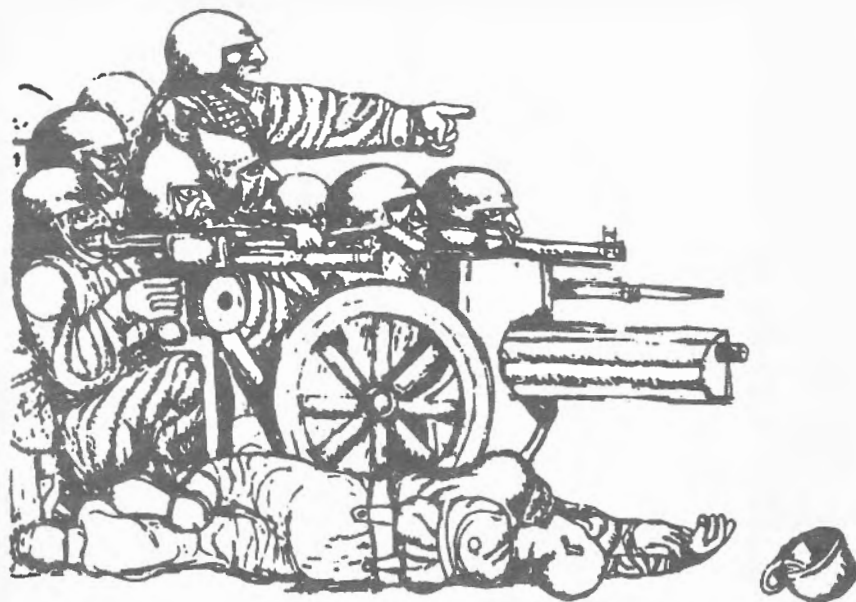
One must also take into account that adopting resolutions establishing sanctions under certain favorable historical conditions leaves all Security Council members hostage to their own behavior. This is so because, by insisting on their continued application, any single Council member can make it impossible to remove these sanctions.

The leading role assumed by the United States has made it possible for U.S. diplomacy to advance several different interpretations of the original decisions, as well as to establish new conditions and reasons aimed at the continuation of the sanctions. Concurrently, that same role allows the U.S. to impose its criteria with respect to whether or not a threat to international peace and security actually exists in a given instance.

Such concerns have been expressed even by the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Ghali. In the Supplement to his *«A Program for Peace»*, published on the occasion of the United Nations' 50th anniversary he stated:

«The purpose of sanctions is to modify the conduct of a party which threatens international peace and security, not to punish or retaliate in another way (...) The fact that in recent times the Security Council has resorted more frequently than before to this tool has given rise to several difficulties, particularly with respect to the purposes of the establishment of the sanctions, the monitoring of their implementation, and of their consequences (...) Not always have the objectives pursued with the imposition of a specific number of sanctions been clearly established. Actually, one could say that those objectives change with time. Because of this changing nature and the lack of precision, it is difficult for the Security Council to agree on just when the objectives have been achieved and to consequently lift the sanctions.»^[1]

With the implementation of global or general economic sanctions a number of gross humanitarian incongruencies arise, since the main consequences of the punishment is borne by the population at large. Even in the case of armed conflicts, international law pays great attention to the need to establish a number of standards. For





RAFAEL MORANTE

example, according to it a difference exists in the event of war, between a «terrorist bombing» and a «strategic bombing».^[2] In the case of the former, the suffering of the population is particularly sought after; in the case of the latter that possibility is simply tolerated. Nonetheless, in accordance with present day international law «terrorist bombings» are strictly prohibited and the civilian population cannot be considered as a direct target in armed conflicts.

Paradoxically, the application of economic sanctions corresponds more to this concept, because they are deliberately intended to affect the civilian population as a means of forcing the government to change its behavior. In addition, the ostensible humanitarian deterioration stemming from the implementation of economic sanctions would be in total contradiction with the declared interests

of post-Cold War thinking, which is to try to avoid crises of such a nature and which also advocates the principle of humanitarian intervention as a purported means to resolve these problems in a world ruled by a new international order.

In this regard, Dr. Hans Kochler has stated that «For sure, full economic sanctions seem to have emerged as the classical instrument to induce submission to the power politics of the so-called New World Order». He is of the opinion that the instrumentation of this type of measures seems to be consistent with the tradition established by the medieval military blockade (or siege) clearly intended to vanquish the civilian population by starvation.^[3]

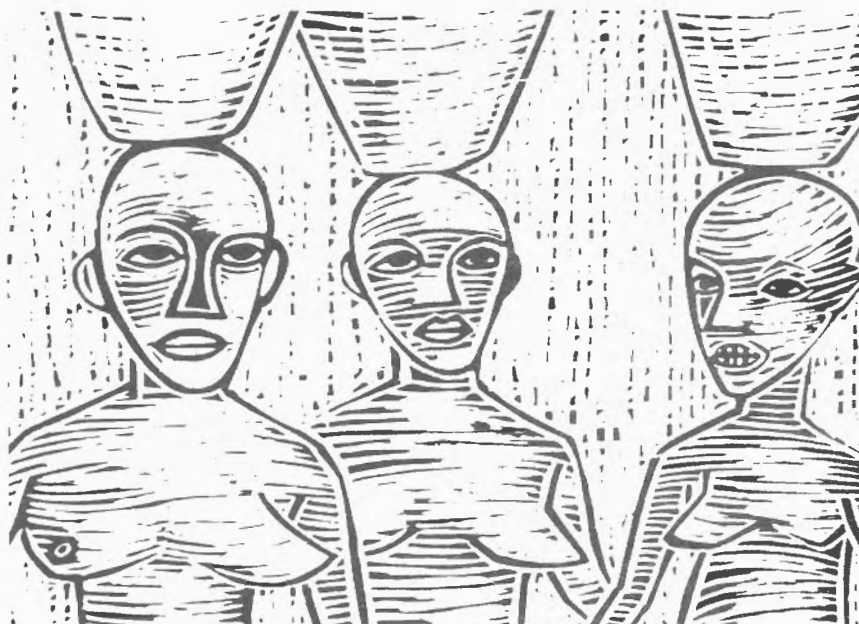
On the other hand, Chandra Muzaffar has remarked that: «In the measure that individual economies become more interdependent, the temptation to use

sanctions as a means to secure the success of the interests of individual States would be greater than ever (...) It seems that in times when 'economicism' is the dominant global ideology, sanctions may well become a substitute for war as an effective instrument of subjugation.»^[4]

If, in fact, during the new post-Cold War times the scenarios of global economic confrontation will be more frequent than situations resolved by armed conflicts, and if one takes into account that at present this trend toward an increased utilization of economic sanctions continues to strengthen, then in order to avoid the unilateral protagonism of some international actors and the proliferation of unacceptable humanitarian crisis, it will be necessary at least, to drastically change the mechanisms established within the the United Nations system —particularly within the Security Council— for the monitoring, reviewing, and reevaluation of such sanctions.

One can also not leave aside the fact that these economic measures are in reality basically applied by highly developed countries against underdeveloped countries, a fact which not only guarantees a devastating impact on the latter, but also widens the gap between the North and the South. In addition, the juridical conditions established for the implementation of this sort of sanctions, and the high level of supra-national interference inherent to them, not only place these sanctions in contradiction with national sovereignty but, at the same time, make them an insurmountable obstacle to the development of Third World humanitarian solidarity.

The need to erradicate this anti-human trend is, at this time, one of the main challenges faced by our Third World on the eve of the third millennium. ■



FRANCISCO VANDOUNEM M'ANGOLA

FOOTNOTES

^[1] *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization*; United Nations, General Assembly, Security Council, Doc. A/50/60, S/1995/1, 3 January, 1995.

^[2] Warren S. Quinn, «Actions, Intentions and Consequences: The Doctrine of Double Effect»; in *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, Vol. 18, 1989 (pp. 334-351).

^[3] Hans Kochler, *The United Nations Sanctions Policy and International Law*, (Just World Trust, Malaysia, 1995) (pp. 2, 6).

^[4] See the Preface of the above-quoted (Note [3] *supra*) work by Hans Kochler (p. iv).



Solidarity Under the New World Order

LUIS SUÁREZ SALAZAR

This thorough analysis of the «contribution» to humanity of liberal economics and democracy, the unipolar world, and the ideological-cultural globalization, makes it abundantly clear that it is of the utmost urgency to build up a new, broad, pluralistic, and worldwide solidarity movement.

ON LAST January 2nd, EFE, the Spanish news agency, reported on two studies made in the United States which show that despite the so-called end of the Cold War, more than 20 wars, a dozen armed conflicts of various natures, as well as, at least, another 39 situations involving political, ethnic, racial, or religious violence, or nurtured by terrorism or drug trafficking, have clouded the lives of more than 70 nations around the world.

The most alarming feature of those studies is that they show that the figures reflecting these conflicts were higher than those registered in similar conditions in 1994, and that the world continues to spend more than \$800 billion on military programs annually because of the militarist trends in big or medium-size powers which try to strengthen, preserve, or build up their hegemonist roles either within the international system or within some regional sub-systems.

Those trends make it difficult to achieve a quota of stability which according to some should have been the logical consequence of the disappearance of the East-West conflict. It also prevents the utilization of the resources derived from the so-called «peace dividend» to promote development. On the other hand, it is crystal clear that the world is immersed today in a serious social and environmental crisis and faces serious challenges to collective and individual security.

The immense social debt accumulated during recent years exerts a considerable influence on the crisis of present-day international relations, as well as on the trends leading to present-day insecurity. Despite the ostensible increase in the world's wealth, and in spite of the impetus and breathtaking advances of the scientific-technical revolution, 1.3 billion human beings (of which 70% are women) live in absolute poverty; 1.5 billion have

no access to drinking water and other elementary health services, 500 million suffer from hunger, one billion adults are functionally illiterate, 820 million are unemployed or under-employed, 500 million boys and girls receive no schooling and many of them survive precariously in the streets, 300 million indigent persons in more than 70 countries experience serious degrees of discrimination and violence, more than 500 million handicapped persons and hundreds of millions of elderly people watch how the most basic conditions of their existence deteriorate with each passing day. At the same time hundreds of millions of men and women have to face, on a daily basis, discrimination and violence because of sex, age, sexual preference, religious, racial, ethnical or other reasons, or because of their political aspirations. In addition, impunity is commonplace.

The profound inequality in today's world is exemplified by the growing marginalization of less favored communities and groups in many nations in the world, including those in the North which against all evidence, consider themselves as the only ones with a unique «civilized model», allegedly developed, democratic, and capable of resolving —by means of the so-called advantages of the *free market* and the *lean State*— the dramatic problems faced today by most of humanity.

Nonetheless, according to United Nations sources, less than 10% of the world's population fully participates in the political, economic, social, and cultural institutions which shape their daily lives.

The panacea of an irrational system

As the foundation of such a marginalizing and alienating «development model» one finds the asymmetric and

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polarized distribution of income and of purchasing power which exists today. In 44 of the euphemistically called developing countries, and in another 20 industrialized countries, for which data is available, the poorest 20% of the population receives on an average slightly over 5% of the national income, while the richest 20% receives between 40 and 50%.

This feature actually makes the bourgeois liberal democracies virtual apartheid systems in which an increasing number of citizens are excluded from participation in the governing of their societies, as well as from benefiting from the deeply eroding representative institutions.

This system of government existing in societies fostering impoverishment is intentionally being promoted as the panacea for the entire world, as the model for organizing and securing the functioning of the institutions on a world-wide scale.

The small number (five) of countries which can exercise the veto power in the United Nations Security Council and which, at the same time, control most of the economic mediatic, technological, and military power in the world, seek to impose a reform of the international system aimed at greatly weakening the role played by the United Nations General Assembly and to give the gloss of legitimacy to a system in which most nations in the world will only enjoy a limited degree of sovereignty.

Whether some of those countries are trying to impose their views by means of

advocating the extra-territorial effects of their national legislation, while others are imposing conditions to establish relations with underdeveloped countries, makes no difference to the fact that Northern powers are willing to globalize the theory and practice of the so-called *humanitarian interventions of peace keeping or peace making*. All these are tools for their efforts to undermine the principles of sovereignty, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other states, and people's self-determination which have been the cornerstones of present-day public international law. All this is attempted on the pretext of promoting human rights and to more effectively face the global problems affecting mankind.

Part of the scheme of the hegemonic powers is also the manifest attempt to give the international financial institutions greater influence over the functioning of the United Nations Economic and Social Council. This is so, particularly after these institutions have proven their ability to undermine the sovereignty of national states, by means of so-called adjustment programs and restructuring schemes agreed to between the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on the one hand, and the ruling sectors of most of the underdeveloped countries on the other.

Those programs and schemes were established on the pretext of securing the payment of the foreign debt of the countries once called Third World, and to solve their macro-economic imbalances. In fact, what they have achieved

is to homogenize, under mere crass neoliberal patterns, the national economies of most of those countries.

At the same time they have made possible the indiscriminate opening up of those economies to the appetite of a financial transnational oligarchy which, under the present conditions of economic globalization, is eager to maximize its profits, expand its borders to the areas opened to them as a result of the collapse of the so-called European real socialism, and to recolonize those regions or sub-regions in the underdeveloped world where they can achieve the expanded reproduction of capital, in particular that of parasitic speculative capital. This kind of capital destabilizes markets and creates new forms of domination over most of the world's nations and even of some nations within the current ruling bloc.

Ideological globalization

The developments described above are complimented and reinforced with present-day trends toward ideological and cultural globalization. The subjective impact of the collapse of the false European socialism together with the monopolization of the mass media by the capitalist big powers—particularly the United States—has continued to churn out a perverse code that canonizes the free market, tries to impose a unilateral concept of democracy and human rights, minimizes the role of the State, glorifies private capital, individualizes the solu-



ALBERTO BELTRÁN · MEXICO

different regions and with varied methods of struggle—to the designs of the imperial order and the alienating capitalist models which foster dependency.

What we are talking about is to bring to the common struggle the just and wide-ranging claims of the women's and feminist movements, of the various environmental movements, of the movements of indigenous communities and nations which demand modern forms of self-determination for their peoples, of the broad movement struggling for the materialization of all human rights, of the youth movements as well as those grouping students and defending the rights of children, of the religious movements and organizations which challenge the ruling religious structures and fight against obsolete and rigid hierarchies allied to the forces interested in maintaining the status quo, of the groups which struggle against discrimination exerted against the handicapped and the disabled, of men and women who in the Third Age demand social protection and try to find formulas that would allow them to employ their energies and experience in a way useful to the entire society. In short, the new solidarity movement will have to look for and at the same time offer solidarity to all human beings defending all just causes which, as Martí said, may be looking for the truth from the depths of a cave.

This widened international solidarity front must also include, with new forms of participation, the growing South which inhabits the North and suffers within it, that is, the migrant who at present must endure the increased xenophobia currently plaguing many nations of the once-called First World, and all those oppressed by an «order» which either systematically excludes them, or urges them to «assimilate» by accepting subordination to the prevailing cosmogony of the powers that be in their respective societies.

Updating and strengthening the links among the social and political movements from both the North and the South can, and must, contribute to establishing new supra-national alliances which are absolutely necessary to confront present trends toward the *economic and ideological-cultural globalization* existing throughout the world, as well as the theory and practice of those who advance the myth of the end of history. ■

tions to world and social problems, attempts to reduce international cooperation and solidarity to merchandise, and, in addition, spreads as «universal» attributes of mankind, the values, habits and customs of the main capitalist countries, particularly those in the so-called Western-Christian world.

Such an ideological-cultural message is clearly intended to destroy the most important features of many national identities. At the same time it is an attempt to erase or misinterpret important elements of the historical memory of our peoples with respect to their liberation struggle and idealizes the economic and ideological-cultural globalization of the world by presenting them as new phenomena capable of equalizing the situations in all nations of the world. Such ideas refuse to recognize any national or regional project that in one way or another does not conform to the domination of their *diktat*.

All that has been said until now has not been spelled out with the intention of overwhelming the reader. The sole purpose of it is to highlight the immensity of the challenges facing the nations which in other times were called Third World countries. To meet such challenges demands and will continue to demand a very strong determination on the part of the various social and political actors in them, who are truly interested in promoting civilizing models and development models which can be alternatives to those predominating throughout the world at present.

There is indeed room enough to ad-

vance such alternative projects. It is offered by the immense contradictions currently affecting capitalist economic, social, and political reproduction, including the persistent inter-imperialist contradictions, as well as by capitalism's historical incapacity to solve social, environmental, and value crises existing throughout the world.

Extra space for advancing the theoretical and practical criticism of the present-day ruling order, is the blatant incapacity shown by bourgeois market democracies all over the world to integrate into their daily operating structures vast sectors of the population, which are today demanding new forms of participation in the governance of institutions in their respective societies and communities affecting their day to day existence.

A difficult, yet possible and necessary task

This is not to say that this undertaking will be easy. In addition to the unavoidable building of a vast and pluralistic socio-political alliance at national level, a strengthened international solidarity movement will be required. This solidarity movement, of course, must also include the working class, both urban and rural, as well as that provided by the States and the various political forces—governmental or non-governmental—in the South. But the new international solidarity movement will have to both receive and offer solidarity from and toward all the new social, religious, and cultural movements which offer resistance —in



MOMENTS OF SPECIAL HOMAGE



PHOTOS: SCITL

Julius Nyerere receives an award from OSPAAAL Secretary-General Ramón Pez Ferro.

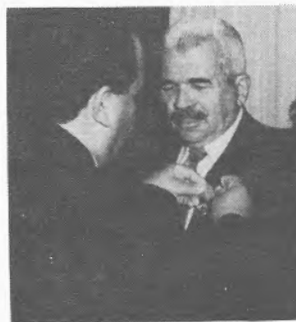
Outstanding Personalities Awarded Ben Barka Order

IN A CEREMONY held in the *Casa de la Amistad* in Havana, the «El Mehdi Ben Barka» Order of Solidarity was awarded to Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Nguyen Thi Binh, and Rafael Cancel Miranda, three outstanding personalities in the struggles for the liberation of our peoples. The awards were granted during the celebrations for the 30th anniversary of the First Tricontinental Conference and the founding of OSPAAAL.

The Order is intended as a public recognition of those who have, in an outstanding fashion, dedicated their lives to the common fight against, and solidarity with, decolonization, full independence, and development.

Former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, who is an example of self-denial and wisdom, embodying the aspirations of his people; patriot

Cancel Miranda, a figure embodying the anti-colonial struggle of Puerto Rico; and Nguyen Thi Binh, the admirable combatant, symbol of Vietnam's saga, all share an inspirational life which has merited international esteem. All of them are paradigms of the noble principles upon which the Ben Barka Order



Rafael Cancel Miranda receives the Ben Barka Order from Walid Salim Abdel-Rahim, a member of the Executive Secretariat of the Tricontinental Organization.

was established. On behalf of those receiving the Order, Julius Nyerere expressed gratitude for the honor bestowed upon them by OSPAAAL. He took the opportunity to particularly stress the contribution of the Cuban people to the African continent, a deed that, in his view, Africa will never forget. Likewise, Nguyen Thi Binh—who was unable to attend the ceremony—sent inspired words of gratitude on behalf of her people and herself.

South African leader Nel-

son Mandela was the first to receive this Order, awarded him during his 1991 visit to Cuba. The Order was established in 1986 with the goal of perpetuating the memory of the Moroccan internationalist combatant El Mehdi Ben Barka, one of the architects of the Tricontinental Conference and chairman of its preparatory committee. He was murdered two months prior to the holding of the event in Havana.

Olga Marta Pérez and Ivette Zuazo



Tomás Borge, one of the historic commanders of the Sandinista Revolution.

Event Merits New Stamp Issue

THIRTY YEARS ago the holding of the Tricontinental Conference was registered in Cuban philately. Then the logo of the meeting appeared on a white background. Now the delegates to the international solidarity gathering took time from the debate to attend the cancellation of the stamp commemorating the founding of OSPAAAL.

Outstanding personalities including Julius Nyerere, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Tomás Borge, Paulo Teixeira Jorge, a founder of OSPAAAL and at present a member of the MPLA Political Bureau; Ryan Dal Ju, vice-president of the Korean Committee of Afro-Asian Solidarity, and Ramón Pez Ferro, Secretary-General of the Tricontinental Organization were present at the occasion.

Olga Marta Pérez



PHOTOS: SCULL

Consistency, artistic value and the ability to communicate the organization's message of solidarity have characterized the OSPAAAL posters and put them in the international forefront of that field.

RETROSPECTIVE OF TOP QUALITY POLITICAL POSTERS

IT IS PEOPLE indeed who give character to epochs as well as places, particularly when they give the best of themselves so as to use their particular sensitivity to make a difference for others. If the Cuban Revolution made the decade of the 60s a watershed in the history of Latin America and the world, its graphic art, particularly its posters constitute an unforgettable visual testimony of the sensitivity that the Revolution was capable of contributing to one of the most vital and beautiful fields of human creativity.

This was clearly seen once again starting last January 12th, when in the context of the activities to honor the 30th anniversary of OSPAAAL, a retrospective of OSPAAAL posters opened at the International Press Center in Havana. The works of 30 artists were displayed in the exhibition which included not only the small format posters included in every issue of *Tricontinental* magazine, but also those larger ones printed during the 80s— which included all those that contributed to establishing the specific visual code that singled out

the OSPAAAL posters from the rest of the political poster movement in Cuba.

Following a strict chronological order the exhibit offered visitors a review of the most outstanding stages in the evolution of this poster movement, making it possible to compare and analyze the formal and conceptual features which identified their visual messages for more than two decades of creative work.

In fact, the overall vision of the exhibition proved something which intuition had provided in previous analysis, namely the consistency and powerful

communication potential of the posters of the first stage, as well as the visual eclecticism of those belonging to the second stage (1975-1985) which featured a variety of formats, artistic techniques, and styles. It is not by chance that the most outstanding works among the best posters of this second epoch are those which continued to structure their messages in accordance with the codification elements established by the best examples of the vanguard Cuban poster movement from the so-called «Golden Decade» (1965-1975).

This revisiting of the

OSPAAAL poster movement—which at its peak impacted on more than 80 countries on three continents— undoubtedly gave a boost to solidarity. The themes depicted in the OSPAAAL posters gave further proof, not only of the relevance of the verbal message behind the visual image, but also of their visual tropology and sharp polychromy, without putting aside the ability to synthesize its symbolic manifestation which ran the gamut from abstract to figurative.

In fact, the exhibit allowed visitors not only to dwell on a significant moment in our history and visual culture, but also on first quality art which was partially undervalued because of the transitory nature of its specific visual messages (and even because of the very nature of human development) that deserves greater recognition and further study. Welcome to the initiative that made possible this remarkable retrospective of the OSPAAAL posters. The solidarity reverberations of its initial impact has not dimmed, nor will it dim in the future.

Jorge R. Bermúdez





Ana María Pellón Sáez, director of Tricontinental magazine expressing thanks for the help and encouragement received that has made it possible for this magazine to again be published. Its 133 issue was especially presented at the Meeting by Rafael Cancel Miranda.



Spreading Hope

A SPECIAL ISSUE —number 133— of *Tricontinental* magazine was put out for the occasion. It was one of the presentations well received by the Meeting, where, in the voice of Rafael Cancel Miranda, participants praised and encouraged this publishing endeavor.

Looking back over three decades to the first Tricontinental Conference, the magazine recalls those historic days in January 1966; reviews the work of OSPAAAL; highlights the constant presence of the leaders of national liberation movements; and examines events on the three continents. Prominent space was also given to Ernesto Che Guevara, honored thus as the unforgettable guerrilla whose revolutionary ideas and conduct became the ideal of thousands of men and women throughout the

whole world.

The creation of *Tricontinental* magazine was agreed to at the Conference in 1966 and the publication will mark its 30th anniversary in August 1997. Due to the difficult economic circumstances in Cuba —where the magazine is based— *Tricontinental* did not come out for four years. But it was back in business in 1995 thanks to the solidarity of the Italian *Coordinadora* of Support for the Cuban Revolution which contributed funds for its publication.

Future issues of our magazine will continue to air the demands and hopes of the millions of human beings in the world suffering injustice, abandonment, and exploitation, because *Tricontinental* also knows how to spread hope.

Olga Marta Pérez



WITH A SINGLE HEART

AN EXTREMELY rich flow of ideas was clearly visible during the debates of the two panels of the international solidarity gathering convened by OSPAAAL to celebrate its 30th anniversary. In fact, it can be said that committees one and two in which items «Third World Solidarity under the Conditions of the New World Order» and «The Third Millennium and the Threats to Sovereignty and National Independence», worked quite harmoniously with a single heart.

All 182 delegates coming from Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and North America agreed that progressive forces must face dangerous challenges because of the wish of the main powers to consolidate a new world order based on globalization. Thus, they stressed the unjust, alienating nature of that order which exposes the inability of the capitalist system to solve the most serious problems facing humanity today. It is worth noting that present day globalizing trends are not only making more acute the uneven distribution of wealth, creating an unprecedented increase in joblessness, underemployment and marginalization, but also promoting interventionist ideas so as to increase and legitimize several forms of intervention by the United States and other industrialized countries in the domestic affairs of underdeveloped countries. This situation must be faced by means of reviving and further developing solidarity among progressive forces of the First and Third Worlds.

The debates concluded with the understanding that because of the new strategies of the governments of the industrialized nations, the masses must display new and diverse forms of solidarity in order to achieve a higher degree of unity which could allow them to check the divisive maneuvers which have come into practice as a result of the revival of racist and xenophobic

ideas and practices.

Another issue on which participants focused, was the continuation of the Cold War atmosphere in the world as the big powers continue their militarist trends, foster regional conflicts, continue to export arms, and to produce and test nuclear weapons. At the same time, those countries and their transnational corporations, together with the IMF and the World Bank, put into practice modern variations of neo-colonization of the underdeveloped countries thus threatening world peace.

All these trends led to the weakening of the principles and norms governing international relations and to the current behavior of the United Nations Security Council which at present supports interventions and legitimizes blockades in a clear expression of its anti-democratic nature.

Delegates strongly agreed on a series of conclusions which undoubtedly

constitute an action program for progressive forces:

—full cohesion and concerted action of popular forces, both within individual countries and at regional and world-wide levels.

—support for the peoples' struggles against the strongholds of colonialism, the occupation of one country by another, and for peoples' social and economic development, full independence, self-determination, and sovereignty.

—the need for progressive forces all over the world to strengthen their ties by promoting alternative mechanisms of communication, exchanges of experiences and information, and other similar actions conducive to strengthening the world solidarity movement;

—the rejection of the attempts of the big powers to create conflicts between peoples, ethnic groups, social sectors and different regions.

—the launching of a strong



The 182 delegates to the meeting agreed that new and varied forms of solidarity among Third World peoples must be found urgently, so as to effectively meet the challenge posed by the New World Order the industrialized powers seek to establish.



Marcelino Dos Santos, OSPAAAL founder and a member of the Mozambique Liberation Front Central Committee, and the head of his country's Friendship Association with Cuba, during the solidarity meeting.



José Ramón Balaguer, a member of the Political Bureau of Cuba's Communist Party Central Committee, reading the message sent to the gathering by President Fidel Castro.



Paulo Teixeira Jorge, OSPAAAL founder and a member of the Political Bureau of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, reading the meeting's final declaration for approval.



Edwin González, delegate of Puerto Rico's New Independence Movement and a member of OSPAAAL's Executive Secretariat reading the meeting's closing statement.

movement against blockades, unilateral coercive measures, the existence of military bases and the presence of foreign troops;

—the struggle to ban the production and testing of nuclear weapons.

It is worth noting the recognition of the fact that for some of our countries the most immediate and crucial problem is that of achieving independence, while others must strengthen independence by means of social and economic progress and the participation of the vast majority in popular projects in order to enjoy total sovereignty.

In systematically analyzing the attacks against the sovereignty of our peoples, participants agreed on the need to be alert to the utilization of

subtler methods which include alien educational and cultural schemes and the increasingly alienating mass media.

To properly answer such new forms of aggression, a new form of resistance was advanced based on safe-guarding the rights and cultural identities of peoples, particularly their original cultural patterns, without losing sight of the need to act together in this ideological struggle for the protection of national dignity.

The participants also criticized the attempts to establish a linkage between the problems of drug trafficking and people's insurgency. In fact, the anti-drug struggle is making possible at present the deployment of new patterns of repression and intervention against peoples.

Such a vital issue for the modern world as the protection of national resources, the eco-systems and the environment merited special attention in the forum. The participants stressed the urgent need to coordinate efforts in order to save all of them, basically in the Third World, where the ecological system is frequently damaged because of the utilization of their resources by industrialized countries.

One of the most emotional moments of the meeting was perhaps when the delegates unanimously recognized the present-day importance of the main principles upon which OSPAAAL was originally established and the need to maintain alive the struggles and ideals of the great leaders of this movement.

Olga Marta Pérez



INTERNATIONAL MEETING

THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY: CHALLENGES IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM

FINAL DECLARATION

WE, 182 delegates and national guests, from 41 countries and representatives of six regional and international organizations, meeting in Cuba, a country that has always demonstrated solidarity, to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America and celebrate the three decades of work of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

AGREE that OSPAAAL, born of one of the most important agreements of that historic Tricontinental Conference, has effectively fulfilled its mandate to link the peoples of the Third World in a single sheaf of solidarity in their legitimate aspiration to emancipation from imperialism, headed by the United States, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

ACKNOWLEDGE that in its trajectory, OSPAAAL has helped unite the common efforts of our peoples for their full independence and prosperity, a goal often crowned with success and other times frustrated or insufficiently attained, enough so for the organization to reaffirm the actuality of its endeavors, in line with the new circumstances and realities that characterize the international arena in which it must deploy its efforts.

CONSIDERING THAT:

There are no more than five years to the end of this century, probably the most complex in the history of mankind, and that we are witnesses to and participants in a substantive change in the international situation, characterized by the increasing globalization of the world economy, the interdependence of national economies and transnationalization on a world scale, mainly in the banking, production, and communications sectors, which are expanding their influence into other areas of social life, including politics, information, and culture.

In the developed countries, and with no scarcity of local followers, there are increasingly frequent «theses» on the need for global governability and political and cultural homogenization, whose most outstanding paradigms would seem to be: market economy, liberal democracy, and a unilateral way of interpreting human rights.

The intention is to renew the domination mechanisms to strengthen the subordination of the peoples of the South, including the intention to remodel the forms of behavior and the scales of values of the citizens of this zone of the earth on the basis of the patterns of conduct prevailing in realities that are totally alien to their traditions and interests. Thus the main world powers are determined to try to annul the identity of our peoples and deprive us of our legitimate right to independence, sovereignty, and self-determination.

The consequences of the economic and social order, of globalization, and of their neoliberal substrate have been catastrophic for the underdeveloped nations. While the world witnesses the unprecedented advance of a scientific and technical revolution, in the countries of the Third World, where 80% of the world's population lives, 50% of the economically active population is unemployed or underemployed, more than a billion human beings live in conditions of poverty and broad sectors of the population do not have access to basic health and education services, especially the women, children, and the aged.

The so-called new world order has made the injustices prevailing in international economic relations unbearable and has deepened the enormous abyss of inequality separating the industrialized countries from the underdeveloped nations.

The alledged economic successes of neoliberalism have actually entailed the loss of important sectors of the national heritage and of crucial social achievements there where they might have been attained, as well as

the extreme polarization that engenders the unfair distribution of income, facts that are particularly harmful to the Third World but do not spare the more vulnerable sectors of the industrialized countries.

Furthermore, the foreign debt and the flight of capital continue to increase; financial investments are encouraged to make speculative superprofits; and often irreversible ecological damage is tolerated.

All this is compounded by crises of political instability and severe ethical problems, evils of universal scope that are also plaguing many nations of the Third World. The political and administrative corruption now affecting the highest spheres of power in several countries, the lack of credibility of the representative democracy system, in political parties and personalities that are evidencing, more than ever before, eloquent symptoms of attrition, are invading the social fabric and corroding the foundations of societies and their governability.

The new context that has appeared with the end of the «Cold War» has unfortunately not brought to the world either peace or stability. Many believed that with the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the collapse of the socialist bloc, and with it the bipolar balance born of the post-war period, solidarity and the struggle for peace would no longer be necessary. The facts have amply proven just how far that thesis was from reality.

In this post-cold war period, in 1994, there were 31 armed conflicts in 27 countries; the irrational escalation of the arms race continues; and there has been a consolidation of the hegemonic military and political leadership of the United States. We are witnessing how a great power, a signatory of the U.N. Charter and founder of the organization, continues to be the greatest supplier of weapons throughout the world, thereby creating tension in the international arena and frustrating the desire of mankind to witness a general disarmament that will do away with all the stockpiles of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction; one that will eliminate the use and threat of use of force, arrogance, policies of hostility and blockades by powerful States against peoples that exercise their right to self-determination.

Those of us who as brothers and sisters in our shared histories of exploitation and oppression should never have come to confrontation have not been spared by the conflicts that endanger peace and security in our regions. The dangers of armed confrontations for territorial, ethnic, religious, and other reasons, which should be settled through fair political solutions, continue to be latent. Furthermore, in some of our countries there are those who encourage increased defense budgets and purchases of weapons which are all too often used to repress the growth of the popular movement rather than to defend national independence and sovereignty.

This atmosphere of insecurity throughout the world is aggravated by the new pattern of multilateral military intervention, tested during the Gulf War and later reproduced under the modality of «humanitarian operations» in more recent conflicts under the mantle of legitimacy provided by the United Nations Security Council.

This brief inventory of the main dangers threatening the survival of mankind on the threshold of the third millennium compels us to:

- Defend the actuality of solidarity among peoples, stressing all the value of its content and scope; the imperative of strengthening a unity capable of respecting the broadest diversity, as well as the sense of humanitarianism that those of us who have been less favored by destiny must rescue and oppose to the injustices, to the savage imperialism of market laws, to the worship of selfishness and individualism, and to the hegemonic intention to dominate this world, as much ours as the rich and the powerful believe it is theirs.
- To continue fighting, with renewed vigor, to attain the most cherished dreams of our peoples, which are summarized in their aspirations to ecologically sustainable development, social justice, peace, and a genuine participative democracy that will assign a relevant role to the popular and social movement in decision making.
- To insist that the aim of achieving social development constitutes a challenge that has to be faced by all of mankind and that steps must be taken to create a renewed climate of international cooperation and solidarity, which would be evidenced by the fulfillment by the industrialized countries of the target of appropriating 0.7% of their GDP as a minimal reparation for the historical plundering to which they have subjected the underdeveloped world.
- To reject all mechanisms of intolerance, exclusion and the most diverse forms and expressions of gender, racial, ethnic, and other kinds of discrimination that bring about social disintegration and obstruct the advancement of our nations.

- To condemn colonialism in all its manifestations and preserve the indefeasible right of all the peoples of the world to national independence, sovereignty and self-determination, which are the guiding principles of international law, against the present and future dangers of globalization and its manipulated theoretical foundations based on «limited sovereignty» and «humanitarian intervention».
- To strengthen the struggles of the peoples for the disintegration of the military blocs and alliances, the dismantling of military bases, including nuclear ones, and the withdrawal of foreign troops. Furthermore, to increase efforts tending toward the signing of an international treaty for the total prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons.
- To demand the urgent democratization of the United Nations and of its Security Council through enlargement of its membership and fair and balanced geographic representation, which must be rotational; the elimination of the anti-democratic privilege of the use of the veto, and the subordination of the Council to the General Assembly, pursuant to the demands of broad sectors of public opinion and the international community. At the same time, we must enhance the role of influence and counterbalance being played by the forums of NGOs in connection with official agreements of the recent world conference convened by the United Nations.
- To support from the perspective of the broadest possible range of associations intended for the articulation of the civil society, the strengthening of the multilateral spaces for agreement and collaboration that the underdeveloped countries have, such as the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Group of 77, and the South Center to design common strategies that will allow them to face the new global challenges.
- To broaden the spaces for exchange of experiences and reflection on issues that rally and mobilize the broadest sectors of contemporary civil society toward the identification of points of convergence for reciprocal action and solidarity with the forces that make up the progressive movements in the developed countries of the North, which also suffer the thrust of the new world order.
- To encourage research on and dissemination of all that happens in our environment and, particularly in the South, to foster the establishment of new alternative communications mechanisms and express our support for those media, such as *Tricontinental* magazine, which in these times can play an important role against the permanent disinformation and transculturalization that the power centers of the industrialized North would impose upon us.

Our commitments today comprise the main challenges that we have to face on the threshold of the third millennium and we assume them with the conviction that we are helping to defend the survival of mankind, the destiny of future generations, and our most cherished and indefeasible dreams.

Signed in Havana on the 14th day of the month of January of the year 1996.

OSPAAAL DECLARATION against the Helms-Burton Law

The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, OSPAAAL, meeting in an extraordinary session in its Havana headquarters in order to review the international situation created by the U.S. Congress' adoption of the Helms-Burton Law decided to issue the following:

DECLARATION

The adoption of the Helms-Burton Law by the U.S. Congress is yet another vile aggression against the people of Cuba, and at the same time a blatant violation of the most elementary norms of public international law and of the practice of free trade among nations.

The threats and reprisals envisioned in this act against governments, enterprises, and citizens maintaining economic relations with Cuba, show an inadmissible lack of respect and a total denial of the independence and sovereignty of all States in the world.

It is in this form that the United States of America has found the sole way to expand, unilaterally and arbitrarily, to a new universal level, its more than 35 year long criminal economic, financial, and trade blockade against the Cuban people.

The aggressive and colonizing character of this legislation, as well as its declared interventionist and extra-territorial intentions explains the broad negative reaction of world public opinion and of a great number of governments, including Washington's closest allies, who indignantly reject the attempt to make them obey U.S. laws.

Because of the seriousness of this action and the threat it represents for the independence and sovereignty of nations, in particular that of poor and underdeveloped countries, OSPAAAL calls upon all anti-imperialist, mass, women's, youth, workers, political, environmental, religious, and other organizations, as well as upon all men and women on all continents to unequivocally and strongly condemn this law which flouts all norms of international law, including the United Nations Charter, and ignores the independence and sovereignty of nations.

OSPAAAL invites all those organizations and individuals to express their condemnation by means of public demonstrations, rallies, press articles, seminars, as well as any other effective channels available, in order to contribute to the establishment of a world-wide front of repudiation of this new supra-national attempt at domination, which if not stopped in time may lead the world to be subjected by the diktat and hegemonic legislation of U.S. imperialism.

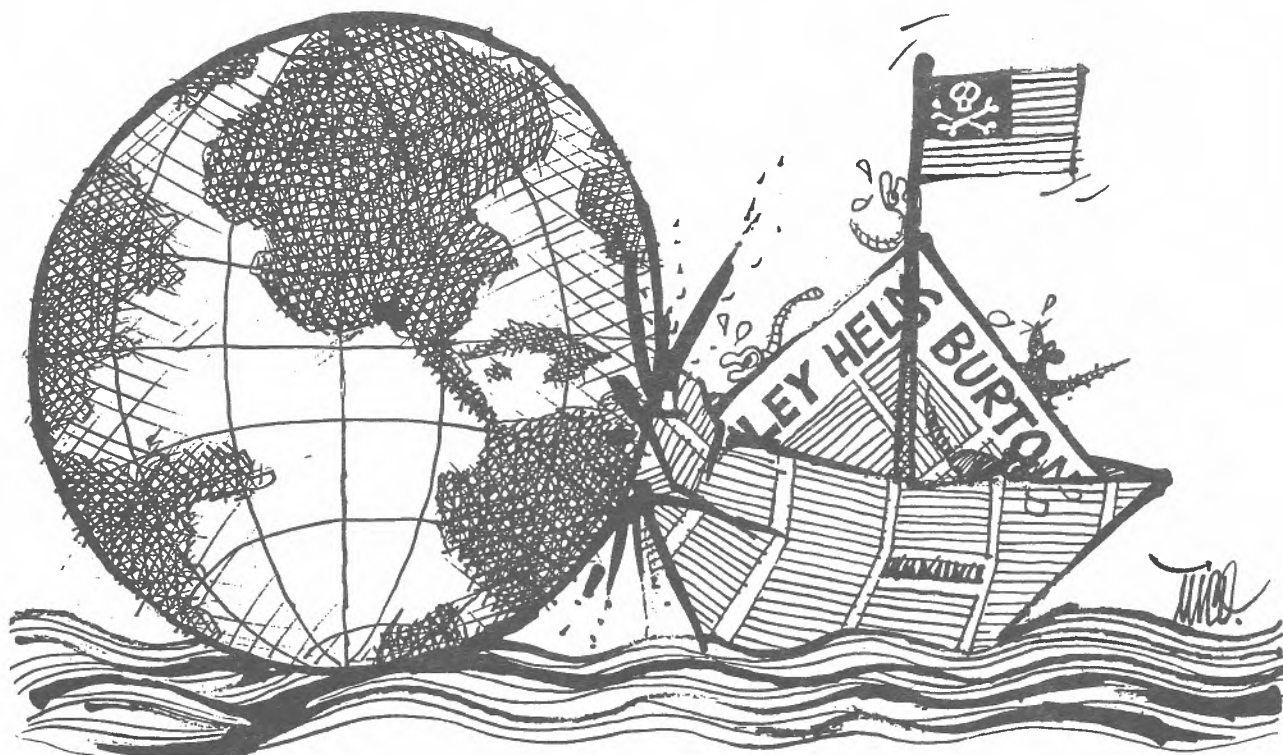
Havana, March 14, 1996

OSPAAAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

HELMS-BURTON LAW

ANATOMY OF A BLUNDER

Carlos Fernández de Cossío



A careful assessment of the main features and purposes of this act. Why was it possible to pass it, and why it will be difficult to impose it upon Cuba and the rest of the world.

The history of U.S. government efforts to punish and commit economic aggression against Cuba is quite long. Within this framework the Helms-Burton Law is the most recent attempt to implement the kind of policy to which our country has been subjected for a considerable number of years.

It was preceded by the Torricelli Act,

Carlos Fernández de Cossío is the head of the North America Division of Cuba's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

passed in 1992, which provoked the negative reaction of the immense majority of the international community, particularly that of developing countries that are also victims of such legislation and, of course, potential targets of the same kind of legislation in the future.

Anyone might have thought that the Torricelli Law was already sufficient given the extremism of its attack; what will be the upper limit of U.S. aggression against a country with which it is not formally at war. Nevertheless, the most virulent en-

emies of Cuba inside the United States have been capable of formulating a new attempt at aggression, as if they wanted to show that there is still room for their efforts to force us to our knees and to unleash a war in real terms against the Cuban economy.

It is important to analyze the context in which the new law was passed. On the one hand, we had witnessed the first signs of Cuba's economic recovery as our country strives to overcome this critical «special period». Today, no one

in the world doubts that Cuba can achieve important gains, nor its capacity to resist and to design a way to its economic recovery and continuing development. This of course was bad news for our most militant enemies in the United States.

In addition, there is a growing challenge world-wide to the policy of blockade of Cuba. This has been very clear in the United Nations resolutions where a growing number of countries have voted to condemn the U.S. economic blockade of Cuba. This trend has been reflected in the bad press which the blockade has received internationally and the mounting expressions of solidarity that Cuba receives from many peoples around the world. But additionally—and this is very important—in the last two years, this opposition to the blockade has also been seen among the business community, the academic world, the influential media, and even within the Cuban community in the United States and of course, in the action of the solidarity groups which for years have maintained a stiff anti-blockade position.

This opposition to the blockade has also surfaced within certain circles inside the U.S. opposed to the Cuban Revolution and socialism and that would like to see a different kind of system in our country. These circles have begun to advocate the implementation of a more sensible policy, or at least, a more civilized one.

It is against this background that the law has been passed, after having been submitted to Congress for the first time during the Spring of 1995, precisely at the time when power was assumed by the new Republican majority, of the more conservative forces in the United States—which has always been the main allies of the foes of the Cuban Revolution in that country. The adoption of this law was made possible as a result of a number of factors coming together. The first one was the alliance established between the extreme right Cuban-American mafia in Florida with the most reactionary elements existing in U.S. society, that at present dominate both houses of the U.S. Congress. At the same time there exists a peculiar situation having to do with this being an election year in which one can witness acts of political chicanery between two very similar parties, the Republican and the Democratic, scrambling over votes for the presidency.

All these elements together with a number of provocations against Cuba

originating in the U.S., opened the way not only for passage of the law by Congress, but also for a shift in the U.S. President's own position motivated by clear electoral opportunism. Thus he decided to negotiate passage of the law and its further proclamation (although there were indications that the White House had reached a compromise earlier—or at least its intention—by which it would not veto the law as Clinton had threatened).

What is the purpose of the Law?

It is no secret that in present-day conditions no underdeveloped, or developing country can develop without the participation of foreign capital, and the most common modality of the latter is none other than direct foreign investment. This being the case, one of the fundamental purposes of the law is to discourage this type of investment in Cuba and to deny to our country the flow of capital that is needed for our development.

Closely linked to the previous consideration is the fact that our enemies, most of whom, in general, live in the United States seem to have overestimated the role to be played by foreign investment in the island. It is true that Cuba has a policy aimed at attracting this kind of investment and that in the last three or four years, this type of investment has played a certain role in the country's economic recovery. Nonetheless, it would be an exaggeration to state that this element has been the fundamental one in Cuba's recovery. Other factors, especially those related to an improved economic organization of the country and a better utilization of the available national resources have also been instrumental in this development.

But the United States seems to ignore this reality and if one reviews the kind of threats included in the law, in particular the kind of punishment to be meted out to those who invest in Cuba, one easily realizes that one of the law's main





purposes is to intimidate both individuals and entities already having investments in Cuba or that might invest in the future.

The other key purpose of the Helms-Burton Law is to establish the perpetuation of United States hostility against our country, to prevent that the increased questioning of the blockade, the growing solidarity movement, and the Cuban economy's recovery, from leading a future U.S. administration to change Washington's present Cuba policy. In other words, to avoid a possible lifting of the blockade.

Then the following question arises: who benefits from the law? The answer is, those circles in the United States who live off of the counter-revolution, who would be left jobless and without an income with which to continue their life style, were all the problems between the United States and Cuba to be resolved and the blockade lifted.

In an effort to tighten the economic noose around Cuba and to impede Cuba's normal economic relations with other countries, the law establishes sanctions against those countries which trade with

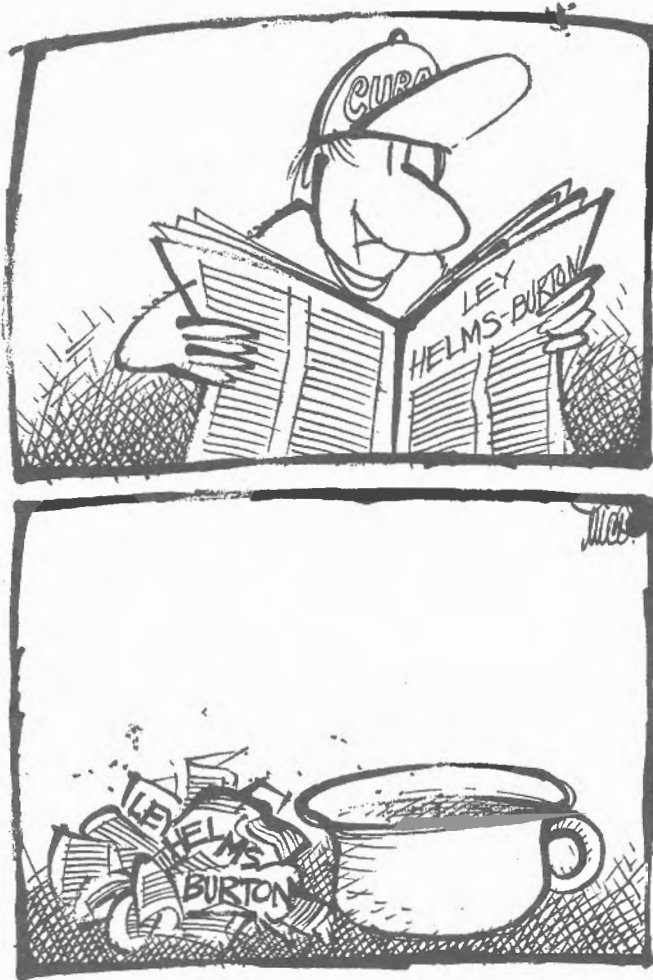
the island under not necessarily «market» terms. Actually most of Cuba's foreign trade is conducted precisely on market terms. In other words, gone today are long term agreements on preferential conditions, as well as the loan agreements signed during the 70s and 80s with the then socialist countries. Even if this is the case, the Law wants to secure that everyone who would offer Cuba preferential conditions in terms of credits, export-guarantee arrangements, easy payment terms, barter deals, mutual advantage agreements, or other conditions that would not strictly adhere to «market» rules will have to face sanctions.

A similar punitive action is to be taken against those granting assistance to Cuba. This is the case, for example, of the countries which were formerly part of the ex-Soviet Union. The Law formally establishes that should any of them dare to establish or to continue trade relations with Cuba on not strictly market terms, the U.S. would reduce any aid earmarked for them in exact proportion to their assistance to Cuba, or to the value of the «non-market trade»

with us. Consequently the United States goes much beyond their bilateral dispute with Cuba and in doing so tramples upon the sovereignty of third parties.

In accordance with the Helms-Burton Law, the U.S. President is forced to annually present Congress with a detailed report on Cuba's foreign economic relations—with complete information on the exact projects, in what region of the country they exist, with what company, etc.. As a result a whole series of economic intelligence gathering activities on Cuba will have to be launched for the purpose of more effectively implementing the sanctions stipulated in the Law and to enable U.S. diplomats and others residing in third countries to implement their instructions to obstruct and impede any Cuban effort to establish economic links or any other kind of transactions, agreements, trade, financial, credit or investment operations with any country of the world.

Such instructions, an integral part of the economic war launched by the U.S. against Cuba is not a new development



but from now on its implementation will be facilitated to a great extent because of the level of the data required from the executive by the Helms-Burton Law.

What's new

All regulations on the blockade, for the past 30 years, were basically issued by the executive on the basis of authority granted by the U.S. Congress. The Torricelli law was an exception, being a law in its own right, all the previous ones just authorized the President to implement the blockade. This is no longer the case following enactment of the Helms-Burton Law, since its provisions actually instruct the President to act in a specific way since all previous regulations have been codified as laws of the United States. In other words: after this Law the U.S. President is not authorized to impose a blockade and to lift it whenever he considers appropriate, but is obliged to implement the blockade.

He can neither lift it, nor modify U.S. policy toward Cuba unless a series of

condition are complied with. Those conditions make up a list so long that it would be impossible to fully include here, but obviously anyone who knows Cuba realizes that it would be an illusion to think that our people are going to submit to that kind of regulation.

Other portions of the law, in particular its Titles III and II, introduce very innovative features to present-day international law. The first of them has to do with nationalizations carried out by Cuba which were decided on the basis of provisions of the 1940 Cuban Constitution (in effect in Cuba at the triumph of the Revolution), pursuant to the norms of international law, and in accordance with the practice known throughout the world both before and after the Cuban nationalization acts. Now with this new law, the U.S. legislators have decided to declare those nationalizations null and void—and not only those affecting U.S. citizens at the time they were enacted but also those affecting the property of Cuban citizens who after 1959 left Cuba for the United

States and who later became naturalized citizens.

In this way, they try to determine by means of a U.S. law whether something that takes place in Cuba is either legal or illegal, without due regard for which legislation or juridical principles provided the legal foundation for those decisions, or the faculties of the governmental body which decreed it, and they attempt to sanction Cuba for those actions. This is nothing more than a clear example of the attempt to extend U.S. legislative, judicial, and executive powers to territories outside of that country, namely Cuba and to impose it on a population which is not American and a State which—no matter how difficult this is for the U.S. Government to swallow—is a sovereign independent entity, which is very jealous of its self-determination, and which, in addition, is a State and a people very determined to remain what they are today and very adamant about not allowing the United States to establish the rules and laws to govern them.

Title II of the Law establishes some sort of a trusteeship mechanism with which they try to nullify our sovereignty and to establish some sort of protectorate over Cuba. The Law describes this mechanism brazenly and in great detail. Even the names of those who they wish to bar from being president of Cuba and the ministries, agencies, and social, political, and economic structures which can exist in Cuba are spelled out in it.

A careful reading of the law shows that in 1996 the United States has been able to be even more ambitious than it was in 1902 when the Platt Amendment was imposed on Cuba. The latter in some aspects displayed more humble pretensions since it limited itself to decree, in very sober terms, some restrictions on Cuba's sovereignty. On the contrary, the Helms-Burton Law does not openly establish such limitations, in fact it grants the U.S. government trusteeship powers over our territory and population which has practical implications far greater than those in the above-mentioned Amendment.

For example the new law seeks to establish, as a decision by the U.S. Congress, what should be the basic features of Cuba's future political, economic, and social organization. And if this is not an attempt to make Cuba a U.S. protectorate, then all that we have studied about history, everything that we have learnt about international law is meaningless.

Litany of violations

As is clear from the above, the Helms-Burton Law constitutes a total and dangerous flouting of key principles of international law and practice. It reflects the state of mind of a powerful technologically, militarily, politically, and economically advanced State taking upon itself to decide which specific country has and which has not, the right to exercise its sovereignty, self-determination, and independence. Today it is Cuba, tomorrow it may well be another country if this type of behavior is condoned by the international community.

The Law tramples upon practically all rules of international co-existence among nations. Needless to say, it goes against all principles and rules governing freedom of trade since it imposes sanctions on countries which trade with Cuba on terms unacceptable to the United States. It ignores also the well established principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. The very title of the Law, *i.e.* Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, which suggests how to obtain such a freedom and such a democracy, how they are to be certified, and how they are to be defined according to the U.S. Congress, is in and of itself an act of interference in our domestic affairs.

The Law ignores and challenges the right to exercise sovereignty over national resources, a right that has been recognized for many years by U.N. resolutions and in declarations adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement and regional organizations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The fact that the U.S. Congress takes upon itself the right to determine up to what degree the Cuban State can, or cannot, exercise sovereignty over its territory, resources, and property represents a total lack of respect for that principle. In this particular case, the Law not only alludes to those natural resources which are owned by aliens, but also regulates which Cuban individuals or entities may, or may not, own property in our country. The Law intends to divest the Cuban State and the Cuban people of this property in order to—as is clearly established in the Law—to give it back to another person, who once was a Cuban, but who at present is a U.S. citizen living in that country. In practice this would mean that thanks to the U.S. Law, property could be seized from an industry, a hospital, a school, a neighborhood, or an individual only to be given to someone who is a U.S. citizen,

residing in that country, who might have been born, lived, and was educated in Cuba.

The Helms-Burton Law refuses to accept the well-established practice of State nationalizations which has been recognized in a number of U.N. resolutions, in particular the one proclaiming the new international economic order which not only specifically recognizes such a right but also recognizes the right of the State to establish the method for compensations which it considers most adequate to its interests.

With the proclamation of the Helms-Burton bill into law by the U.S. President, relations between the two countries have reached levels of extreme absurdity. It would be necessary to stretch one's imagination to its limits to conceive a more complicated and hostile form of relationship without an actual declaration of war. Consequently, to try to find a real perspective for solving the problems between the two countries becomes in fact «mission impossible». As Ricardo Alarcon, president of the Cuban parliament, has said, the first step to be taken so as to make it possible

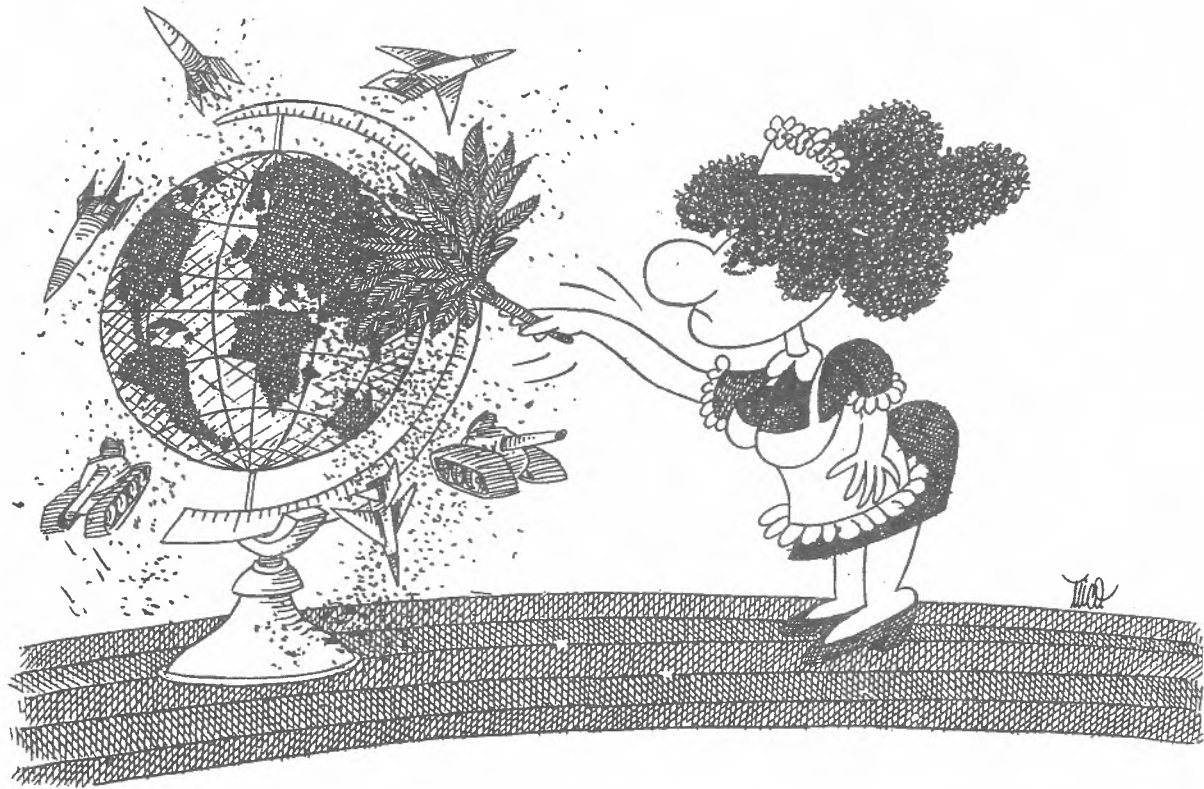
to begin advancing and improving relations between Cuba and the U.S., would be to throw this Law out, or to simply ignore it, or to write it off as a political tool.

We are quite satisfied by the degree of international rejection provoked by this Law. It comes as no surprise to us, because this type of reaction was already visible from the moment discussion on the bill began in the U.S. Congress. In addition, the world would be in a very sorry state if such a level of response to this senseless and illegitimate action would not have occurred.

Failure, yet again

What must be crystal clear to everyone—and it is already crystal clear to the Cuban people—is that this new U.S. scheme will be another flop, as were the Torricelli Law, 37 years of blockade, and all the acts of aggression committed against Cuba. Our people will be capable of demonstrating once again their capacity for resistance, as well as their ingenuity, and of course, its capac-





ity to put into action the potential that has been developed in this country after more than three decades of revolution. All these factors have made it possible for us to survive and recover, something which was questioned by a number of people only a few years ago.

All this has been possible first and foremost because the people have been capable of facing all the aggressions in previous years acting in a united way, particularly under conditions of the «special period» and in the midst of a deep economic crisis. It owes a lot also to our

peoples sense of patriotism as well as to the rich humane nature and the material conditions made possible by the Revolution.

In addition, one must take into account the correct political strategy designed to be able to face the special period and the enormous challenge that the collapse of socialism in Europe meant for Cuba, the breaking off of our links with the now-defunct Soviet Union and other ex-socialist countries and the increased economic blockade resulting from the enactment of the Torricelli Law.

The strength of the Revolution after 37 years in power has also been a key factor in coping with such a situation. Based on all those elements, Cuba feels capable of facing this new challenge and will continue to recover. It will find a way out on the basis of the strategy that has already been designed and implemented. We are not going to invent much, nor are we going to modify or reorient the course that we have already established and obviously, we will not make any of the concessions that the Helms-Burton Law demands. ■

The main objectives of the Helms-Burton Law are: to tighten the overall economic blockade; to perpetuate U.S. hostility to Cuba, and thirdly, to design the mechanism to establish a U.S. trusteeship over Cuba.

NOTE

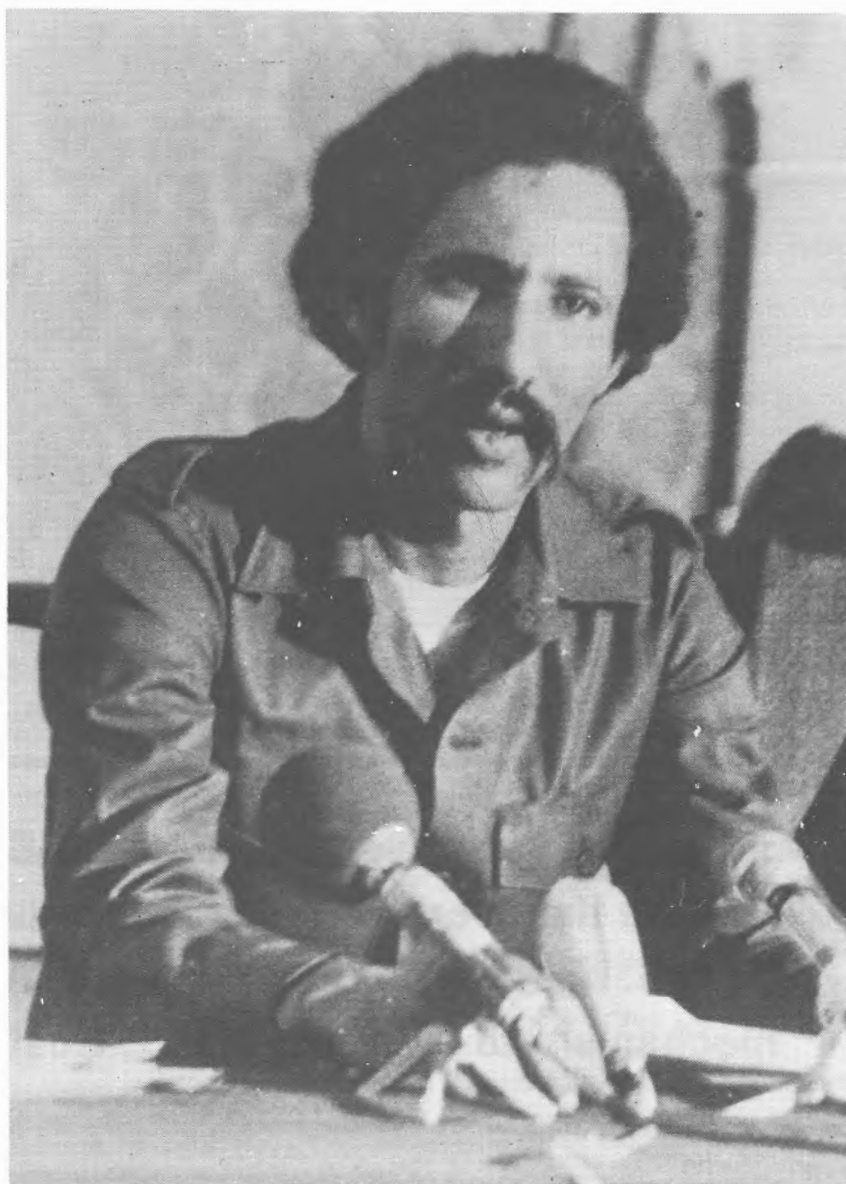
This article is an abridgement of Carlos Fernández de Cossío's presentation at the solidarity meeting against the Helms-Burton Law at OSPAAAL headquarters.

COMMITTED TO INDEPENDENCE

Olga Rufins

In conformity with the goals of the people, expressed since 1973 in their struggle to free their land, the DSAR was proclaimed on February 27, 1976. It has been recognized by 75 States and has become a member of the OAU. During all these years the Polisario Front, the political vanguard of the Saharawi people, has led an intense military and diplomatic struggle for independence. Its determination continued, unflagged, despite the truce negotiated by the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the Western Sahara conflict. In the following interview, Mr. Brahim Ghali, Defense Minister of that country and former Secretary-General of the Polisario Front between its first and second congresses, gives our readers a detailed account of recent developments in his country's struggle.

Olga Rufins is a researcher at the Center for African and Middle Eastern Studies (a Cuban NGO).



Brahim Ghali, DSAR Defense Minister.

A long process which led to the adoption by the U.N. Security Council of a peace plan for the Western Sahara took place between 1988 and 1991. Could 1991 be considered as a year which brought an important turning point in the liberation struggle of the Saharawi people?

At the beginning of the implementation of the peace plan by the Security Council, and due to the Polisario Front's limited experience with respect to direct contact with United Nations missions, both our leadership and our people hoped that this plan was going to lead to the referendum in January 1992. That would represent obtaining our people's goals, this is, that their independence was near. The people were getting ready, getting their possessions together, building trunks to travel to the interior of the country.

In general it created a situation full of hope for a prompt return to the country. So they began to mentally transport themselves inside the country, although physically they were still in refugee camps.

Nevertheless, some had their doubts. They thought it would not be so easy, that it was an illusion, and that they should not be fooled; that it was important to stay on guard.

The first symptom which alerted us was Morocco's military escalation a few days before the cease fire was scheduled to go into effect on September 6, 1991. The United Nations reaction to it was not consistent with the seriousness of that development. A number of doubts were raised as to whether or not the organization was going to be capable of implementing the peace process. At the time, a meeting between the-then U.N. Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar and King Hassan II took place with no positive results.

The second symptom was when the cease fire actually entered into force and U.N. military observers were sent to our occupied territory. Morocco blocked the entry of their equipment into the territory. During the first weeks the U.N. personnel was forced to use the transportation means of the warring parties. The Moroccans charged them a fee for it but the Saharawi's allowed them to use their transport vehicles at no cost. Also on this occasion the United Nations failed to put sufficient pressure on Morocco to

make it allow them to bring in their equipment. The world organization engaged in negotiations with the Alawite Kingdom authorities for more than two months and it was not until November 1991 that the equipment was allowed to be brought in for use by the U.N. forces.

After these two incidents a process of deception ensued and our people began to seriously question whether the plan adopted by the Security Council would actually be implemented. The dream of returning to our territory before the end of that year retreated into the distance. From May until the end of August 1991, the psychological mood of the Saharawi people was one of optimism. Notwithstanding, toward the end



Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

of August, clear signs of frustration began to appear.

In the face of those symptoms the Polisario Front and the government of the DSAR tried to keep up the spirits of the population, calling upon them to wait a while longer before reaching a final opinion of the process. The mass mobilization was made upon the basis that, even if the peace plan would not be implemented, we would be struggling under the same conditions that led to its adoption by the United Nations.

It is proper to recall, in addition, that starting September 1991, our people had to face a situation to which they were not accustomed. Before, our population was used to an active life, to victorious battles by our national liberation army which encouraged all the people, after that date the situation was one in which

we were not fighting, there was no war, but there was no peace either. This is the most difficult situation in which to cope with the concerns of our people.

The frustration arising from not seeing fulfillment of the hope to return home after so many years brought about a sudden swing in the attitude of our entire people. For any Saharawi to deal directly with the highest international organization meant that a just solution for his or her cause was within reach. That idea was shortly debunked by the reality. That has left sequels of mistrust which has inevitably led us to the conclusion that we must continue our struggle.

Between the end of 1991 and the first days of January 1992, another de-



Boutros Ghali

velopment of great importance took place in the process. Before the end of his mandate, Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar abandoned the criteria originally adopted for the identification of those entitled to vote in the referendum. The change substantially modified the peace plan.

How do you explain Mr. Javier Pérez de Cuéllar shift in attitude?

The U.N. peace plan offered the possibility to all those Saharawis belonging to any known fraction, who had always lived in the territory and to their direct descendants, as well as to those who lived there for six consecutive years and to those who lived there for 12 years even if not consecutively, to appear before the Identification Commission to register to vote.

Afterwards, Pérez de Cuéllar introduced a different criteria thus substantially modifying the provisions of the plan when he expanded the right to participate in the referendum to all those born in the Western Sahara who had not been counted in the 1974 census. This expanded category also included all their descendents. In this way the door was opened to the Moroccan point of view which urged that the vote be given to all persons whose forebearers left our territory two or three centuries ago and who consequently, were not included in the results of the census carried out by Spain in 1974. This has led to the present-day crisis faced by the U.N. with respect to the process of identifying eligible voters.

Under this new concept introduced by Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, Morocco submitted applications to include 180,000 new individuals as voters, i.e. 2.5 times more than those listed in the 1974 census. This number, plus the applications submitted by the Polisario Front raised the total number of new potential voters to 240,000.

One must consider a historical element in this issue. During the Spanish occupation of northern Morocco (in Tetuán, Side Ifni, and Tangiers) many Moroccans enlisted in the Spanish Foreign Legion, thus they settled within the Western Sahara territory and were included in the 1974 census, although in

fact they belonged to Moroccan tribes. This was one of the elements which Pérez de Cuéllar took into consideration in his decision.

It is beyond my understanding how he could have justified all his changes, but it is my conclusion that because of Morocco's intransigency with respect to implementation of the peace plan originally adopted, he tried to introduce some modifications, but this made him an accessory to the Moroccan maneuver. As a result, if the peace plan finally fails, it will be to a great extent a result of the last report submitted by Pérez de Cuéllar since it included the changes to the plan originally adopted by the U.N..

It was he who determined the failure and not the success of the implementation of the peace plan. Personally, he is largely responsible for that. Not only with respect to whether or not the plan will be actually implemented, but also in the sense of extending the suffering of an entire people, something which is worse than the failure of the peace process in itself.

Had it not been for the changes introduced, Morocco's negative attitude would have met with the unanimous pressure exerted by the international community in favor of the implementation of the plan, which might have influenced the authorities in Rabat. Even if this would not have been the case, then it would

have been crystal clear that it was precisely Morocco that was putting obstacles in the path of the plan's implementation.

When Javier Pérez de Cuéllar ended his mandate, King Hassan II appointed him as honorary chairman of an important Moroccan enterprise. It is unclear to me if this is to be considered as some sort of a reward.

His was not a case of being unaware of the reality lived by the Saharawi people since he saw it with his own eyes including the situation of the refugee camps in which he saw the conditions under which our people have been living for all these years. It is also unclear to me why, at the last moment he decided to end his political career in this fashion, and I am unaware of the true reasons which pushed him to play such a dirty game with us. Granted that pressures may have been exerted by other powers, but a U.N. Secretary-General has to be impartial, particularly today when that organization is trying to play a relevant role in the solution of world problems and has expressed its will to reach solutions to the problems affecting small peoples.

Was there any significant change after Mr. Boutros Ghali's election to that post?



The Polisario Front, presently led by Mohamed Abdelaziz, the president of the DASR (in photo) has faced other difficult moments in the past but has been able to overcome them.



No, there wasn't. He followed the same line established by Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar. He endorsed the latter's report and introduced it once again to the Security Council without changing one iota of its content.

What was the position of the Polisario Front to this fait accompli?

Until mid-1994, the Front opposed the two additions made by Pérez de Cuéllar. After that it accepted them but under a number of conditions and reservations. We agreed to begin the process of identification and made it known that at a later stage it would make public whether it agreed or disagreed with the process being carried out.

In June 1995, we froze for one month our participation in the identification process, an action which prompted an active diplomacy from both the members of the Security Council and the representatives of the Secretary-General. For several reasons our non-participation continued until the end of that year.

During this period we also strongly opposed, at U.N. headquarters, a draft report prepared by Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, which included a proposal that would have allowed Morocco to identify as voters approximately 135,000 individuals.

Finally, the document adopted by the Security Council calls for the reopening of the identification process, requests both parties in conflict to cooperate with the Secretary-General, and established a May 1996 deadline, in the event no progress is made in the situation, for the Secretary-General to submit a report which may include the progressive withdrawal of the United Nations International Mission in Western Sahara.

Going back to the situation created at the end of Pérez de Cuéllar's mandate, why, with all those elements already available, didn't the Polisario Front and the DADR reject the peace plan outright at the beginning of 1992?

One must bear in mind that by then we

were facing the most delicate and complex situation we had ever faced since the beginning of our struggle.

The state of affairs in our region was also quite complex. All this led to the need to continue to maintain relations with the United Nations until the regional circumstances would substantially change, or at least until they were less unfavorable. The countries closest to us were also facing difficult situations.

In addition, also from a global perspective, there was an unfavorable conjuncture: the Gulf War, the collapse of the socialist camp which had been a balancing element in world affairs, and the deep economic crisis suffered by many friendly countries. Without a doubt, those were very critical times for national liberation movements.

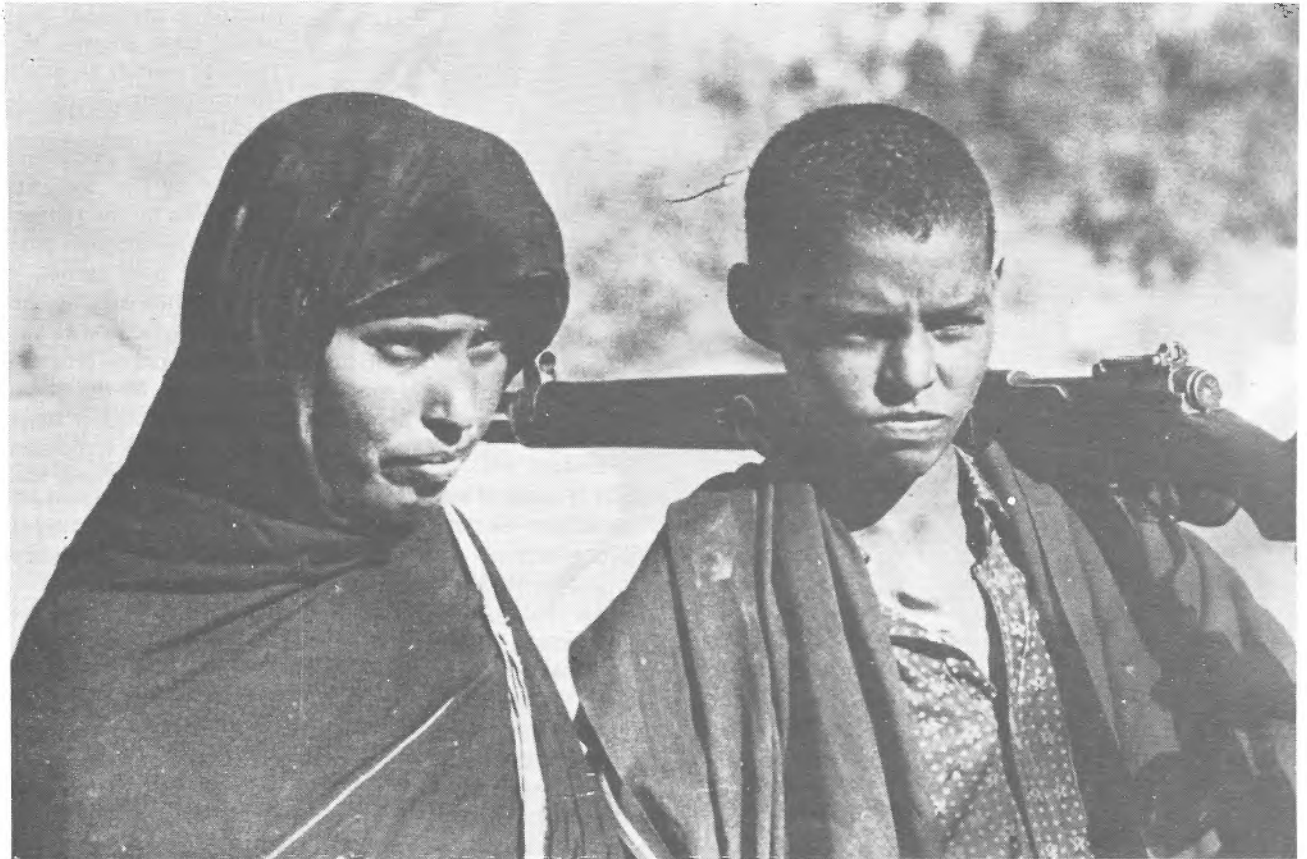
All those elements forced us to find a formula that would allow us to overcome such an international situation without making essential concessions. We had to be very clear that in the event we were to make some concession it had to be in matters of form, not essence. Consequently we decided to concentrate our efforts on fulfilling the tasks agreed to during the eighth congress of the Polisario Front ^[1] i.e. the strengthening

of the institutionalization throughout our territory—a task of considerable importance for the future of our people—and to strengthen our efforts to build a democratic society once independence is achieved.

In the meantime, our enemy tried to advance its positions at both regional and global levels. It offered to send its troops to participate in U.N. contingents in many parts of the world, hoping to get something in exchange for this, bearing in mind its historical links with some of the western powers.

Nonetheless other elements should also be taken into account to understand the situation, since not all conditions were favorable to our enemy. For example, it is not easy to maintain a 130,000-140,000 man strong army deployed in the desert, a standing army that had to be paid and was forced to remain there without fighting a battle.

Conversely, our national liberation army is not a paid army, it is there on a voluntary basis, it is convinced of the right of the struggle to liberate the country, it is very committed to achieving the national objectives of sovereignty, independence, and the defense of our territorial integrity. It is worth recalling that in the past



we have faced other difficult moments and we have been capable of successfully meeting those challenges.

Although that stage was the most delicate and complex, with the passing of time we have been able to adapt to it, and have proved capable of finding the best methods of overcoming it.

What is your assessment of the present situation, at the moment in which we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of DASR?

We have gained ground internationally. Quite frequently, the information that appeared in the mass media with respect to our cause was very distorted, but the presence of the U.N. and that of the other components of its Mission in our territory have given us the opportunity to establish contact with people from many countries (for instance from Canada), with which we have never before had relations. The general who was the first commander of the U.N. Mission, and its first chief of staff were Canadians. From the very beginning they took a very understanding position but they had arrived

with a view that didn't correspond to the reality and which changed after they were in position. This has also been the case with observers coming from the United States, who after being stationed in our country for a number of years left our territory with a positive position toward the Polisario Front.

Having had the possibility to have come into contact with many countries is important because our cause is an issue which is debated at the United Nations. We have achieved advances in the international support for our cause. Today 78 countries have extended their diplomatic recognition to us and these have been years of very positive advances in the field of international solidarity: there is worldwide support for the holding of a free, democratic, and impartial referendum which would allow the Saharawis to freely express their will.

There is also consensus in that it is Morocco which is to blame for inventing obstacles to the peace process and this has opened doors which before were closed to us. Today everyone may have not only Morocco's version of developments but also ours thus enabling them to judge which is the true version. I believe that our prestige has increased in-

ternationally.

Furthermore, from 1992 on we have been progressively working to make our people adapt themselves to this transitional situation. In this task we have always left open the possibility of restarting the war in the face of our enemy's stubbornness. At the moment we are in the midst of a truce but always keeping our fighting spirit alive in the event that tomorrow we may be forced to again resort to armed struggle.

In the meantime we have dedicated lots of efforts to education, health, and the food situation, trying to better our people's conditions. We struggle to maintain the advances achieved and with a great effort we continue to provide free health care and education for all. We have also made an effort to train our cadre in different fields both within our territory and abroad, thus taking advantage of the truth to train our people so as to enable it to adapt itself to the post-referendum stage. We have done this in all fields, not in a single one. An extraordinary effort has been made in all these years.

By now we are already reaping the harvest as far as professional training is concerned, as well as in connection with maintaining the fighting spirit, not only of our army, but of our entire people. In my view these are the developments in connection with the most important issues related to the present stage of our liberation struggle.

At the same time, one cannot fail to mention other important developments. Starting in 1994 and in 1995, we have witnessed a favorable change in the situation of our region, particularly in Algeria, where the state of affairs has improved particularly after the second semester of 1995. On the other hand, the domestic situation in Morocco continues to deteriorate from both the economic and social points of view. The keeping of such a large army beyond its borders brings about a number of problems which are positive elements for us. In other words, our ally moves ahead, our enemy backwards.

The Saharawi people remain on alert and ready to again take up weapons. This year is going to be decisive for the conflict, but the most important thing is our determination to continue the struggle until independence is achieved. ■

NOTE

^[1] The eighth congress of the Polisario Front was held from June 16 to 20, 1991.



This year will be decisive for the Western Sahara conflict but the key element is that the people remain willing to take up arms again if necessary.

SANDINO: A BEACON, A GUIDE, A CHALLENGE

Alejandro Bendaña

It is not a matter of remembering Sandino for the sake of nostalgia or out of duty this year, the 101st anniversary of his birth on May 18, 1895. The Sandinistas invoke Sandino to move forward urgently before the neo-liberal wave and the crisis in the Left.



YOU DON'T need to be a Sandinista to honor Sandino, to pay your respects to him, or to demand respect for him, to recall his poor, gallant soldiers, men and women, who continued to be loyal to him throughout the years during which they were plagued by poverty, bombings, and cold in the mountains of Las Segovias.

How could anyone not feel proud of a patriot who was capable of capturing the imagination and respect of a new Latin American generation of his times, who was capable of meriting the recognition of peoples and of the intellectual world, including of intellectuals in the United States. Sandino and his small crazy army made Nicaragua glitter. It was the first time—though not the last—that the name Nicaragua mingled with Sandino's in the imagination and hearts of so many aware people throughout the world.

Sandino has stayed with us. It is so because at the very moment in which a Nicaraguan is aware of any attempt from outside to subject or to humiliate him or her, that they feel racism or contempt, or an attempt to deprive us of our riches, or to underestimate our potential, in any of these situations the Sandino we have inside of us—whether or not we call ourselves Sandinistas—comes to life. While this remains the case there will be hope for our country.

But if we may demand from all Nicaraguans full respect

Alejandro Bendaña was Nicaragua's ambassador to the United Nations in 1981. He also worked for the International Relations Division of the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Since 1990 he has been the head of the Center for International Studies, an NGO linked to the FSLN.

for Sandino as a symbol to all, we are forced to demand something more (*i.e.* loyalty to his thoughts) from all of us who dare to call ourselves Sandinistas. To be loyal to Sandino's thought is not an easy task since it is not a question of simply sitting down and reading works written by him. Sandino was neither a thinker nor an intellectual in an ivory tower. He did not leave behind a neatly printed collection of statements, articles, essays, or philosophical tracts. But this man who did not finish secondary school, made an extraordinary effort to fully develop his own vision of the world. We cannot say that he could articulate a pure ideology or philosophy of his own. And this is not said as a form of criticism, but simply to underline that this is true of many great leaders throughout the history of humanity, who perhaps would not have achieved what they did had they dedicated their time to perfect their theoretical output.

Sandino's thought is to be perceived by analyzing his life, not only with one's intellect and reason, but also with one's heart and mystical sense, as it was by the peoples of Las Segovias who could barely read or write, but nonetheless were capable of interpreting and transmitting his myth, even though most of them had never met Sandino in person.

Mystique is not equivalent to mysticism because Sandino's

ideas always had a rational foundation. It was he who introduced to Nicaragua the most advanced and revolutionary ideas of his times, adapting them to the reality of his country. He had grasped them in Mexico, during the Mexican Revolution.

In June 1927 a few days before attacking Ocotal, Sandino wrote to the political chief in that small town: «*I bless the day in which I migrated to a country where I calmed my thirst for learning by absorbing new ideas, where I fortified my pristine spiritual world with a deep feeling of love for my country. I did not go to Europe in the search for a parade of heres to learn there how a hero is forged, since I am persuaded, my good friend, that heres are not forged but improvised by the circumstances of the moment and they always come from the people, most of them from the Indo-Hispanic races.*».

This seems to me a good definition of *sandinismo*: the people's capacity to improvise heres. But if that capacity stems from inspiration, the class enemies of our peoples had to liquidate both Sandino and his inspiration, both the thinker and his thought. And they had to do it time and time again over almost seven decades. The first Somoza, after killing Sandino, destroyed the archives of Nicaragua's *Ejército Defensor de la Soberanía*, the archive that Sandino called his «moral treasure». Trying to finish off the job, Somoza García ordered the writing of an anti-Sandinista diatribe entitled *El Calvario de Las Segovias*. And Somoza Debayle ordered that the same book be reprinted in 1976 in another attempt to kill the legend of Sandino, who continued to live on and fight in the organized force of the Sandinista Front.

There lies the wisdom of Carlos Fonseca, who always insisted on the need to study the life of the «Hero of Las Segovias». Fonseca told us something which continues to be important today: «*Sometimes Sandino's inexhaustible patriotism and revolutionary spirit makes it easier for us to learn the purely political rich lessons contained in them.*»

Patriotism and revolutionary spirit —the two qualities are

inseparable— and in both reside the essence of *sandinismo*. This is why Sandino is part and parcel of the analysis and the action which the new times in Nicaragua demand from today's Sandinistas. In both Carlos Fonseca's time and our times, it is our duty to carry out a critical reflection of our historical tradition; in particular of the need to nourish ourselves ideologically and theoretically from Sandino's work, bringing up to date his original thought but now having the possibility—something Carlos did not have in his time— to have new documentation available. But there are also new questions to be posed.

But for us Sandinistas it is not a matter of celebrating Sandino's birthday for the sake of nostalgia or a yearning for yesteryear, nor is it a mandatory activity that one assumes as a duty. We commemorate the occasion because of our need to have his clues to better position ourselves in confronting the neo-liberal wave and the crisis in the Left. We go back to Sandino because the lack of understanding of the present time, as well as the lack of a vision of the future often comes from ignorance of the past.

When we go back to review the history of *sandinismo*, in the light of Sandino's life, and if we do so starting from the point of the failure of either the state socialist model or the neo-liberal capitalist model, we discover that Sandino's thought contained neither prescriptions nor precise programs for the future but only some guidelines. This is so because Sandino—with a humanist and patriotic perspective— developed a critical thought which included an understanding of the dehumanization of capitalism, as well as of the model of authoritarian socialism that was already visible in his epoch. And he did so from a socialist conviction —of which there can be no doubt— admitted by him on several occasions, and that is latent in his analysis and strategy of his struggle and how to place it in the context of universal history.

Sandino's social radicalism had its roots not in Moscow



ENRIQUE WALDIVIEZO



but in Mexico, not in textbooks but in his predicament as a worker and a mestizo thirsty for knowledge, of a unionized oil worker belonging to what was perhaps the most radicalized trade union in Latin America. He was also strongly influenced by the kind of libertarian socialism advocated by anarchist trade unionists, who basically accepted Marxist views of history and capital but who divorced themselves from the canonized, codified prescriptions of the party and the State. He developed a political trend whose main trait was not be a doctrine but an attitude toward problems.

Sandino never hid his anti-imperialist convictions, nor his beliefs in the leading role of the working class. His was a national vision based on the interests and needs of the popular classes, *i.e.* of the majority of the country. He never said that only bureaucrats and visionaries will last to the very end.

We must protect Sandino from those who try to separate his person from his revolutionary conviction. But before doing so, it would be wise to ask ourselves in the Sandinista Front if we have been faithful to his thought. It is not sufficient now to proclaim ourselves as socialists but to reflect on what was Sandino's socialism, bearing in mind that Sandino always cherished individual freedom. We must recall that he always kept his distance from any political project (be it from the Left or from the Right) which would give priority to either the State or the political parties, *vis a vis* the freedom of expression or the free development of the human person. His brand of socialism is alien to both the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictator of capital, and opposed to both plutocracy and the domination of nomenclature. His was a socialism that never played the game of anti-communism but which, at the same time, was not apologetic to the authoritarianism on the Left. One should recall that Sandino even broke his links with the official communist movement when it tried to give him orders.

Sandino did not accept any political models mechanically drafted from other latitudes. He integrated to his thought everything from any source but without omitting a constant

demand for respect for self-determination and for individual freedom in the most diverse areas, from economic self-management to political federalism. He understood his faith in the indigenous-peasant culture as a liberating instrument and collective property as a higher form of socio-economic organization.

At the same time he respected and defended the small property owner, small capital, even foreign capital. None of these elements is incompatible with his vision and his popular projects, nor with its class commitment. The only thing he demanded was respect for the dignity of the nation and the worker. For example, on April 29, 1928, Sandino ordered that the *La Luz y los Angeles* mine, owned by an American, be torched. But that same day he also took the trouble to write the following to the mine manager: *«Capitalists will be respected and their presence appreciated by us, provided we are treated as equals and not in incorrectly as we are today, when they feel they are the lords and masters of our lives and our interests.»*

Patriots from other social classes were not excluded from participating in the people's struggle. Sandino speaks of his «brothers in the country» and of the «great Nicaraguan family». On October 1, 1932, he sent —what he entitled— a circular to «All our Authorities» both civilian and military where he explained with great simplicity and wisdom: *«It be borne in mind that the group of many families with different family names in a certain regions make up what is called the Homeland. Our Homeland, for example, is called Nicaragua. The president of the republic is a servant of the people and not the people's master or the people's boss.»*

For us it follows that Sandino's nationalism, Nicaragua's national identity is either founded on democracy or it cannot be either national or patriotic.

A spiritual leader, not a strong man

There is also another dimension to Sandino's socialism which it is important to stress, particularly because in the past we Sandinistas were not always able to value it, nor to apply it: the spiritual factor, ethics and morality in the struggle and in thought.

For Sandino emancipation is also spiritual and ethical. Since an early age he started his search for the truth that would explain the reason for one's own suffering and for that of others. He tried to understand, as he put it, *«the deeper nature of things, reading everything which, in my judgement, is moral and instructive»*. He deeply studied philosophy always in the search for his own betterment and the meaning of life.

Those who knew him even said that he had *«a lot of Trotsky and something of Assisi»*. An American journalist said: *«There is something religious in the ideology of this man.»* Another one who interviewed him wrote: *«General Sandino gives the impression —both in his physical appearance and in his conversation— of a man of great spirituality.»* Yet another remarked: *«Psychologically General Augusto César Sandino is not a strong man. He is rather an apostle. He is a convinced man who knows how to persuade, not a believer who imposes his ideas.»*

Most of the members of the *Ejército Defensor de la Soberanía Nacional de Nicaragua* never met Sandino in person but nevertheless they were loyal to him until death. They saw in him not only the military leader, but also the spiritual teacher.

His thoughts reached the combattants in regular communications written from his general headquarters at Chipote. In a letter addressed to Colonel Inéz Hernández Gómez and Staff Sergeant Ladislao Palacios, of his army's second detachment, he wrote: «*Our conscience should be our best advisor and because of this, it is good to start thinking, even if it would be once a week, about all the good and bad things we have done and to see the future of things so as to avoid falling into the abyss if we are on our way to it.*»

References to God are frequent in his words. Some are the same that our people continue to repeat today, i.a. «*God is the one who masters our lives*», «*May God accompany you on your journey*», «*We shall overcome, if God permits it*», «*God and the mountains are our allies*». All that in contraposition to what he called the «*God of Gold*» honored by Wall Street bankers, the U.S. marines, and the sell-outs.

According to Sandino, one cannot separate politics from ethics and faith. He believed in God and in Jesus, although without considering himself either Catholic or Christian. He was perfectly aware that a revolution is always religious, even though it proclaims itself atheist and that no conscience may exist without science, but the reverse is also true, because that would be «*the bankruptcy of the soul*» as Rabelais put it.

Sandino had faith, not in institutionalized religion, but in that which responds to the spiritual needs of every person or to that of an entire people. He believed in the redemption of men, women, and society based on the force of God, and in liberation not based on divine inspiration nor on the coming of a messiah but on the basis of consciousness. Sandino explained to his soldiers: «*We do not need redeemers, the individual is capable of redeeming himself.*»

For him the liberation of the Homeland requires the liberation of the individual, the abandoning of vices for the sake of love for the community which is also the identification of other peoples in struggle. Dealing with the facts of life, Sandino highly values the individual's personal energy, faith, optimism, will power, ethnic consciousness, and youth and the new generations. He counts on the revolutionary mystique. This is why *sandinismo* actually means a better possibility for an individual's moral, spiritual, and material betterment.

That is why he does not visualize the end of his struggle with the withdrawal of the marines. His goal is libertarian values. He is not obsessed with the armed struggle. Toward 1933 he began to organize cooperatives and was so obsessed with the peace process —to such a degree— that he took risks which led him to fall into the mortal trap set by Somoza. «*We have to continue struggling*», he said, «*we have to continue the struggle even through other means.*»

Sandino continues to be the choice

Sandino's struggle was not simply against foreign intervention and the national guard, but also against the hypocrisy of those who used moral, religious, patriotic, cultural, and traditional values to cover up anti-national class privileges in connivance with the empire. But in his struggle, he does not recur to demagoguery or mystification. Rather his goal is that of creating a new man in a new land —one thing cannot exist without the other— in which true equality of moral and material opportunities for all Nicaraguans and not always just for some, could take place. The heroic creation of a Nicaraguan socialism which would take away from the right their

alleged monopoly over values such as homeland, family, and spirituality.

According to Sandino the sell-outs and the creole agents of the U.S. financial and military power could be considered neither true Nicaraguans, nor true believers in God. What would he have said about those who sell Telcor and about the Nicaraguans who shield themselves behind foreign powers to continue enjoying their privileges? What would he have said about the abuses against the workers of *La Fosforera* to please citizens of another country, or of those who plead the need to recur to the *God of Gold* although this would mean to surrender the right to take economic decisions and to give away the country's wealth?

Sandino continues to be the choice. He aimed and continued to aim at the possibility of establishing a new, ethical, humane, and Nicaraguan socialism which would, at the same time, be universal. We inherited from him the challenge of building a political movement that would go beyond the authoritarian socialism, as well as social democracy. And of course, of wild capitalism. And in this task the challenge of doing that with the support of, and with the people, inspiring and at the same time interpreting the people's political and spiritual reflections. The challenge of acting consistently and authentically, doing away with temporary or electoral compromises.



Today, being a Sandinista demands not only a critical vision of the past but also to take inspiration from Sandino's life in order to give form to a common vision of the *sandinismo* of the future. This would allow us to respond to today's need for community and transformation. The suffering of the people and the nature of the government in power does not allow one to hold wishy-washy positions or those imposed by diktat. We must impede the dehumanization of politics. We cannot exclude ourselves from political activity.

In this uneven battle, the historic memory of Sandino is an indispensable tool to successfully confront those dangers, in the same fashion in which Sandino resorted to the history of Benjamín Zeledón. The Sandinista identity cannot be of course based exclusively on the symbols of the past but



obviously the present cannot ignore the past. Neither ideas nor blood can be erased.

Some could be co-opted, not everyone can be a revolutionary. Those who are not, may be treated with respect, in the same way Sandino showed respect for those who did not think the way he did, but who were capable of showing their patriotic rebelliousness. But they cannot be considered as Sandinistas, for the simple reason that there is no *sandinismo* without Sandino, and much less Sandinista renewal, without Sandino. The Left without socialism is a classless, decapitated Left, it is a Left, which is not Left anymore. In fact, it not Left, it is the Right.

Some say that Sandino can be interpreted in different ways. But Sandino —and history— have the right to interpret us. We cannot apply the term Sandinista at random, because it belongs only to the true followers of Sandino. Others may be

sympathizers worthy of respect, but they are not Sandinistas. In the times of Sandino, there were also sympathizers in the plains —and Sandino always maintained a respectful communication with them— who told him that his struggle was quite a noble one but not viable, that his patriotism was unquestionable but his speaking was too grandeloquent and did not win the confidence of other sectors and other governments, that his struggle was very gallant but his insistence on the total withdrawal of those who had intervened in Nicaragua was unrealistic, that he had to adjust himself to the new times and be part and parcel of the interventionist institutional scheme.

With courtesy, courage, and awareness, Sandino said no. In the same way present-day *sandinismo* must say no to the new dialectics of the Right —which insists that it is not the Right anymore—, to the new fundamentalism —which proclaims it does not constitute an ideology—, to the sell-out Left and to all those who accept the premise that one must resign oneself to live under neo-liberal imperialism, which means to accept the commercialization of politics and morality. We, Sandinistas, must say no to those who say that it is not possible to struggle against a Right which exercises power worldwide, to those who say that one must surrender chunks of the country, that it is impossible to have other kinds of economies and other kinds of politics, that one must cease thinking and struggling.

Sandino never ceased to think and struggle, and to do both things radically if his foes cornered him. He was not afraid when he was labeled a radical, which in fact means to be rational and direct in the search for social peace, which means to address the roots of the problems and not just the visible symptoms of the problems. He was aware that one cannot be moderate when struggling against injustice. This is why the *sandinismo* has a radical history in the most profound, humanistic, and committed sense of the term.

The Sandinista innovation

Sandinismo means innovation from within, from the Left, with the incorporation of new ideas, not from without, from anti-socialism with the reintroduction of the old ideas of the Right.

It means to have faith in men and women as individuals and not to conquer the masses of the electoral body. It means a moral compulsion not a mere electoral need. It means to be like the General, who loved Nicaragua to such a degree, who did not want to be president, minister, nor member of parliament. It means to be able to say no to any kind of privilege and to those who enjoy privileges. It means to proclaim with pride that one belongs to the Left which is the source of all humanistic thought present in modern times. It means to feel solidarity with those who suffer in any corner of this planet, be this in Cuba, Chiapas, Chechnia or Bosnia.

Sandinismo means the right of our children to share Sandino's dream, the right to dream with the new homeland without hunger or destitution, without foreign intervention, as he dreamt it. Actually the day that we no longer dream, the day we abandon our faith in the possibility of building that dignified alternative, the day that we would allow our new generation to forget Sandino, then, that day, this alternative of dignity will have ceased to exist. No, this is not the discourse of the 80s. It is the discourse of today, tomorrow, of forever. This is Sandino's discourse. ■

JAPAN-CUBA FRATERNAL LINKS

On the same road

THE IMPORTANCE of working in close coordination as the basis for their solidarity work, and the similarity of goals between the Japanese branch of OSPAAAL and its counter-part in Cuba, were stressed by Mitsushiro Keneko, Vice-President of the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party and Toshio Akiniwa, chairman of the OSPAAAL branch in that country, during a meeting with Ramón Pez Ferro, Secretary-General of the Tricontinental organization in its Havana headquarters.

According to Mitsushiro Keneko, Japanese Left forces consider of upmost importance the continuous confrontation with imperialism and in particular the fundamental goals of national independence, democracy, social progress, and peace. Although the international situation has changed since the holding of the first Tricontinental Conference, when these tasks were declared worthy of priority for our peoples, they continue to deserve that priority today, he said.

Speaking about militarism and disarmament, the communist leader expressed thanks to OSPAAAL in Cuba for supporting the demonstrations in Okinawa against the U.S. troops stationed there. He also expressed pleasure because the organization will be attending the World Conference Against the A and H Bombs next August.

By the time that meeting takes place, millions of men and women around the world will have signed *The Hiroshima and Nagasaki Appeal*, and

among them—he said— 81 delegates (including Julius Nyerere) to the *International Third World Solidarity Meeting. Challenges in the Third Millennium*, held last January in Havana.

«In every way OSPAAAL in Cuba and in Japan work in concert,» stressed Toshio Akiniwa, «we are sure that we will find ways to continue working together and that this will be to the benefit of all our peoples.» ■

THE DSAR IS 20

The best encouragement

TWO DECADES of armed struggle against Morocco's expansionist aims has not made the Democratic Saharawi Arab Republic waver from its commitment to build a strong, modern state in search of full development. This is the best encouragement to continue defending full independence on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the DSAR on February 27, 1976.

Celebrating such an event in OSPAAAL headquarters in Havana, the Saharawi ambassador to Cuba, H.E. Naama Said Yumani explained how starting from zero during colonial times they have been capable of starting to build an economic and administrative infrastructure consistent with the characteristics of the people and also of the war situation. He also explained that the high illiteracy rate has been eradicated and that they are gradually guarantee-

ing free health services and a primary and secondary school education.

Having to face the Moroccan colonialist presence in part of their territory, the Saharawi people and their political vanguard, the Polisario Front, are cooperat-



ing with the United Nations to bring peace and stability to Western Sahara—underlined Mr. Yumani— through the peace plan implemented as of 1991 under the joint sponsorship of the United Nations and the OAU.

Conversely, he pointed out, Morocco has continuously obstructed the preparatory work for the holding of a referendum and has rejected direct negotiations with the Polisario Front, key elements of the peace plan, since Morocco «knows before hand that the Saharawi people will vote for independence».

In criticizing the weak response of the U.N. Security Council to Morocco's intransigence, Said Yumani blamed that country and the U.N. for the impasse hit in the implementation of the plan. He

warned that such developments will force the DSAR to resume the armed struggle since «we are firmly determined to continue the liberation struggle.» ■

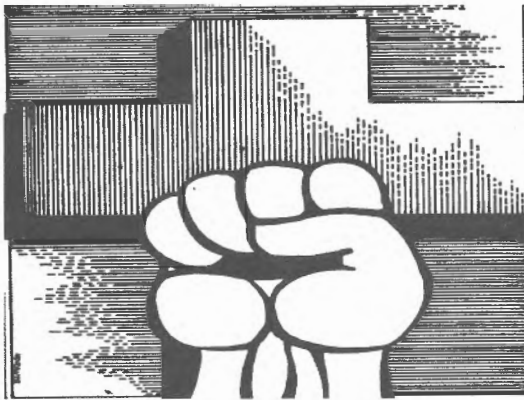
Camilo Torres, theologian of unity

THE STRATEGIC unity of the masses and of the popular forces in Colombia is the key concept that Father Camilo Torres would urge upon the country's other leaders, were he alive today.

This is not mere speculation, but rather the conclusion shared by university students, representatives of mass organizations, Latin American political movements, researchers, and members of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL during a seminar held to honor this exemplary revolutionary on the 30th anniversary of his death, February 15, 1966.

Forerunner of liberation theology, one of his most important contributions was the constant search for alliances among the broadest sectors of the people, as was noted by a Guatemalan participant who is a member of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity.

In the midst of the revolutionary elitism of his times (the decade of the 1960s), when the main topic of discussion centered on which class or social strata should lead the revolution, Camilio Torres took a position which stressed that no social class had *a priori* the quality of being the vanguard, since all of them were important in the strug-



gle. He called for doing away with the divisive internecine philosophical infighting and to instead focus on bringing together the various sectors and popular forces.

His idea of a revolutionary—it was argued—was one which considered that such a condition was not predetermined because of the fact that one belonged to a given party, organization, or guerrilla movement, or because one claimed to be a marxist, but rather by being against the exploitative status quo and by being determined to change that reality.

All those theoretical tools and an original methodology used to interpret the Colombian reality, made it possible for him to envisage a revolutionary path for his country. And it gave him the ability to mobilize the masses via the United Front which he founded, despite the difficult circumstances created by sectarianism and the bitter contradictions between Colombian conservatives and liberals.

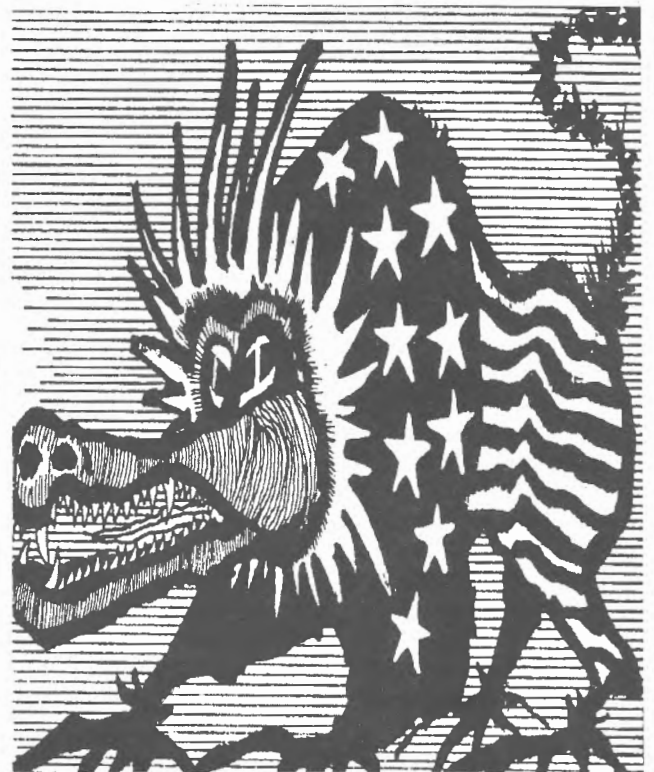
Camilo Torres' view of power was another issue discussed in the seminar. He clearly saw what it meant to gain power in the chain of developments affecting social relations in a given country; particularly as a precondition for achieving progress in any field. The key element for him was to be able to organize the popular class in order to seize power and then to develop a State based on

freedom and dignity as the foundation for democracy and sovereignty.

Recognizing that the causes which prompted these political thoughts and his actions are still present today, the Colombians participating in the seminar, agreed that strong measures were absolutely necessary to defend their society against State terrorism, as it does great damage to the efforts to seek unity in that country.

A Colombian law student said: «Imperialism is very aware that the more divided we are, the weaker we are, and the less chances of success we have. This is why it is of utmost importance to achieve worker-peasant unity. Today we walk on the streets of the country feeling nothing but fear and a shadow hanging over us. To want to go to school, to watch children playing quietly in a park does not constitute a sin, but rather is a right that we must demand.»

According to the statements of other Colombians in the commemorative seminar, workers and students in their country's urban centers promote discussions on the theoretical-practical legacy of Camilio Torres, which even if they don't achieve the degree of impact his voice had, still prove the depth and present-day validity of his historical thought and, in particular, of the need to go back to his ideas as a source of awareness. ■



RAFAEL MORAANTE

With Cuba against a savage law

AS YET ANOTHER expression of the world-wide rejection provoked by passage of the Helms-Burton Law, ambassadors and other diplomats of countries friendly to Cuba and members of the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat firmly condemned this legislation, while demanding

the immediate lifting of the U.S. blockade against the Island.

This new support came during the solidarity meeting convened by OSPAAAL immediately after the bill was signed into law. Carlos Fernández de Cossío, in charge of the Cuban Foreign Ministry's North American division, explained the main features of the law and the purposes it pursues. He also reiterated the deep determination of the Cuban State and people not to abandon their adherence to the principle of sovereignty and their political strategy in the face of this new attempt by the U.S. to interfere in Cuba's internal affairs.

Present at the meeting were the ambassadors of Lao, Namibia, Nigeria, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, and South Africa. John Kgoana Nkadameng, the South African Ambassador, expressed the



common opinion of those present when he stated that today's circumstances are unprecedented. Today, most of the people close ranks to protest against the United States, at a time when support for Cuba, particularly from Third World countries, is more crucial than ever.

Nevertheless, stressed the South African diplomat, it is necessary to be more active in all corners of this planet to make people understand what Washington is doing against Cuba. According to him, committees against the Helms-Burton Law have been set up throughout South Africa.

If this vicious aberration would have been enacted in Africa—said the Nigerian Ambassador, Yahaya Alhassan—the North would have concluded that it was the act of savages, but it so happens that it was enacted in the United States. «Isn't the imposition of force as law a variation of the law of the jungle? What about human rights, about democracy, in all this affair? No country is entitled to dominate another, or to intervene in its internal affairs. Cuba must determine its own destiny in the way it deems convenient.»

Soulivong Phrasithideth, the Laotian Ambassador, stressed his confidence in that the political firmness of the Cuban people, under the correct leadership of Fidel Castro, together with militant solidarity coming from all continents will lead Cuba to victory.

In addition, seminar participants made public a message of solidarity with five American and Canadian members of the religious solidarity organization Pastors for Peace, who at the risk of their lives have been on a hunger strike since Washington confiscated 395 computers destined for Cuba's health care system. ■

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

No to impunity

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN FORUM and the 18th General Assembly of the Central American Human Rights Defense Commission (CODEHUCA) will be held May 31st to June 1st, under the slogan «The demilitarization of the Central American society and impunity». This was announced at OSPAAAL headquarters in a press conference given by Factor Méndez, chairman of CODEHUCA.

When they meet in San José, Costa Rica, the 13 organizations affiliated with CODEHUCA will analyze the whole range of problems created by the existence of military bases in the region, the need to reconvert the armed forces, the current armed conflicts, and the issue of the arms race, as well as those of education for peace and democratic security.

According to Méndez, both activities will also be dedicated to honoring Dr. Guillermo Toriello because of his long standing struggle in defense of sovereignty, democracy, justice, and peace in Our America. Toriello was one of the signatories of the United Nations Charter as the foreign minister of Guatemala during the Jacobo Arbenz government.

In reviewing in a general way the problems related to human rights in Central America, CODEHUCA's chairman pointed out that one of the priorities on the agenda of the commission is the impunity enjoyed by the police and paramilitary groups which are guilty of constant violations of human rights, such as torture, extra-judicial and forced executions, and a number of aggressions against popular organizations in Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala. Many times all this happens—he stress-

ed—without even the courts taking effective action or anything being done to control or prevent these terrible events.

Asked about the specific case of his country, Guatemala, Méndez who also heads a NGO there, said that both his NGO and CODEHUCA see no real improvement with respect to human rights. He revealed that—in accord-



ance with declassified CIA documents and certain investigations—there were even links between the U.S. Agency and some Guatemalan army officers directly connected with the illegal detention, torture, and later execution of revolutionary leaders, such as *commandante Everardo*.

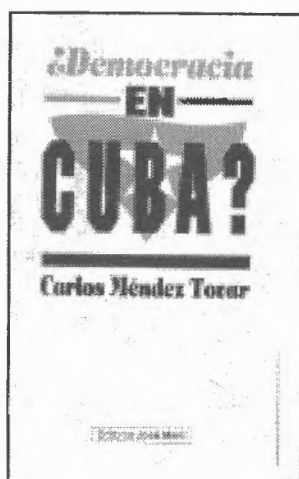
Consequently—he said,

comparing the governmental position with the one that the Guatemalan NGOs plan to present at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva,—we believe that it is absolutely necessary to extend the mandate of the independent U.N. expert on Guatemala who depends directly on the Secretary-General. Some sectors in the present government are against this extension, claiming that it is sufficient to have the international observers from the United Nations who should report to the U.N. General Assembly but through an ad hoc commission.

Part of CODEHUCA's present work has to do with the existence of U.S. military bases in Central America and Panama. With respect to the latter, the U.S. government is trying to dodge its responsibility to return the canal on January 1st of the year 2000.

During that press conference he commented on the Helms-Burton Law, making public the resolution drafted by CODEHUCA condemning the new U.S. measures to tighten the blockade against Cuba and recognizing the full right of the Cuban State to defend its integrity, sovereignty, and self-determination.

On behalf of the Guatemalan people the contents of that resolution were also supported during the conference by Alfonso Bawuer, the head of the Guatemalan delegation to the Third Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Gathering with Cuba held in Havana. «Beginning with the Torricelli Law, and now the Helms-Burton Law, this type of aggression is not only directed against Cuba but against all of Latin America,» he said. «When a people are willing to defend their freedom, as in the case of the Cuban people, all other peoples will have to make common cause with them.» ■



DEMOCRACY IN CUBA?

A CATCHY BOOK title, *Democracy in Cuba?* should attract readers to a work by Carlos Méndez Tovar, provoking curiosity on a current events topic related to the process developing on the Caribbean island today. The reader will find the answers in the 179 pages of the book which uses data, statistics, and the author's personal experiences based on several years residence in Cuba.

The book provides an outsiders view, that is it is written from the perspective of a non-Cuban—a Venezuelan—who has both shared the daily lives of Cubans and who has had the exceptional opportunity to do so during a very special moment in the history of the Cuban Revolution which has left its

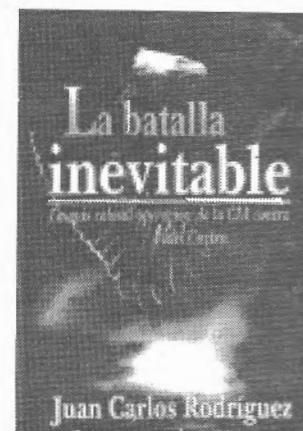
mark on several generations of Latin Americans. Since the very beginning of the revolutionary triumph in 1959, Cuba has been under scrutiny by the world and has been subjected to a considerable number of slander and misinformation campaigns intended to hide the truth about the reality in the Island. This book opens a small window so that the world can get a glimpse of the daily lives of Cubans. It describes the development of a society which follows a model not based on capitalism, of a society in which the individual is the center of concern and consequently the most important element. In his research Méndez Tovar has used not only data coming from Cuban state agencies but also from international organizations. Further, he advances his considerations with respect to very controversial issues such as the multi-party system, human rights, elections and the participation of Cubans at the polls, the 30-odd years of the U.S. blockade against Cuba; plus it gives the reader a brief summary of the Cuba-U.S. conflict.

So, Méndez Tovar not only answers the question of whether or not there is democracy in Cuba, but also a number of other questions that any ordinary person living in another part of the world might ask in light of the contradictory

and manipulated news received about Cuba and its Revolution.

If you yourself have wondered how such a small island could win 14 gold medals at the Barcelona Olympics, or what do Cubans understand by the term democracy, you will be sure to find answers in Carlos Méndez Tovar's *Democracy in Cuba?* put out by the José Martí publishing house.

Olga Marta Pérez



MORE THAN A SPOT ON THE MAP

THE BAY OF PIGS would have remained an obscure location on Cuba's southern coast had it not been for the events of April 1961; nevertheless, this name is a painful reminder in U.S. military history: it was its first military defeat in Latin America.

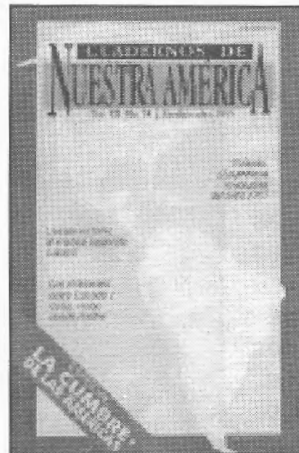
Now, 35 years after that mercenary invasion, prepared and armed by the Yankee Pentagon, and also an equal number of years since the victory of the Cuban troops —known as the victory of Playa Girón—there appears a new book which exposes in all its magnitude the CIA plan to strangle the Cuban Revolution, with its high point being the invasion at the Bay of Pigs, and the author argues that Girón was an inevitable battle; as it was described on one occasion by Fidel Castro himself. In fact, it is precisely these words that writer and researcher Juan Carlos Rodríguez takes as the title of his book just out from the Capitán San Luís publishers: *La batalla inevitable* or *The Inevitable Battle*.

«In a matter of weeks after Castro entered Havana, we, in the Government, began to examine measures that could be effective to curb Castro,» according to U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower. That is to say, from 1959, the CIA did not overlook a single detail in its subversive plots against Cuba: these ranged from the use of counterrevolutionary bands, to terrorism, to attempts to sow a negative psychological climate among the population. All this is described in detail from the careful research by Juan Carlos Rodríguez. But he also

deals with how the Cuban Revolution confronted all these actions: from openly fighting the counterrevolutionary bands, to the infiltration of counterrevolutionary organizations. The book offers new material on the events leading up to and right before the invasion. Another valuable element is the testimony and interviews collected by the author, as well as the extensive bibliography, completing this book which should captivate readers from beginning to end.

La batalla inevitable could also have been called, the inevitable defeat, a fact that still weighs heavily on those who participated in its planning and execution. The author refers to this writing: «They refuse to accept the real reasons for the defeat, which can be found in the study of the evolution of the battle and which come together in a single idea: the Cuban people lived peak moments of patriotism and revolutionary fervor, and the support for the Revolution and its leader Fidel Castro reached heights never before achieved by any governing figure in the hemisphere.»

Olga Marta Pérez



CUADERNOS DE NUESTRA AMÉRICA

THE HAVANA-BASED NGO, Center for American Studies (CEA) is publishing its magazine «*Cuadernos de Nuestra América*» every six months. Its latest issue—July-December 1995— is dedicated to the Summit of the Americas convened by the U.S. President in Miami, Florida at the end of 1994.

In addition to the research articles that reflect on that meeting, it includes the Declaration of Principles and the Action Plan. It closes this broad section with two speeches by Cuban President Fidel Castro at the Fourth Ibero-American Summit in Colombia in June 1994.

In the presentation of the topics the magazine raises questions, such as: «Did

the Summit justify the overflowing optimism of some of its participants and analysts? What were its main results? What perspectives does inter-American relations have on the eve of the 21st century?» A good portion of the articles are devoted to answering these questions. For example, the article by Hugo Azcuay points out the conceptual limitations of the meeting with respect to the Latin American liberal democracies; Pedro Monreal and Tania García write about the likely formation of a hemispheric free trade zone; Isabel Jaramillo reflects on the new concepts of inter-American security; Rafael Hernández writes on politization of the Cuban issue.

As announced, «*Cuadernos de Nuestra América*» publishes analysis and reflections on the continent's most pressing social, economic, and political problems. To receive this important theoretical publication you can write to: Centro de Estudios sobre América, Calle 18 No. 316 e/3ra. y 5ta. Miramar, Municipio Playa, Ciudad de La Habana, Cuba.

Olga Marta Pérez

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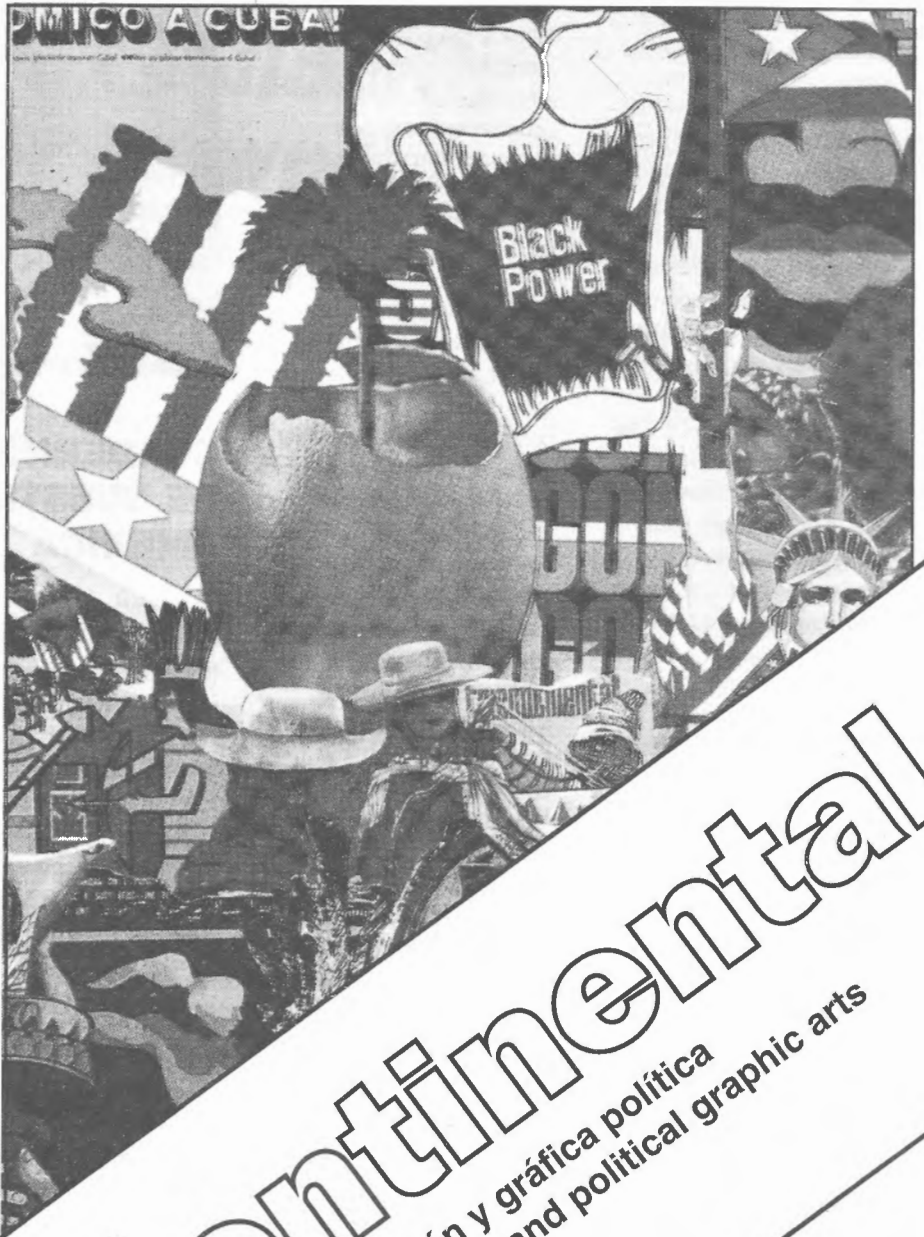
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