

# ***Vanguard***

**Organ of the National Steering Committee of the  
Zimbabwe Communist Party**

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# ***IMPERIALISM***



**ZimCom Publishers for the  
Zimbabwe Communist Party**

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**COVER PICTURE: Vietnam War 1972. Children running away from their burning homes after a napalm attack by the US Air Force. The little girl running naked is doing so after ripping off her burning clothes.**

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# **MAY DAY Message**

## **WORKERS OF THE WORLD — UNITE !!**

May Day Greetings to all Zimbabwean workers whether or not in formal employment.

We extend a special greeting to our brave nurses, to our teachers about to go on strike and to all others fighting for a living wage. Here we would like to make a special mention of the workers at Hwange Coliery, at Arcturus Mine, in the Marange Diamond Fields and the former workers of ZiscoSteel fighting to be paid.

We extend our greetings to all the workers of Africa and of the world.

In particular we extend our greetings to the workers of Zambia and Nigeria who have now established Socialist Parties in their countries under very difficult conditions.

We salute the Communist government of Nepal, a country of 30 million people, voted for overwhelmingly last year following protracted struggle including the overthrow of the monarchy 10 years ago, armed struggle and the establishment of people's power at grassroots — even differences among the revolutionary forces. We point out to our people that this victory did not come easily nor through an election alone.

We also celebrate the peaceful handover of leadership in Cuba from Comrade Raul Castro to Comrade Miguel Diaz-Canel by the Cuban National Assembly for People's Power.

Comrades! This is International Workers' Day and we salute you all!

But what about our country Zimbabwe?

This is a country where, in most cases, workers do not go on strike for more money, but simply to be paid.

This is a country of over 90% unemployment in the formal sector but where even those in employment do not get paid on time or in many cases do not get paid at all.

This is the same all through the country both in the private and the public sector. Whether in Chitungwiza or in Gwanda, whether in Mutare or Hwange, whether in Mutare or Kwe Kwe we have the same sad story.

And in local government, it does not matter whether it is ZANU(PF) or MDC running the local council. We see no difference.

Unemployed workers forced to become street traders are seen to be making the place untidy by the Boss Class. We have seen the MDC council in Harare unite with the ZANU(PF) government to clear the streets of jobless workers trying to survive.

As Communists we are bitterly opposed to sanctions placed on Zimbabwe by the imperialist countries. But Cuba, which does not have the natural resources of Zimbabwe has been under sanctions since 1961!

The Cubans have free education from crèche to university. Cuba has a free, quality health service. Their life expectancy is 79, the same as the USA and their infant mortality is lower. Using organic methods, they are self-sufficient in agriculture.

When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, we expected that the infrastructure built mainly for the white minority would be expanded.

But where has new power generating capacity been built? What happened to the clean water in Harare and Chitungwiza? What happened to our rail infrastructure and to NRZ?

Comrades, real capitalists know that in order to keep exploiting the labour power of the workers and making profit, they must at least pay them something and they must maintain the infrastructure.

Our dumb parasites do not know this! They only know that every penny they make must go into buying fancy cars and in maintaining as many small houses as possible.

When Mugabe was overthrown and before Mnangagwa could even be sworn in, the British Minister of State for Africa spent 4 or 5 days here.

And why does Britain have a Minister for Africa? To be kind to Africans? Or to plunder our resources?

And what does the MDC Alliance do when they realise there will be no inclusive government?

They run to the Washington, capital of the USA — that home of murderers that bombs every country that does not agree with it.

Comrades, we cannot keep asking other countries to come and run us. We must have a National Plan and strong parastatals — as we did before ESAP. We must build our national economy ourselves, as Cuba has done — as even racist Rhodesia did.

The Zimbabwe Communist Party is therefore calling for a National Economic Dialogue, for National Planning linked to Devolution of Power to the People.

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But immediately our slogan is **“Pay Workers on Time.”**

We call on the trade union movement to rally the workers around this issue and to organise mass class action to push it forward.

Lastly, as Communists we express our utter disgust at the move by the ZANU(PF) government to rejoin the British Commonwealth. We are Zimbabweans, we are not British, We will not bow down to the dictates of British monopoly capital.

**ZIMBABWE SHALL NEVER BE A COLONY AGAIN !!**

**SANDO NE JEKE !!**

**ISANDO LE SIKELE !!**

**VIVA SOCIALISM, VIVA !!**

**PAY WORKERS ON TIME !!**

**WORKERS OF THE WORLD — UNITE !!**



## EDITORIAL:

### Where to begin?



When we decided to make imperialism the focus of this issue of *Vanguard*, some comrades complained, saying that we should focus on local issues. After all, the last issue [*Vanguard* Vol.2 Issue 4, 1<sup>st</sup> February 2018] covered local issues rather well. As you will see, we are continuing to promote the class struggle within Zimbabwe as extensively as submissions from comrades will permit. Lenin in *Where to Begin?* had this to say:

**“In our opinion the starting-point of our activities, the first step towards creating the desired organisation, or, let us say, the main thread which, if followed, would enable us steadily to develop, deepen, and extend that organisation, should be the founding of an All-Russian political newspaper... A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser... With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organisation will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events... The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another... This network of agents will form the skeleton of precisely the kind of organisation we need — one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country; sufficiently broad and many-sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour; sufficiently well-tempered to be able to conduct steadily its own work under any circumstances, at all sudden turns, and in face of all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able, on the one hand, to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, when the enemy has concentrated all his forces at one spot, and yet, on the other, to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and where he least expects it.”**

V.I. Lenin, *Where to Begin?* (1901): LCW Vol.5

Although conditions in 21<sup>st</sup> century Zimbabwe are a little different to those in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Russia, the essence of what Lenin had to say remains. In the age of the Internet, instead of a newspaper we have an online journal: instead of being “All-Russian” we are “All-Zimbabwean”. It is the job of all our agents in the field to prepare reports on their local struggles. It is the job of the Editor assisted by the NSC of the Party to show the interconnection of all our localised struggles and to relate them to the worldwide struggle against capitalism and imperialism in its degenerate neo-liberal stage.

Although the economic devastation of Zimbabwe is due in great measure to the greed and incompetence of the ruling élite, it is also due to the policies of imperialism.

Let us not forget that in 1980, ZANU was preferred by the imperialists, the USA and Britain, to Soviet-backed ZAPU.

Let us not forget that it was the advice of the imperialists through the World Bank and the IMF which pushed us into the disastrous Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP).

Let us not forget that it was the neo-liberal agenda which altered the mindset of Zimbabweans through the slogan, “Making Money Makes Sense,” following which Zimbabweans decided to try to make money without production, making us the world’s poorest billionaires.

Let us not forget that when Zimbabwe, at the head of SADC forces, went to assist the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1999 when it was invaded by the USA using Ugandan and Rwandan forces, that the IMF and World Bank withdrew funding from Zimbabwe while continuing to fund the aggressors. This was due entirely to imperialist greed for Congo's minerals.

Let us not forget that the African slave trade played a very important role in the development of British capitalism: Barclays Bank is a direct product of slavery. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the development of industrial capitalism in Britain owes much to the fact that cotton grown by slave labour in the southern states of the USA was shipped to Britain where child labour played a major role in its processing. Again, if we examine the origin of the famous crown jewels of the British monarchy, most of the gold and jewels came from Africa.

The serious lack of understanding of what imperialism means to Zimbabwe is shown by the fact that during the period of intervention by the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) and prior to the appointment of Emmerson Mnangagwa as President, Rory Stewart, British Minister of State for Africa spent a number of days in Zimbabwe. The fact that Britain has a Minister of State [Deputy Minister] specifically for our continent indicates the continuing greed of British capital for African resources.

And if we do not trust ZANU(PF), is the MDC any better?

Once they realised that Mnangagwa and his friends were not going to include them in government, the entire leadership of the MDC Alliance ran to the very centre of global terrorism — Washington DC. Nelson Chamisa even blurted out that Trump had promised Zimbabwe US\$15 billion if the MDC came to power!

The ideology of imperialism has taken over the brains of our political leaders like a rapidly advancing cancer. Any plans which they have are about how they obtain money, the working-class is left out of the equation. Neither Mnangagwa nor Chamisa seems to be aware that wealth is produced by the workers working on the products of nature.

Whether the bosses are aligned to ZANU(PF) or MDC, the culture of not paying the workers on time — or even not at all — is prevalent in every corner of Zimbabwe in both the public and the private sector. To our regionalists, we say: "There are no regional differences when it comes to non-payment of workers."

And now, because of the greed and incompetence of our leaders, their inability to organise production, they are now crawling on their knees to imperialist Britain, begging to rejoin the Commonwealth. The fact that the Commonwealth has dropped the word 'British' from its official title should not hide the fact that its chief purpose is to sweeten the dominance of British monopoly capital in Britain's former colonies.

The very name 'Commonwealth' for an organisation which advances the interests of interlocking élites and is headed by an unelected monarch is an abuse of the English language. The word means "Wealth held in common." It was used politically for the first time when England became a republic in the years 1649-1660. The country was then known as the "Commonwealth of England". When the monarchy was restored in the counter-revolution 1660 the leaders of the Commonwealth were executed cruelly though disembowelment. Queen Elizabeth II is simply the descendent of the murdering Duke William of Normandy who through extreme terror made himself and his marauding gangsters King of England nearly 1,000 years ago.

If we want a free and prosperous and proud Africa, this can never happen while African countries belong either to the BRITISH Commonwealth or the FRENCH Community.

**Ian Patrick Beddowes**  
**Editor**



## GENERAL SECRETARY'S REPORT

**Happy 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary !! Happy May Day!!**

The publication of this magazine is significant to us as we mark our First Anniversary as the Zimbabwe Communist Party. The formation of the ZCP on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2017, has stimulated debate on the challenges of left politics in Zimbabwe. Academic Professor Brian Raftopolous argues that , “historically one of the major theoretical and political failures of the left has been around the question of nationalism and race”. But we should add here “To understand the questions of class and imperialism.”



There is no question that the black majority have been oppressed on racial grounds. But at the time of the racial oppression by the Rhodesians, no blacks owned capital, or certainly very few, and even in those exceptional cases, not very much. What was fundamentally class oppression was masked by colour. This has been demonstrated very well by the actions of the black élite who have now become the exploiters and the oppressors within the country. Capitalists behave much the same regardless of their skin-colour or their ethnicity.

By 1995, the effects of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) began to strongly have an adverse effect on the living standards of the workers and the idea of forming a workers' party was proposed. Unfortunately, no-one was interested in funding such a party. Satisfied that the ZANU(PF) government under Robert Mugabe was looking after their interests, there was no reason for the British and Americans to fund anyone else.

In 1998, the invasion of DRC by its neighbours but funded by the USA, saw Mugabe standing up for the first time against the imperialist by committing the military in the costly Congo War, thereby accelerating the economic collapse in Zimbabwe and resulting in the labour movement and the broad civil society, much of it western-funded, coming together to establish the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) with strong links to international capital. In any case, when the workers first began to consider the formation of a workers' party, there was a perception that the old white bosses in most cases treated them better than the new black bosses — the white bosses may have used racist language and displayed racist attitudes — but at least they paid on time! Thus apart from a socialist-oriented minority, there was no vision among the majority of workers of overthrowing the capitalist system altogether and creating a workers' government.

It was the Congo War which changed the attitude of the Americans and British to the ZANU(PF) government. The War had been funded by the US in order for them to install compliant government in Congo and Angola. The US government was furious with Mugabe for upsetting their plans, and, together with their satellite, Britain, they decided as part of their strategy to finance a new party in Zimbabwe. By the late 1990s the penniless leadership struggling to start a workers' party found it difficult to refuse the offer of funding by mainly white monopoly capital from Britain and the US. Although they had some understanding of internal class issues, the question of imperialism was not understood. Many truly believed the US and the UK to be the guardians of democracy and human rights.

Progressive minded people within the MDC now found themselves working with white farmers, the former Rhodesian Front and British and American imperialism.

Progressive minded people in ZANU(PF) found themselves working with élitist looters with no other thought than personal wealth accumulation whose attitude towards the working-class was often more arrogant and disdainful than the paternalistic white bosses.

Some within both MDC and ZANU(PF) came to a realisation that a new path must be found and that scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism provided the only set of tools, the only light to show us that path and how to walk it. This led to the formation of the ZCP.

Even with the fragmentation of MDC and ZANU(PF) political debate had mostly degenerated into arguing about individuals and about ethnicity — prior to the formation of the ZCP and the introduction of scientific socialist thought and class politics into the debate.

As the Zimbabwe Communist Party, we have defined ours as a dual struggle against imperialism, and their stooges inside and outside Zimbabwe and a struggle against the parasitic and comprador sections of our indigenous bourgeoisie hiding behind the national and race question while looting our natural resources.

In our founding statement on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 2017, we committed ourselves in working towards uniting organised labour in Zimbabwe. The firing of the striking nurses by the ZANU(PF) is a clarion call for organised labour to unite against the junta in Harare. We are working towards the convening of a labour seminar in Zimbabwe as part of our solidarity work and in forging the unity of the working-class.

As we mark our 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary, we must continue to build the Zimbabwe Communist Party in every province of Zimbabwe and within the diaspora. Every trade union, every informal sector organisation, every peasant organisation, every community organisation must have communists within its leadership in order that together we create a common vision.

As we seek to unite Zimbabweans in the interest of the majority, we do not forget, especially on this May Day, that we are not alone, we are one section of a world movement. As our slogan printed on our Party regalia says:

**“Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.”**

Our immediate task is to build cadres schooled in Marxist-Leninist theory as we deepen and advance the struggle of the working-class in Zimbabwe, in Africa and throughout the world.

**Comrades – Happy 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary and Happy May Day to all !!**

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena**  
**General Secretary**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**



**OPEN LETTER TO  
COMRADE EMMERSON D. MNANGAGWA  
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE  
6<sup>th</sup> MARCH 2018**

Revolutionary Greetings Comrade President;

The Zimbabwe Communist Party, once again, congratulates you on your elevation to the position of President of the Republic of Zimbabwe late last year.

In November last year, when the military rolled its tanks into the streets of Harare under the leadership of General Constantino Guvheya Chiwenga, now Deputy President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, there were enthusiastic celebrations by Zimbabweans across the globe, the majority of them from working-class and poor communities. The celebrations were about the departure from office of former President Robert Mugabe. Mugabe had become a common threat to national progress. The military intervention, therefore became the best tool to support the desire of ordinary Zimbabweans to remove a President who had become a symbol of hunger and oppression.



Comrade President, as we evaluate your first hundred days in office, we thought it was critical for us to engage you.

Since ZANU(PF) came to power on 18<sup>th</sup> April 1980 after years of struggle against colonialism and white minority oppression, the Communist Party has noted the following:

When your Party took over, it was under the conditions of an unusual political and economic situation in our country.

Historically, by the late 1950s, the main imperialist powers in Africa, Britain and France had recognised that direct colonial control could no longer work on the African continent. It had become necessary for them to rapidly grant 'Independence' to their colonies, that is to allow African countries to have their black presidents, national flags and national anthems while they and the monopoly capitalist companies whose interests they represented continued to reap super-profits at the expense of the African majority. In other words, they introduced the neo-colonial agenda.

The late but decisive entrant into African affairs was the USA. The US had first developed serious interest in Africa following the use of uranium from the Belgian Congo in the manufacture of the atomic bombs which destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. With the discovery of rare minerals used in high-tech aeronautics and in the arms industry, they developed a growing interests in Congo playing a major role in the removal from power and murder of Comrade Patrice Lumumba in 1961-1962. It was the USA which was to introduce the most vicious and toxic campaign against communist influence within the national liberation movements.

An added dimension was that the government of fascist Portugal was far less subtle in its approach to African Independence than the more advanced imperialist countries.

On the other hand, the prolonged armed struggle backed by the Soviet Union and Cuba and assisted by the powerful underground Portuguese Communist Party in alliance with the liberation movements had become a danger to the long-term interests of imperialism.

In southern Africa, South Africa and Rhodesia, by the early 1960s, had clear indicators that the white-racist settler régimes could not survive much longer. Big capital now sought a way to replace the white-settler régimes with black comprador governments.

In the now Zimbabwe, within this scenario and under sanctions from imperialist Britain, the white-settler régime developed an economy relatively autonomous from outside control. Ian Smith built a powerful locally based economy under sanctions.

Global monopoly capitalism did not like this.

Fast forward, uniquely and unlike elsewhere on the African continent, in 1980 the new Zimbabwean government inherited an economy in which most commodities were locally made.

Zimbabwe also had one of the most skilled work-forces on the continent with a developed work-ethic rarely found in Africa. The transformation of an economy which already had a great deal of state-planning and strong parastatals with the co-operation of the organised working-class into a socialist economy should not have been too difficult.

We recognise, that in the first decade of our independence (other than the ghastly nation-splitting exercise of Gukurahundi), the Zimbabwean government did well on in developing its social agenda. For the first time, women could own property, clinics and secondary schools were built throughout Zimbabwe. Primary education was accessible to almost every child in Zimbabwe, with government providing education material to schools in poor communities.

Your party adopted the Leadership Code in its 1984 Congress. But at that Congress, it may be remembered the late Edson Zvogbo stated that he had never seen a socialist in ZANU(PF)!

It seems that Zvogbo was correct.

In 1991, your party adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). ESAP represented the total surrender of national economic independence to monopoly capital and the imperialist interests. It was the negation of the national liberation struggle. ESAP caused extensive suffering to the majority of Zimbabweans while simultaneously creating a black parasitic elite. The economic collapse caused by the adoption of these neo-liberal policies is well documented. Comrade President, on your inauguration, you said, “Ours is a great country, endowed with rich resources and abounding in many opportunities for everyone who considers it home”.

Indeed our country is rich. Our challenge is about who owns the decisive means of production in our country and who benefits from those riches. In the last 37 years, our minerals have been looted by the parasitic bourgeois in conjunction with foreign capital. This needs to change. the removal of the 51%-49% ownership of profits from most minerals we regard as retrograde. The problem in the past, however, was that the 51% rarely benefitted the people as a whole. Our vision for minerals as expressed in our ZCP Political Economy Programme is outlined below:

**“113. The first principle to be understood is that the minerals of Zimbabwe are the common property of its people;**

**“114. The second principle is that the people of the province and the district in which those minerals are found have preference of interest over those from other parts of the country.**

**“115. The third is that having understood the first two, any mining company, local or foreign, which can provide the expertise to mine those minerals and to market them, will, once a contract is signed, have those rights and terms secured by government, without interference for the duration of that contract.**

**“116. In furtherance of these principles, the standard outline form of agreement should be as follows. Negotiations around these fundamentals being allowed.**

**“117. Within a maximum 10 year period, ownership of any mining venture should be shared by the Zimbabwean people and a commercial mining company in the overall ratio 51% to 49%.**

**“118. The Zimbabwean interest should be divided in the ratio of 31% to government, 20% to the employees.**

**“119. In line with the policy of devolution of power, the government owned proportion should be divided thus: 15% ownership should be controlled by national government, and 16% by local government. This should be further broken down so that 8% goes to the provincial government and 8% to the district.**

**“120. The share going to the employees should be subdivided in three, 50% going to the general workforce, 30% going to middle management and technical staff, 20% to senior management. The shares would be equally divided according to category and be given to those who had at least one year's service. Shares would also be made available to the families of those dying whilst in company service. This policy would give a degree of control, responsibilities, pride and motivation to the work force. It would also add to the programme of devolution, putting money back into the community and creating stability.**

**“121. Interest of potential investors would be created through a ten year induction period. In the first two years the investor would have total control. The collective Zimbabwean share would rise to 25% in the next four years, 33% in the following four year rising to 51% after 19 years. The investor would not be taxed and would have freedom to repatriate their money. Contracts would be for ten years at a time. Should there be a move by an investor to pull out prior to accepting a 49% share, government would retain the right to nationalise completely with the total shareholding within the nation being divided as above.**

**“122. Government would retain the right to buy shares on the open market of mining companies operating in Zimbabwe.**

**“123. Closure of mines must be followed by rehabilitation of land and establishment of new industry for the community in Zimbabwe.**

**“123: A mining parastatal must be established in Zimbabwe quickly but not hastily. It must be led by people who have a combination of skill, dedication, honesty and devotion to the concept of having an efficient, nationally owned company in which the workers have a share and which co-operates with the local people wherever it operates.”**

The concept of Devolution of Power enshrined in our Constitution is built into our programme outlined above. It is very different from what Patrick Chinamasa, Minister of Finance and Development, understood when he called for the removal of the Devolution of Power clause in the constitution. Minister Chinamasa obviously sees Devolution of Power as introducing even more tiers of government and thus as another drain on the already strained fiscus. We, on the other hand, see it as an important element in the recovery of our economy.

In the budget announced in December last year, although there are many positive aspects with regard to developing the economy, there is no concept of involving the people as a whole in that development. Our understanding and that of the majority of Zimbabweans who voted for Devolution of Power believe that it is linked to development in our communities. Here is another excerpt from the ZCP Political Economy Programme:

**“43. There can be no long term solution for the problems of Zimbabwe unless production is put first. Zimbabwe has abundant natural resources and it is the harnessing of these resources with an understanding of priorities through a national plan that there can be any national recovery.**

**“Following the lead of other countries with fast developing economies, we need to establish a National Planning Commission. It should be broad based and transparent. Provincial and District Planning Commissions should draw-up local plans in consultation with the people. In order to accomplish this we need a Draft National Plan to be drawn up by planning professionals working in conjunction with representatives of industry and trade unions as well as regional representatives.**

**“44. The Draft National Plan needs to be discussed in every Ward and village. Every Town and District should have a Development Plan implemented with the assistance and oversight of a permanent, broad-based Planning Committee. Every Province must have a Provincial Plan and a permanent, broad-based Planning Commission. There must be an over-arching National Plan and a permanent, broad-based National Planning Commission. The Zimbabwean Diaspora must be involved in developing and financing the National Plan.**

**“45. Planning Committees at lower levels need to be dominated by people at local level. Planning at the higher levels will require a greater input by planning professionals. However, we will need mutual sympathy between the professionals and the people who are involved directly in production. Professional planners need not be arrogant to those involved directly in production — and those involved directly in production should not have an obstructive or dismissive attitude towards the professional planners. The development of our country, Zimbabwe, must always be the priority.**

**“46. In implementing the National Plan, the commanding heights of the economy should be publicly owned through parastatals or in some cases by enterprises under Provincial, Municipal or District ownership. All enterprises privatised since ESAP must be restored to public ownership.”**

The most disturbing part of the National Budget Statement 2018 presented to Parliament by Minister Chinamasa is this:

**“252. The sources of Zimbabwe’s high costs of business are many, including but not limited to... High wage structure, relative to productivity, when compared to such other countries as Ethiopia...”**



We must know where in Zimbabwe that “High wage structure” is to be found. In fact low productivity in Zimbabwe is related directly to the now established culture of not paying workers on time — or not at all. This culture among business owners and managers is found across all corners of Zimbabwe in both the public and the private sectors. Workers in Zimbabwe normally strike not for a wage increase, but simply to be paid. This management culture leads to low morale among the minority still in formal employment and the necessity for workers to find other means of survival during their working hours.

There can be no recovery in our economy until the producers of wealth — the working-class are properly remunerated. The concept that production is related simply to the interaction between different sections of capital can only be regarded as simplistic, idealistic nonsense unrelated to material reality.

The greatest number of Zimbabweans, however, live in the rural areas. It is very clear that it will be very difficult to improve industrial production without first improving agricultural production and therefore food supply. The ZCP Political Economy Programme has this to say:

**“91. There are six basic problems to be tackled if we are to have efficient agricultural production coupled with the improvement of the lives of those living in the rural areas:**

**“91.1 Correction of the mismanaged land redistribution.**

**“91.2 Expansion and streamlining of irrigation schemes.**

**“91.3 Serious technical planning of production taking into account the food needs of the population, export production and local conditions of soil and climate.**

**“91.4 A charter to safeguard the rights of agricultural workers.**

**“91.5 Skills training in agriculture at different levels including training for peasant farmers.**

**“91.6 Special planning for communal lands in conjunction with their communities.”**

In dealing with the misappropriation of land by the Mugabe family and others and in returning some white farmers to the land on the basis of “One family — one farm”. We feel that you have progressed in some measure in correcting land distribution. We are also happy that land is being distributed under the “99-year lease” system and not under the system of title deeds. The land of Zimbabwe must never be owned by individuals.

While the change in government was taking place, the Zimbabwe Communist Party refused to pre-judge the new government — despite pressure from both sides to do this. We stated:

**“The Zimbabwe Communist Party calls for a transitional arrangement to be put in place to guide the country towards a peaceful, free and fair election within a reasonable time frame. The attitude of the ZCP towards all developments in Zimbabwe depends on the following:**

**“1) The interests of the working class, the peasants and the poor.**

**“2) The rebuilding of the shattered Zimbabwean economy on the basis of production and national economic autonomy.**

**“3) The implementation of the Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe voted for by the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans in 2013.”**

A nation is not a tribe. Most countries contain a number of different ethnic groups. National unity can only be achieved through the mutual recognition and respect of cultural and linguistic differences. Apart from the related question of economic planning and integration, Devolution of Power assists both the recognition of different ethnic groups but also their integration into the nation as a whole. This is why Communists are AGAINST “Devolution of Power to the Provinces” and FOR “Devolution of Power to the People”.

The first implies a form of federalism — which we oppose and also can tend to the formation of provincial ethnic based élites. Again, there are more than two ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. By bringing devolution in an organisational sense down to district level, we are beginning to recognise ALL ethnic groups.

In terms of acknowledging the atrocities of the past, we welcome the National Peace and Reconciliation Commission and are encouraging victims and even perpetrators of atrocities committed under the Mugabe régime to tell their story. Although Gukurahundi is by far the worst group of atrocities, we hope that Murambatsvina, mini-Gukurahundi and Hakudzokwi will also be addressed by the Commission. Although we have no relationship with the separatists, we feel that they are correct in asserting that Matabeleland is under-represented in the Commission and that this problem should be addressed.

Comrade President, we believe that there is now space for Zimbabweans to come together and discuss their economic and other problems focusing on the long, medium and short term. As you would note from our ideological position referred to above, the ZCP has its own vision, but, of course, cannot carry out our programme alone.

We are therefore calling for a National Economic Dialogue, to be attended by government, civil society, labour, business, youth and women formations to debate the matters raised in this open letter to you. Our vision is beyond power, but protecting and promoting Zimbabwe's sovereignty and its peoples happiness.

Comradely,

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena**  
**General Secretary**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**

**on behalf of the**  
**National Steering Committee**





## STATEMENT ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

18<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2018

Today Zimbabwe is 38 years old. But how far have we really come?

It is to our shame that there has been no discernible improvement on the infrastructure left to us by the Rhodesians. In fact the rather old-fashioned infrastructure which we were left with in 1980 is now in tatters.

There has been no appreciable increase in electricity generation. We have the same thermal power stations that we had 38 years ago and some hydro-electricity coming from Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam completed in 1959. The Dam has developed very serious cracks which have been visible for some years, but it is only recently that a French company has been contracted to repair it — and it is a matter of speculation as to whether or not they will be able to do it before it collapses entirely.

Our capital city, Harare and its satellite, Chitungwiza no longer have clean water. Water-borne disease outbreaks occur at frequent intervals.

The once excellent National Railways of Zimbabwe has become a mess. Gone are the days when one could book an overnight sleeper and be provided with clean sheets. The one attempt at improvement was in the 1980s, when, with the help of Canada, we started buying their diesel engines rather than manufacture our own steam locomotives. This in a country with no oil but abundant coal!

The health service has fallen apart.

The only noticeable development has been in education, schools and universities have been opened which have provided Zimbabwe with the world's best educated street traders. Others, of course, have used their skills in other countries. This is clearly the result of having a school headmaster ruling the country for more than 37 years — a man who understood what happens in school very well but had no idea what happens to people after they have left school.

The indignity of being discriminated against by people who look different and come from a different continent is now over. But at least those people for all their humiliating racial attitudes generally paid workers on the agreed day. The new boss class have now developed an attitude and a culture of paying workers whenever they feel like it. This is true in both the public and the private sectors and councils under the control of the pro-imperialist opposition are no better at treating their workers.

People struggling to scratch a living by street trading are beaten and persecuted by police working for the interests of the petit-bourgeois elite who do not want to see their streets looking untidy. The majority of our people have become non-people — except when it comes to voting.

Zimbabweans, generally, are no longer discriminated against because of their colour. But they are discriminated against because of class.

And when we look at the history of our liberation struggle, what happened to those that lead our liberation armies — Josiah Tongogara, Lookout Masuku and Solomon Mujuru?

In 1980 all celebrated the new government and the new flag — even those who had backed ZAPU, the original liberation movement, rather than those who took power — ZANU.

Two years later, in 1982, an agreement was made with the apartheid government of South Africa to prevent Zimbabwe from being used as a rear base for the armed wing of the ANC of South Africa, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ally of ZIPRA. Massacres followed in Matabeleland, Midlands and Mashonaland West. This has led to a huge rift, to deep bitterness between different ethnic groups. Although this has been the worst manifestation of tribalism, it is by no means the only one. Zimbabweans of Malawian, Mozambican or Zambian origin have been told that they are not Zimbabweans. This in a country whose leaders claim to be pan-Africanists!

The memory of the days of the late 1940s and early 1950s when Benjamin Burombo was able to lead the people of Bulawayo and Charles Mzingeli was able to lead the people in Salisbury have been buried by ethnic hatred.

Then came the big sell-out. Real economic independence ended in 1991 with ESAP. For all their racism, the Rhodesians had built up an economy autonomous from outside control. For the first 11 years of Independence at least 80% of what we bought in Zimbabwe was made in Zimbabwe. The bitter truth is that it was the African 'nationalists' and not the white settlers who bowed to the demands of the US/UK Axis when they accepted the terms of the IMF and the World Bank.

Worse, the working-class movement created originally in opposition to ESAP became its opposite. It came under the control of Rhodesians opposed to land reform who had now reconciled to the imperialist centre. The MDC became the greatest exponents of the neo-liberal ethos.

Recently we saw that with the overthrow of Robert Mugabe, the British Minister of State for African Affairs spent several days in Harare prior to Emmerson Mnangagwa becoming President.

And what did the MDC Alliance do when they found that they were not included in the new government?

They ran to Washington, the centre of world terrorism, to complain.

As Communists, we are very clear that in our country, Zimbabwe, it was the working-class which started the liberation struggle when trade unionists took over the Southern Rhodesian ANC in 1957. It was the working-class and the peasants who gave their blood for liberation from colonial oppression. But rule by the Rhodies has given way to rule by the chefs whom we are expected to respect.

We cannot respect those who steal our resources and do not respect us. Therefore the Zimbabwe Communist Party calls on the working-class, the peasants and the poor to unite and regain the independence for which they and their forefathers gave their lives.

**Forward to real Independence !!**

**Down with the chefs !!**

**Down with the imperialists and their stooges !!**



**ZCP PROVINCIAL SECRETARY  
COMRADE MANEX MAUYE**

## **REPORT ON ZCP 1<sup>st</sup> ANNIVERSARY COMMEMORATION AND PROVINCIAL MEETING**

**HELD ON 31<sup>st</sup> MARCH 2018 AT DEVONSHIRE BOYS' CLUB,  
SAKUBVA AT 1100hrs.**

ZCP Manicaland provincial leadership held a 1<sup>st</sup> Anniversary Commemoration and Provincial Meeting at the Devonshire Boys club in Sakubva, Mutare on 31<sup>st</sup> March 2018 from 11.00hrs to 14.00hrs. The event was attended by 43 participants from the ZCP and some community based organisations that were invited to give solidarity speeches. ZCTU was not represented as expected because its leaders were out of reach. Its Deputy Regional Chairperson and Mutare City Council union chairperson, J Kwangwari who is also in the ZCP Provincial Steering Committee was not reachable on his mobile phone.

The organisations and social movements that were represented are as follows:

Concerned Youth and Young Adults Trust,  
Open Society Forum,  
Conscious Development Empowerment Trust,  
Mutare Youth Initiatives,  
Citizens' Manifesto

and

Vendors — who represented the informal sector.

All organisations present pledged support for communist ideology and asked for trainings that gives people a greater understanding and an in-depth appreciation of communism. They appealed to the ZCP leadership to work with communist parties those countries in which Communist Parties are in government and from other countries with strong Communist Parties. It was unanimously agreed that communist ideological training is the only way cadreship can be built at the workplace and in all walks of life. The organisations present bemoaned non-payment of wages, closure of companies, continuous depletion of the economy and the likelihood of privatisation of services as evidenced by President E.D. Mnangagwa calling for open direct foreign investment exposing our resources to imperialist plunder.

The Provincial Secretary, on behalf of the Party, raised concern over the death of poor people in hospitals as government fails to address health workers' grievances. He said that teachers were threatening not to go back to work when schools open next term if their issues are not addressed and that there is no effort by government to resolve the impasse. This is happening against a background of rampant illicit financial outflows. He said that the President gave an ultimatum to the externalisers of funds, but that we find it difficult to believe that there will be any action given the President's own past. The Provincial Secretary pointed out that the ZCP notes with great concern the need to plug all these gaps and loopholes for the betterment of people's lives and that our Party is also gravely concerned that many artisanal miners continue to die in mining areas trying to earn a living. He pointed out that most farms are still owned by the élite minority. The Provincial Secretary noted further that money is scarce in banks and that there are still long queues and that the Povo are becoming poorer with each day.

## **2. ZCP PERCEPTION OF THE 2018 ELECTIONS AND MOST LIKELY SCENARIO**

Participants were generally of the idea that oncoming elections will not be free and fair and as such not legitimate and in accordance with the international standards guiding elections. It was felt that the call for international and local observers is mere rhetoric and cosmetic considering that the government has shown lack of good will in effecting electoral reforms. The ZEC has been flooded with the junta, retired and serving soldiers. It is most likely that the elections will be manipulated. In the most likely scenario that Chamisa wins, the military has a potential of staging another coup resulting in violence after elections.

## **3. ROLE OF ZCP IN ONCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS**

The ZCP is not contesting in any elections this year. Its members are free to support any individual belonging to any party who cares about his or her constituents and whose actions can further the interests of the workers, the peasants and the poor or who are close to our communist ideology. The Party, however, should take an observer's role so that the learning process is facilitated. There is need to observe, analyse and document/report for future use. The Party will also need to issue out a statement on elections and so should be informed by our observations and experiences from various provinces.

## **4. PARTY STRUCTURE BUILDING**

There is need to strengthen the party through formation of structures at District and grassroot levels. Because of lack of resources for mobility, the Party should make use of community based initiatives, organisations and movements that are close to the people and/or believe in communism. Focal point persons or organisations should be identified and put on record for approval on the next meeting date. This should ease penetration of some areas and increase the visibility of the Party.

## **5. AOB**

The training meeting that was supposed to have been held in Midrand South Africa was rescheduled to a later date. The date and venue, if any changes will be communicated. Comrades are encouraged to set up communist ideological schools in their respective areas.

## **6. NEXT MEETING VENUE, DATE AND TIME**

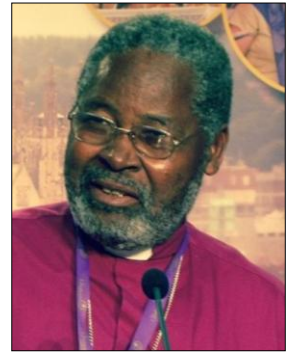
The next meeting venue, date and time will be communicated on the WhatsApp platform. This is due to the uncertain environment that usually prevail in Zimbabwe towards and during elections. In the meantime, there is need to monitor political events. The decision on where and when to hold the next meeting should be informed by prevailing political environment.

**Manex Mauye**  
**Provincial Secretary**  
**ZCP Manicaland Province**

## UMRRT PRESS CONFERENCE ON RATES BOYCOTT

On 16<sup>th</sup> April 2018, the United Mutare Residents' and Ratepayers' Trust, UMRRT held a press conference at the Wimpy's Buffalo boardroom. The press conference was at 17.30hrs and was attended by more than ten journalists from different media houses; most were from the print media, but Tichaona Meza of ZBC and Sydney Saize of Studio 7 were also there.

Anglican Bishop Sebastian Bakare who is the Director of UMRRT read out a press statement pointing out that the residents' organisation wrote a letter to council through the UMRRT lawyer notifying them that the residents will be embarking on a rates boycott as a way of forcing council to be accountable. A documentary expressing the grievances of residents from many of Mutare's wards was shown at the meeting. Dangerously cracked houses were well captured in the documentary which the UMRRT Director said had become the voice of the residents.



**BISHOP SEBASTIAN BAKARE**  
**UMRRT DIRECTOR**

In Ward 1 there are houses known as Blocks which date from colonial times. Normally each Block has four doors and two families share a room, but each family pays rent to the council. In some cases four households share one room. Toilets in such places are public toilets which are often blocked. Residents are forced to clear blockages themselves using whatever they can find to do it.

Bishop Bakare bemoaned the behaviour of council officials who have taken themselves to be the bosses of the residents when they are supposed to be their servants. He said that council officials had been invited to residents meetings several times but never turned up, giving either silly excuses or no excuse at all. This, the Bishop said showed gross disrespect for the residents who should be advising the council on the way forward during these hard times. "The residents here are educated and qualified. Some are even more qualified, experienced and educated than council officials," said the Bishop.

In Murambi East, levies are imposed for street-lights yet there is not even a pole to show for their payments. There is an education levy but no new schools have been built for a long period and the old ones have not been repaired. The residents demanded that council account for what they have collected as levies and how they have used the money.

The other simple questions that council refuses to answer are: How many houses are there in Mutare? How much in total do they collect from these houses? And how many are council leased houses?

By refusing to answer these questions, the council is obviously running away from accountability.

The UMRRT director made it clear that the residents have no intention of bringing the council down but rather of holding them accountable in everything that they do.

A law firm has been tasked to open a trust account. It is into this account that all residents boycotting rates are expected to deposit their monthly payments instead of paying to council, which will continue until and unless the residents grievances have been addressed; once council complies with the residents' requests, money in the trust account will be transferred to council account leaving no resident who has paid into the trust account owing the council.

Residents were encouraged to support this rates boycott to force council to deliver. They were told that UMRRT will make sure that no one is disconnected from the water supply without a court order and that residents' lawyers are on the alert. Further, that all forms of victimisation will be taken care of for those taking part in the rates boycott but paying into the trust account.

**Report by Comrade Manex Mauye**

## **38 YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE: REFLECTIONS FROM ZIMBABWE'S EDUCATION SECTOR**



**OBERT MASARAURE  
PRESIDENT ARTUZ**

Zimbabwe commemorated 38 years of Independence at a water-shed moment in our history. This year's Independence Day came at a time when the dominant figure since 1980, Robert Mugabe had become a relic of history following the events of November 2017. The 38 years of Zimbabwe have been an era of mixed fortunes; Zimbabwe started off on a promising note only to wind up becoming a failed nation.

One of the worst affected sectors in Zimbabwe's total collapse has been the education sector. At Independence and for many years after, the education sector of the country was one of the sources of pride for the nation yet today it is mired in an unprecedented crisis.

### **Quality of education**

At Independence, the policy of the new nationalist government was to increase access to education for all as a way to correct the imbalances of colonialism. New schools were built, textbooks were sourced, a free education policy was implemented and all Zimbabweans were offered an opportunity to pursue education. Then the education offered real opportunities for learners to take up careers in government and the in private sector.

However, starting from the late 1990s, the quality of education started to plummet due to a number of factors. Among the key causes of the collapse in the quality of education were limited funding and failure to adjust the curriculum to the needs of the economy. Post 2000, the situation in the education sector reached a crisis point on the back of the economic crisis emanating from a cocktail of reasons including government failures, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, international isolation and the increased demand for education in a growing population.

The fast track land reform programme resulted in a huge population influx in former white-owned farms which became resettlement areas. Resultantly, the number of schools became overwhelmed as the population of formerly sparsely populated areas increased significantly. This led to the establishment of over 5000 satellite schools to cater for those areas. The satellite schools were and still are largely dependent on the parent schools for services and examinations.

As the economic meltdown continued, education all but collapsed and in 2008 almost all schools came close to closure.

It was during the tenure of the inclusive government that a degree of normalcy was restored to the education sector through a combination of donor resources and direct parental support through the incentive scheme. The go-it-alone ZANU(PF) régime which succeeded the Government of National Unity (GNU), scrapped the incentive scheme and undertook a raft of measures which eroded the gains of the GNU era.

Of all the counter policies implemented by the ZANU(PF) régime, the most damaging were the new curriculum and austerity measures which involved a salary freeze for teachers, the illegal scrapping of teachers' vacation leave, plus a recruitment freeze. The new curriculum was largely resisted by a wide cross section of society as it was rightly felt that the whole process was a political ruse by the ruling party.

As such, teachers resisted its implementation and after the obdurate Lazarus Dokora was sacked as Minister of Primary and Secondary Education by President Mnangagwa, the government implemented a review of the curriculum including some concessions around tasks given to learners.



## **Teachers' welfare**

It is common cause throughout the world that the teacher is the driver of the education system and as such the state of the welfare of the teacher becomes a direct reflection of the education system. Whereas at independence, teachers were revered members of society, they are now being ridiculed because of their poverty and generally poor conditions of service.

It is also common cause that the most affected sector of teachers are those working in rural outposts and by extension the rural learners. It is against this reality that the Amalgamated Rural Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (ARTUZ) was launched in 2013. The key thrust of this movement is to ensure that rural education issues are brought to the fore of policy making.

One of the pillars of principle and strategy of ARTUZ is unity and solidarity, and in this vein it started to engage other unions to convince them on the need for a collective voice. This vision was achieved on 19<sup>th</sup> March 2018, after lengthy deliberations at Zimta House in Harare the Federation of Zimbabwe Educators Unions (FOZEU) was born.

The immediate task of FOZEU was to organise a leadership march to Munhumutapa Buildings and hand over a petition of grievances which needed immediate attention and also to give express notice of a strike action. This was realised in the historic march of 27<sup>th</sup> March 2018 which included the leadership of all the major education sector unions.

Government then started employing their familiar divide and rule tactics by calling the now defunct Apex Council for negotiations as a way to continue to stifle the voice of teachers and by extension their welfare.

ARTUZ, therefore, is making a clarion call to all rural teachers to remain vigilant and refuse to be cowed until our demands for 100% salary increment, 75% of salary as rural allowance, total depoliticisation of schools and restoration of vacation leave are met.

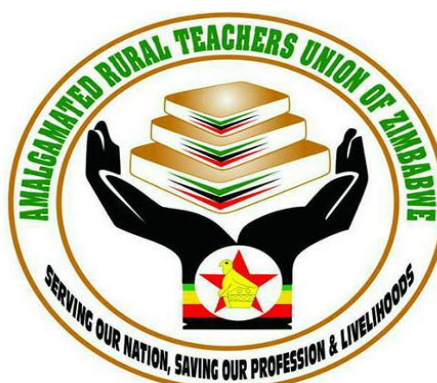
We must realise that as teachers we are the fountain of knowledge and the aquifers of learning for the children of Zimbabwe. As such we must stand firm and remain calm, even in the face of apparent selling out by some sections of the trade union movement.

**The strike is still on !!**

**Come second term and until our demands are met we will not open schools !!**

**Obert Masaraure**  
**National President**  
**Amalgamated Rural Teachers Union of Zimbabwe**

+263776129336  
obertmasaraure@gmail.com



## **ARTUZ SECRETARY-GENERAL THREATENED WITH EVICTION BY MINE OWNER**

19<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2018



**COMRADE ROBSON NIKITA CHERE  
SECRETARY-GENERAL ARTUZ**

The Secretary-General of the Amalgamated Rural Teachers' Union of Zimbabwe (ARTUZ), Comrade Robson Nikita Chere, has been given a 72hr notice to vacate his residence by Tawanda Nyambirai. The notice was delivered by a bunch of gun toting security guards. The Secretary-General is a teacher at Acturus High School where he is ordinarily resident.

Comrade Chere has been on the forefront of defending the rights of Acturus Mine workers who were being evicted by Nyambirai. Nyambirai took over the operations of Acturus Mine and has a false assumption that by extension he now runs Acturus High School which is not a Trust School.

To us as a Union this is a signal! We have been alerted that our Union is now under attack from both capital and government.

We will not fold our hands and leave our Union and our cadreship vulnerable to the machinations of these vultures. Our SG will remain put at his official residence as we pursue both legal and political remedy to this madness.

## **ZIMBABWE LAWYERS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WARN NYAMBIRAI ON THE VICTIMISATION OF ARTUZ SECRETARY-GENERAL**

20<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2018

Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights (ZLHR) have warned Tawanda Nyambirai of Arcturus Mine to stop forthwith his illegal attempt to evict Amalgamated Rural Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (ARTUZ) Secretary-General, Robson Chere, from his school allocated house.

In an urgent letter addressed to TN Arcturus Gold Mine Chief Executive Officer, the human rights body pointed the fact that Mr Chere was a teacher and not a mine employee and was allocated the house due to that fact.

It is against this background that the purported notice of eviction which was delivered verbally by 3 armed security guards on 19<sup>th</sup> April 2018 was null and void.

ZLHR warned that any continued victimisation will be met with court action.



**INDIGENOUS  
BUSINESS-PERSON  
TAWANDA NYAMBIRAI**

**ARTUZ Information Department  
Restoring Teachers' Legacy !!  
+263776129336/0775643192**



## ARCTURUS MINE EVICTIONS



Arcturus Mine is one of the oldest gold mines in Zimbabwe and has been in existence since the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is divided into 3 sub-sections: Gladstone Mine, Ceylon Mine and the main Arcturus Mine. The mine is only about 34km from Harare but the mining community is isolated and remains uninformed receiving little information from the outside world. When in full-scale operation the mine accommodated about 3000 workers on its property.

Arcturus Mine was previously owned by Metallon Gold which owned a group of gold mines that includes Redwing Mine, How Mine, Shamva Mine and Mazowe Mine. In 2015, Metallon Gold failed to pay workers. This led to a strike by workers and their spouses leading to the mine stopping its operations in 2015. Almost three-quarters of the workers were fired due to the strike. Some of the workers who were not dismissed were transferred to other mines owned by Metallon Gold, with a few kept on for maintenance. Many of the workers who were fired remained at the mine contesting their unlawful dismissal in the courts. Some won their cases while others remained waiting for the outcome of their cases, more especially as they wished to remain at the addresses given to the court.

In November 2017 local businessman Tawanda Nyambirai bought Arcturus Mine from Metallon Gold. He changed the name from Arcturus Mine to TN Arcturus Gold Mine; he then deployed one Elphanet Dapi who claims to be Nyambirai's brother. Dapi, a former police officer, is Head of Security at the Mine and is heavily involved in the evictions of former employees of Metallon Gold. Most of the former workers were given 72 hours eviction ultimatum without court orders.

The majority of the workers are of Malawian or Zambian origin. Many worked at the mine even before 1980. They are the same workers who contributed to the construction of the schools in the mining community through deductions from their salaries to complement government funding.

TN Arcturus Gold has also claimed to have bought the schools, but the schools do not fall under trust ownership and are run by School Development Committees (SDCs) composed of parents. Parents who complained about the unlawful takeover of the school by TN Arcturus Gold were threatened and victimised to the extent of being forcefully and unprocedurally dropped from the SDC committees.

Those who tried to stand in solidarity with the victimised people also fallen victims in the process including the writer of this piece who was given a verbal 72 hours eviction order ultimatum notice to vacate the school house allocated to him by the school authorities after he tried to help workers with seeking legal assistance in the course of unlawfully evictions.

The rights of men, women and children are being violated daily through the programme of illegal evictions being perpetrated by the management of TN Arcturus Gold Mine.

Our plea is to publicise this story to the nation and the world so that they know how some of our indigenous business people are violating human rights in pursuit of profits in Zimbabwe.

**Robson Chere**  
**Secretary-General**  
**Amalgamated Rural Teachers Union Of Zimbabwe**





# **THE BIRTH OF THE WORKING-CLASS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE NATIONALIST STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE**



## **1. The birth of the working-class**

Colonialism instituted by the white settlers under the British South African Council (BSAC) set out to create and then coerce a black working-class. Initially they needed workers as domestic servants and gardeners, subsequently to work in farms, mines, factories and shops.

The régime introduced head tax (umthelo wekhanda; musoro mutero) which had to be paid with money leaving people with no choice but to work for the settlers in order to earn that money. This was not in line with the system of living to which they had been used which can be characterised as a collective/feudal system in which there were no workers nor employers although tribute in kind was paid to a chief.

This change brought about the formation of the working-class which developed a new common culture based on dealing with the new situation; they organised burial societies and other social groupings. As they tried to resist the notoriously inhuman working conditions they were subjected to by the white capitalists, workers formed unions and used strikes to fight for their rights as early as 1895 when black miners refused to work night shifts. As class consciousness grew within the working-class, resistance continued as can be confirmed by the 1902 strike at Camperdown Mine, the 1912 Wankie Colliery strike, and the railway strike of 1919. This led to the formation of trade unions in Zimbabwe.

## **2. Formation of trade unions in Zimbabwe**

The first trade union in Zimbabwe, the Industrial Commercial Union (ICU) was formed in South Africa by Clements Kadalie a Malawian. In 1927, senior members in what was then Southern Rhodesia, Masotsha Ndlovu and Charles Mzingeli organised the Independent Industrial and Commercial Union; by 1934 this union had established 13 branches with 5000 members. The working people of that time as they participated in union activities eventually found themselves involved in political resistance.

In 1934 the régime enacted the Industrial Conciliation Act legalising the formation of trade unions by white workers following the 1932 strike against the decision to train black workers as bricklayers.

Nevertheless the formation of black trade unions increased as the manufacturing sector grew in the country in the 1930s and 1940s leading to increased wage labour with the following statistics: 254,000 in 1926, 377,000 in 1946 and 600,000 in 1956. African trade unions were established during that period: the Municipal African Employees' Association was formed in 1944 and the Milling Employees' Association in 1945; also in 1945 the railway strike mobilised 8,000 workers paralysing the rail network.

As the working-class continued to be more organised, unions were formed for chemical workers, drivers and engineering and foundry workers etc.

What should be realised is that these unions were initially formed as associations; the law did not permit the formation of trade unions by black workers, but it is clear that these associations were unions in disguise, however they finally broke the law by forming unions proper.

The militant trade union leadership of the time included Charles Mzingeli, Benjamin Burombo, Masotsha Ndlovu, Job Dumbuchena; they led the General Strike of 1948, the biggest ever in Zimbabwean history.

Following the General Strike, workers revived the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress (SRANC) first formed as part of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912 it had been re-founded by Aaron Jeché in 1934. This time the Reverend Thomas Samkange was chosen as leader.

### 3. Working-class origins of the national liberation struggle

In 1955 another militant group, first known as the City Youth League and later as African Youth League was formed in Salisbury (now Harare) and led by James Chikerema, George Nyandoro, Edson Sithole, Dudson Chisiza and others. The Youth League mobilised workers into trade unions. It should be noticed that in order to control the trade unions and stop them from becoming more political, the colonial state amended the 1934 Industrial Conciliation Act in 1959 to recognise black trade unions.

In 1957 the African Youth League joined with the Bulawayo based remnant of the old SRANC by that time led by trade unionists Joseph Msika, J.Z. Moyo and Francis Ndawali united to once again revive the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress they called Joshua Nkomo, at that time President of the Railway African Workers' Union to become the President of the SRANC

**“Trade Unions are the schools of socialism. It is in trade unions that workers educate themselves and become socialists, because under their very eyes the everyday struggle with capital is taking place.”**

Karl Marx, *Speech to Trade Unionists in Hanover, Germany* (27<sup>th</sup> November 1869)

From *Karl Marx Selected Writings* Ed. David McLellan

Under working-class leadership, the SRANC was transformed into a militant, fighting organisation. The battle for the national liberation of Zimbabwe commenced in earnest.

#### **Percy Mcijo**

*Percy Mcijo is a lifelong trade union activist and spokesperson and is a member of the ZCP.*



JOSHUA NKOMO, TRADE UNIONIST AND NATIOALIST LEADING WORKERS

## WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

What is imperialism — and how does it affect us?

Imperialism, the conquest and domination of one country by another is not new. Those who have read the New Testament will be aware that the whole of Palestine including Galilee and Judaea were under Roman rule at the time of Jesus. In fact Rome (Italy) conquered and dominated all the countries and territories surrounding the Mediterranean Sea for some hundreds of years. Sea-going vessels were the main means of transport and trade in those days. The basic reason for the conquests and the domination was economic.

When we talk about modern imperialism, we also talk about conquest and domination, but we do it under somewhat different conditions than those of the slave economy of ancient Rome. Modern imperialism is a direct result of the development of capitalism.

Capitalism as a mode of production became dominant at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Britain being the first industrial capitalist country in the world. Before this there had been commodity production by independent producers who owned the means of production (the tools and raw materials needed) and would work from home. Typically in Britain, hand-loom weavers would sell their produce to merchants who would sell their products at a profit — this was mercantile capitalism. In ancient Rome, on the contrary, commodity production was carried out by slaves — people owned by other people.

So what is the difference with between the capitalist means of production, mercantile capitalism and slave production — as they all produce commodities (a commodity being a product made for sale rather than for personal or family use)?

Under mercantile capitalism, the producer owns the means of production and sells the finished product to the merchant.

Under slave production the slave-owner owns the slave and house and feeds him.

Under capitalist production the worker has owns nothing but his ability to work. The machinery and raw materials are owned by the capitalist. The worker must either sell his labour-power or starve. But **it is the capitalist who sells the labour of the worker** in the form of the commodity which the worker has produced. The worker only sells his **ability to work**, his labour power, so that he can maintain himself and his (or her) family.



SLAVE FAMILY IN GEORGIA USA  
PICKING COTTON



CHILD LABOUR IN LANCASHIRE, ENGLAND,  
SPINNING COTTON

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century capital was searching for new markets to invest in and make a profit and for raw materials. Thus began the age of capitalist imperialism as described by Lenin in *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* written in 1916.

**“...in its economic essence imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This in itself determines its place in history, for monopoly that grows out of the soil of free competition... We must take special note of the four principal types of monopoly, or principal manifestations of monopoly capitalism, which are characteristic of the epoch we are examining.**

**“Firstly, monopoly arose out of the concentration of production at a very high stage. This refers to the monopolist capitalist associations, cartels, syndicates and trusts... At the beginning of the twentieth century, monopolies had acquired complete supremacy in the advanced countries...**

**Secondly, monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials, especially for the basic and most highly cartelised industries in capitalist society: the coal and iron industries. The monopoly of the most important sources of raw materials has enormously increased the power of big capital, and has sharpened the antagonism between cartelised and non-cartelised industry.**

**“Thirdly, monopoly has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from modest middleman enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital. Some three to five of the biggest banks in... the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the ‘personal link-up’ between industrial and bank capital, and have concentrated in their hands the control of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and income of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which throws a close network of dependence relationships over all the economic and political institutions of present-day bourgeois society without exception — such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly.**

**“Fourthly, monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous ‘old’ motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for spheres of influence, i.e. for spheres for profitable deals, concessions, monopoly profits and so on, economic territory in general. When the colonies of the European powers, for instance, comprised only one-tenth of the territory of Africa (as was the case in 1876), colonial policy was able to develop by methods other than those of monopoly — by the ‘free grabbing’ of territories... But when nine-tenths of Africa had been seized (by 1900), when the whole world had been divided up, there was inevitably ushered in the era of monopoly possession of colonies... Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination and not for freedom, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations — all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism.”**

V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism* Ch.X (1916): LCW Vol.22 pp.298-300

Lenin wrote this during the First World War (1914-1918), a war between two different imperialist blocs with competing interests. One bloc was comprised of the German Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman (Turkish) Empire; the other bloc was comprised of the British Empire, France (a republic but with imperialist interests in Africa and elsewhere) and the Russian Empire. The collapse of the Russian Empire during that war gave the Bolsheviks the opportunity to lead the world’s first workers’ revolution and establish Soviet rule.

From early in 1918, former bitter enemies came together to invade the new workers' state in the Civil War — a war in which Soviet Russia was invaded by 14 countries, as well as facing the reactionary Russian White Armies. but which ended with the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1922 and the building of the world's first socialist economy.

## Second World War

The Second World War (1939-1945) was a peculiar war: in some ways it was a continuation of the First. A re-built Germany under a particularly nasty form of capitalist rule, fascism, tried to regain what it had lost; Britain, with India and its African colonies still under its paternalistic racist rule fought back, as did France with its colonial empire. In some respects it was still an inter-imperialist war.

But the extremely vicious nature of the fascist rule which had spread from Germany and Italy across Europe before the onset of the Second World War had led to a fight-back by the working-class led by the Communist Parties.

The fascist uprising against the Republican government in Spain in 1936 led to the formation of the International Brigades which attracted young workers and students from across the world to fight in defence of the Spanish Republic. Disciplined Communist cadres soon assumed the leadership of the Brigades. Arms were sent by the USSR but in many cases arms shipments were blocked by the so-called democratic governments of Europe on the grounds of “non-intervention”. Meanwhile Germany and Italy sent their crack troops with the latest arms to crush the Republic and put the fascist General Franco into power. By 1939 they succeeded.



**BRITISH YOUNG COMMUNISTS OF  
THE TOM MANN CENTURIA  
JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES**



**STALINGRAD: GERMAN  
FIELD MARSHALL VON PAULUS  
AND HIS STAFF SURRENDER**

War between Nazi Germany and fascist Italy on the one side and imperialist Britain and France on the other broke out in 1939. France was soon overcome with Germany occupying three-fifths of the country and a puppet French government based at Vichy in south-east France controlling the rest.

In June 1941, Hitler, by then ruling most of Europe either directly or indirectly through client states, invaded the USSR. From that time the war became primarily a war between Nazi imperialism and socialism. From that time, it was the Soviet Red Army which bore the brunt of the fighting. Until the end of the War in 1945, the Red Army engaged 70% of the Nazi forces. The biggest battle in human history, Stalingrad, was fought through the winter of 1941-1942, the biggest tank battle in human history was fought at Kursk in the summer of 1943. In October 1944, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, no friend of communism, declared in a speech in the British Parliament:

**“I have always believed and I still believe that it is the Red Army that has torn the guts out of the filthy Nazis.”**





**A RED ARMY SOLDIER HOLDS THE SOVIET FLAG OVER  
THE REICHSTAG (GERMAN PARLIAMENT BUILDING)  
BERLIN 2<sup>nd</sup> MAY 1945**

It was the Red Army which took the German capital Berlin on the 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1945, causing Adolf Hitler to commit suicide. In Greece, Albania and Yugoslavia, communist-led partisans cleared fascist forces from their respective countries. In France and Italy also, communist-led resistance fighters played a major role in the defeat of the fascist armies.

On the other side of the world, in 1931, Imperial Japan had invaded Manchuria in northern China establishing the puppet state of Manchukuo which was to remain in place until the end of the Second World War in 1945. After a number of other serious attacks and incidents, Japan launched a full-scale invasion of China in 1937. The Kuomintang

(Nationalist) government of China fought back, but being extremely corrupt and incompetent made little headway against the Japanese. It was the Chinese Communist army, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) which had been fighting the Kuomintang, since 1927 that was able to hold back the Japanese imperialists. Through the PLA, the Communist Party of China was able to take power from the hyper-corrupt hands of the Kuomintang in 1949.

Vietnam had become a French colony during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and an independence movement had grown up before the Second World War led by the communist Ho Chi Minh. The puppet Vichy government still nominally held Vietnam with the agreement of imperial Japan. until nearly the end of the War; but by the time Japan surrendered, much of Vietnam, especially the northern part, was already in the hands of the communist-led resistance.

By 1945, imperialist Japan and imperialist Germany had been defeated. France had been humiliated by the German occupation — but after the Second World War France still wanted to hold on to its colonies in Asia and Africa. Britain, with the help of forces from the whole of its Empire, was undefeated but exhausted.



**HO CHI-MINH (standing 3<sup>rd</sup> from left) AND OTHER VIETNAMESE LEADERS  
WITH US OSS OFFICERS 1944**

The USA at the end of the Second World War was in the fortunate position of being on the winning side but apart from the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was far from experiencing the direct effects of war.

Typical Second World War movies depict the war as being won by the Americans and/or the British, but as we know, the bulk of the fighting and of the dying was done by the Red Army and other Communist forces. Let us look at the casualties, taking our numbers from a US source, the website of the National World War II Museum in New Orleans:

Total US casualties.....	418,500
Total UK casualties.....	450,700
Total Soviet casualties.....	24,000,000



By 1949, Communist-led governments had taken over in a number of war-torn countries: in Europe, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania as well as the German Democratic Republic in eastern Germany; in Asia, China, Korea and Vietnam. The task of trying to build socialism in those countries would be neither easy nor straight-forward.

The success of the Communist Parties and their allies rebounded throughout the colonised countries. In October 1945, the 5<sup>th</sup> Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester UK, pushed forward the demand for Africa to be free from colonial rule.

## **The rise of the USA**

The events of the Second World War led simultaneously to the advance of the Communist Parties and the beginning of socialist construction in a number of countries — but also to the dominance of the USA, a new and more terrible imperialist power bent on world domination through a ruthless banking system, a ruthless intelligence service and a ruthless war-machine. The whole has been sugar-coated and made palatable to the world through its nominal support for “democracy and human-rights” and its domination of the media. In the words of Malcolm X:

**“The media’s the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that’s power. Because they control the minds of the masses.”**

The direct news media has been backed by film and television depicting US invasions of other countries as the “battle for democracy” or the “war against terror”, and on a softer level by programmes depicting happy families in a prosperous US and at children’s level by doe-eyed Disney Princesses.

Most recently, on 13<sup>th</sup> April this year, we witnessed the bombing of Syria by the imperialist powers following a “poison-gas attack” claimed by the *Jaysh al-Islam* fundamentalists backed by the US, UK, Saudi Arabia and Israel and reported by most of the western media as fact without any further investigation. Robert Fisk, the renowned award-winning British journalist was the first western journalist to actually go to the place where the so-called gas attack happened. He said in his report:



**ROBERT FISK STANDING IN A TUNNEL  
BUILT BY FORCED LABOUR UNDER  
WESTERN-BACKED JAYSH AL-ISLAM**

**“This is the story of a town called Douma, a ravaged, stinking place of smashed apartment blocks—and of an underground clinic whose images of suffering allowed three of the Western world’s most powerful nations to bomb Syria last week.**

**“There’s even a friendly doctor in a green coat who, when I track him down in the very same clinic, cheerfully tells me that the ‘gas’ videotape which horrified the world — despite all the doubters — is perfectly genuine.**

**“War stories, however, have a habit of growing darker. For the same 58-year old senior Syrian doctor then adds something profoundly uncomfortable: the patients, he says, were overcome not by gas but by oxygen starvation in the rubbish-filled tunnels and basements in which they lived, on a night of wind and heavy shelling that stirred up a dust storm.”**

Report by Robert Fisk, *Independent* (UK newspaper) 17<sup>th</sup> April 2019

In 2013 the Syrian government was accused of carrying out a sarin gas attack, but before President Obama could carry out his proposed bombing attack, it was shown conclusively that it was the Islamic fundamentalist opposition which carried out the attack and that the gas had been supplied by the US ally, Turkey.

But the murderous attacks of the US government on anyone they do not like is, at the end of the day, economic. Imperialist war is a direct result of governments serving the interests of monopoly capital — at this stage in history particularly, but not exclusively, US capital.



ALLIED LEADERS AT THE YALTA CONFERENCE, CRIMEA, USSR FEBRUARY 1945.

Left to Right:

WINSTON CHURCHILL, F.D. ROOSEVELT, J.V. STALIN

Up to the Second World War, Britain was still the world's most formidable imperialist power, but, challenged by Germany and with the rest of Europe controlled by fascist governments or under direct German occupation, Britain stood alone and suffered extensive bombing until Hitler made the huge mistake of invading the Soviet Union in June 1941, the action which was to lead to his personal defeat and the defeat of fascism in Europe.

Concerned with aggressive German dominance in Europe, and under the progressive presidency of F.D. Roosevelt,

even before officially entering the war, the US entered into the Lend-Lease agreement with the British Empire and other countries at the beginning of 1941 and this was continued until the end of the War in 1945. Lend-Lease consisted of supplying food, petroleum products and materiel [weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment] without payment with the understanding that anything left over would be returned at the end of the War. Of course, by the end of the War, most of the equipment was only worth scrap value..

A word about F.D. Roosevelt: he came into office in 1933 and was the only President ever elected for four terms of office, although he died shortly after being elected for his fourth term. When he was first elected, the USA was in the depths of the Great Depression which had started in 1929 with the Wall Street Crash. Using the ideas of the British economist John Maynard Keynes and restricting the control of monopoly capital, he pulled the USA out of the Depression. During the War, Roosevelt had a cordial relationship with Stalin, but his death in April 1945, shortly before the Allied victory in Europe, gave the most rapacious and anti-Communist section of US capital the upper-hand at a critical moment in history.

In return for the equipment supplied, although far less in immediate value, the United States received from Britain extremely valuable research information which was to contribute to US domination later; these included nuclear technology, radar, the jet engine, submarine detection and plastic explosives. After the Soviet Union came into the War, they supplied gold, platinum, industrial diamonds and rare minerals back to the United States. (US and British aid to the USSR during the Second World War accounted for about 10% of their needs, the rest was provided by Soviet industry.) The United States also benefitted by being able to establish military bases in a number of countries.

The Lend-Lease programme was factored into the US war budget of which it formed 11%. Of the total of \$50 billion, \$31 billion went to the British Empire, \$11 billion to the USSR, \$3 billion to the Free French forces and \$1.5 billion to China (mainly the Kuomintang government forces). Although the USA lost money through the Lend-Lease programme, it established the platform for later US hegemony.

In April 1945, President F.D. Roosevelt died and Vice-President Harry S. Truman was sworn in to succeed him.

Concerned about the progressive line of Roosevelt, the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party had pushed forward Truman as Vice-President as opposed to the pro-labour Henry A. Wallace. Truman did not disappoint the anti-Communists within the upper echelons of the US capitalist establishment; he was President from 1945-1953.

Harry S. Truman is most famous for the Truman Doctrine. Prior to Truman, the Monroe Doctrine instituted by President James Monroe in 1823 formed the basis of US foreign policy. The Monroe Doctrine warned European states about interfering in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere, the Americas, and trying to form new colonies there — thus making way for US hegemony of the region. In return, the USA did not interfere in European Affairs or anything else outside the Americas.

The growing might of US capital had already been reflected in 1917 when President Woodrow Wilson led the USA into the First World War and then in 1918 sent troops to Russia during the Civil War as part of the allied attempt to crush the Bolsheviks. President F.D. Roosevelt had then brought the USA into the Second World War in 1941 on the side of the allies. By the end of the Second World War the USA had become industrially dominant over Europe and the rest of the world. By the end of the Second World War it was responsible for around 50% of total world production. Economically and politically, the US felt ready to exert its muscle worldwide. The expansion of working-class power under the leadership of the Communist Parties had by 1945 become the biggest threat to the worldwide hegemony of US capital and indeed, the ideas of communism, the collective production and distribution of wealth were in direct opposition to the idea of personal wealth accumulation by the capitalist élite prevailing in the United States. Thus the Truman Doctrine aimed at expanding US hegemony and rolling back communism worldwide. The world now entered into a new phase of imperialism dominated by the United States of America.

The Soviet Union, which had taken the heaviest fighting during the course of the Second World War was magnanimous in victory. Although it was the Red Army which had taken Berlin, the German capital, the armies of the US, Britain and France were given zones of control within the capital. Those nations which had united to defeat European fascism and Japanese militarism called themselves the “United Nations” and they agreed together to form a permanent body at the end of the Second World War. It appeared to Stalin, the Soviet leader and Molotov, his Foreign Minister that given the history of European imperialism and comparing the intransigence of the British and the French to the co-operation shown by the USA under the leadership of Roosevelt that it would be an advantage for the United Nations Headquarters to be established in the USA as a counter to the Europeans. These decisions were soon to be bitterly regretted.

During the German occupation of Greece, many mountainous regions had remained under the control of the Communist-led resistance. By 12<sup>th</sup> October 1944 the whole of Greece had been liberated by the Greeks themselves, mainly, but not exclusively, by Communist-led forces. When their British army arrived on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1944 they were greeted as allies. But the British government had plans to restore the reactionary Greek monarchy which had gone into exile in Egypt during the German occupation

In December 1944, British troops and re-armed former members of the Greek Security Battalions, formed by the Nazis during the occupation shot and killed unarmed demonstrators chanting, “Viva Churchill! Viva Roosevelt! Viva Stalin!” By 1946 a bitter war was raging leading to the defeat of the liberators in 1949 and the return of the reactionary Greek monarchy.

Similarly in Vietnam, much of Vietnam had been liberated from the Japanese by the Communist-led Vietminh forces led by Ho Chi-Minh. They had even had support from the Americans and welcomed allied forces into the southern city of Saigon. But France wanted Vietnam returned to its rule. With the assistance of the British Army and re-armed Japanese, the French came back into Vietnam. After a prolonged war in which the French were decisively defeated at Dien Bien Phu, Vietnam was temporarily divided into North and South Vietnam, but it was agreed that a referendum be held in 1956 to unite the country. Knowing that Ho Chi-Minh was a national hero and that under his leadership, the Communist Party of Vietnam would record an easy victory, the South Vietnamese government, under the influence of the USA, refused to participate in the referendum. The Vietnam War was to last from 1956 until 1975, when Vietnamese forces marched victoriously into Saigon (now Ho Chi-Minh City). It was a war waged to prevent an election. It was a war in which the US dropped more bombs on Vietnam than were dropped by both sides in the whole of the Second World War. It is a war still producing children with birth-defects as we illustrate later in this issue of *Vanguard*.

Economically, the USA began to seriously exert its muscle in the years 1948-1952 with the Marshall Plan. The plan is named after retired General George C. Marshall who became Secretary of State [Foreign Minister] under President Truman in 1947. Its official name was the European Recovery Program (ERP). Under this plan the US provided \$13 billion in grants and loans to European governments. Even prior to the Plan, the USA had given out \$17 billion, much of it in food aid in the aftermath of the war, but the Marshall Plan was aimed specifically at securing the domination of the US dollar and the concepts of US capitalism in Europe as well as undermining the strength of the Communist Parties which had grown during the War as a result of the fight against fascism.

In 1993, the American economists J. Bradford DeLong and Barry Eichengreen wrote a book with the self-explanatory title: *The Marshall Plan: History's Most Successful Structural Adjustment Program*. in it they say:

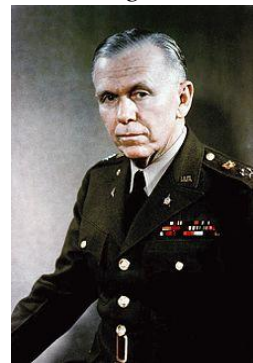
**“““““It was not large enough to have significantly accelerated recovery by financing investment, aiding the reconstruction of damaged infrastructure, or easing commodity bottlenecks... The conditions attached to Marshall Plan aid pushed European political economy in a direction that left its post World War II ‘mixed economies’ with more ‘market’ and less ‘controls’ in the mix.” pp.189, 230**



**COMMUNIST FIGHTERS OF THE  
DEMOCRATIC ARMY OF GREECE**



**GREEK ANTI-COMMUNIST MILITIA IN  
BRITISH-STYLE UNIFORMS DISPLAY  
THE HEADS OF THEIR VICTIMS**



**GEORGE C. MARSHALL**

Another US writer says the Marshall Plan:

**“...set the stage for large amounts of private US investment in Europe, establishing the basis for modern transnational corporations.”**

Noam Chomsky, *The Umbrella of US Power: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Contradictions of US Policy* (2002) p.9

Although the Marshall Plan did accelerate industrial growth in Europe, remarkable recovery had already begun through local effort right across Europe. In fact a great deal of the money invested was used by European countries to buy machinery from the US and to a lesser extent, Canada. The Marshall Plan played a massive role in establishing the US dollar as the world's main trading currency and US economic dominance generally.

5% of the ERP budget was channelled into the CIA. Money was directed towards covert operations including by initiating propaganda campaigns against governments, creating illegal underground opposition groups, and infiltrating local organisations, such as trade unions. In particular, Marshall Plan funds were also used to support a Ukrainian right-wing guerilla group called Nightingale after the Nightingale Battalion [German: *Nachtigall Battalion*] established by the invading Nazis in 1941 to create a common front with Ukrainian fascists who then murdered hundreds of thousands of Jews, Russians and Poles during the Second World War; even the German Nazis commented on their ferocity. Starting in September 1949, the US began parachuting Ukrainian fascists into Ukraine, an operation that continued for five years. The aim of the CIA operation, unsuccessful in Soviet times, eventually achieved fruition in 2014 with the success of the Nazi-coup against the democratically elected government of Ukraine, a coup sponsored by the Obama Administration of the USA.

Schemes similar to the Marshall Plan were operated in Asia, in particular a huge amount of funds were poured into the island of Taiwan to where the Kuomintang government ran in 1949, claiming with US support to be the “Government of the Republic of China”, and until 1971 sitting in China's seat at the UN.



FOUNDERS OF THE COLD WAR (Left to Right)

HARRY S. TRUMAN, DEAN ACHESON, JOHN FOSTER DULLES, ALLEN DULLES

Truman's first Secretary of State [Foreign Minister] was the southern racist James F. Byrnes (1945-1947) who was succeeded by George C. Marshall (1947-1949), who in turn was succeeded by the aggressive Dean Acheson (1947-1953).

Truman, a Democrat, was interested in bi-partisanship, of engaging prominent Republicans in his Administration. Among these were John Foster Dulles who became the Republican adviser on foreign policy and his brother Allen Dulles who was Director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in Switzerland and therefore its main operative in Europe during the crucial period towards the end of and just after the Second World War.



The OSS ceased operations towards the end 1945 but was replaced by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947. In 1953, Allen Dulles became head of the CIA under the Republican President Eisenhower.

Perhaps more influential and more destructive than his younger brother was John Foster Dulles. During his time as Republican foreign policy adviser to the State Department he visited Japan and South Korea.



THIS MAP SHOWS THE 38<sup>th</sup> PARALLEL WHICH WAS THE ORIGINAL BOUNDARY BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA AND THE CURRENT BORDER BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA (North) AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA (South) AGREED IN 1953 AFTER A LONG AND BLOODY WAR.

In 1945, after the Soviet Red Army together with local Communist-led forces liberated Korea, the US Army was invited to assist with the disarming of surrendered Japanese forces in the southern part of the Korean peninsula. They arrived one month after the liberation and the country was divided at the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel for what was originally a purely military purpose.

In 1950, when John Foster Dulles visited Japan, he met the fiercely anti-communist General Douglas MacArthur who was commanding the US army of occupation there. In South Korea he met Syngman Rhee; little known in Korea (he had spent 30 years in the United States), Rhee had been put in place by the US government as "President of the Republic of Korea". Now he had grand designs to be the president of the whole country. Almost all accounts we read tell us that "North Korea started the Korean War by crossing the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel and invading the South." This is a frequently repeated falsehood.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> June 1950, the day of the invasion of North Korea, John Gunther, the American writer, was told by a high ranking officer in Tokyo that he had just received a telephone call and that: "A tremendous story is just coming out. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea." Any study of other original sources for that day reveals the same thing. The DPRK forces replied rapidly taking most of the peninsula. Then the USA persuaded the UN that it was the North that had started the fighting. The UN had very little Asian or African representation at that time.

The US managed to manipulate the UN and to conduct the war against the Korean people under the UN flag. But in addition there is strong evidence to suggest that John Foster Dulles with the assistance of MacArthur manipulated Truman and Acheson to enter the Korean War. The Korean War which lasted for three years probably killed 2.5 million people. Some estimates say 3.5 million. US General Curtis LeMay is quoted as saying, referring to North Korea only:

**"Over a period of three years or so we killed off — what — twenty percent of the population."**  
Curtis LeMay quoted in Richard Rhodes, "The General and World War III": *The New Yorker*, 19<sup>th</sup> June 1995, p.53

Although a ceasefire has been in force since 1953, only in the last week have the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea finally signed that the end of the conflict is over.

In 1953, when the Republican President Dwight Eisenhower was elected, John Foster Dulles was to become his Secretary of State and Allen Dulles Director of the CIA. The two were known to plan covert operations involving press disinformation, false flag operations, terrorist groups and assassinations. The Dulles brothers, more than any others, set the tone for the way that the US was to conduct its foreign policy from then until now.

To give even an outline of all the evils perpetrated by US imperialism and its NATO allies in South-East Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and even Europe since the Second World War would take volumes. Our purpose has been to look at how it began. We must move on to investigate imperialism in our own continent — Africa.

## **The birth of neo-colonialism in Africa**

As mentioned earlier, the victory of the Red Army and other communist-led forces during and after the Second World War enthused politically-conscious Africans. The time for African independence was near.

**“18. In the early 1950s, Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power in the British semi-colony of Egypt throwing out the corrupt King Feisal; soon after, the first major anti-colonial war in Africa took place in the French colony of Algeria. In Kenya the Land and Freedom Army, better known as the Mau Mau killed a handful of white settlers initiating a brutal response from Britain in which thousands of Kenyans were massacred and thousands more tortured. It was clear that the tide of African nationalism could not be stopped. Jointly, Britain and France adopted a new policy — neo-colonialism. “You can have your black President, National Flag and National Anthem — we will control your economy.”**



GAMAL ABDEL NASSER IN 1960 GREETING THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE

ZCP Political Economy Policy Document Sec.1 (2017)

This was the beginning of what came to be known as ‘neo-colonialism’.

**“19. During the 1960s there was a rapid move by Britain and France to grant ‘Independence’ to African countries. However, in doing so, a great deal of power was given to the greedy black élite which yearned for the living standards of the European colonisers without having their organisational skills, or even the understanding of capitalism of their former masters — and, in fact, their former masters were not, for the most part really ‘former’. They simply receded into the background, still reaping the profits but without direct control.”**

ZCP Political Economy Policy Document Sec.1 (2017)

Neo-colonialism was first identified in 1960 at the All-Africa People’s Conference in 1960, one of the meetings which preceded the founding of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963. Kwame Nkrumah further characterised it in his book *Neo-Colonialism the Last Stage of Imperialism* in 1965.

The French were particularly crude in their application of neo-colonialism. In 1957 they asked their colonies whether they wanted immediate independence or if they wanted to wait a few years and be given independence as part of the French Community. Only Guinea under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Touré opted for immediate independence. The French moved out after destroying all their records, destroying machinery and removing all the money from the banks. They made an example of Guinea to other French colonies in Africa.

Other countries were given independence in 1960 and 1961. Even today, those countries pay an annual tribute to France for the privilege of having been the beneficiaries of French culture! Most of them use the CFA franc as their currency, it is linked to the French banking system. When the people of those countries present problems to French interests, the French army is sent in. In most of the francophone countries, the 'Presidents' are little more than colonial governors.

When Africa was being divided among the colonial powers at the Berlin Conference in 1885, a huge part of central Africa was in dispute between Britain, France and Germany, a solution was found by giving that huge territory to King Leopold II of Belgium. At that stage the Belgian government was not involved, it came under Leopold's direct rule and was called the "Congo Free State". Leopold had persuaded the major powers that under his rule, all European entrepreneurs would be welcome to exploit the resources of Congo. In reality that was not to be.



LEOPOLD II AND  
MUTILATED CONGOLESE

This was about the time that bicycles and motor vehicles were first coming into use. They used the newly invented rubber pneumatic tyres and this was before the rubber plantations of Liberia, Myanmar and Malaysia had been established. But in Congo three or four forest plants could be cut for the production of the latex needed for the production

of rubber. This was collected by Leopold through forced unpaid labour. Those who failed to collect sufficient rubber faced punishment by being whipped with a rhino-hide whip or having their hands cut off. Many ran into the bush where they died; it is generally estimated that 20% of the Congolese population died during this period either by being murdered or by falling sick when running to the bush.

By 1904 the scandal of the Congo was publicised throughout Europe partly through the work of genuine humanitarians like Roger Casement (later hanged by the British for his role in the Irish national liberation struggle) and partly because Leopold had reneged on his promise to allow other European imperialist powers to take part in the exploitation. The Belgian government took over and it became the Belgian Congo.

Long before the arrival of Europeans, the copper and gold of Congo had been worked by Africans. Belgian mining companies, especially Union Minière made huge profits from the extensive mineral deposits of Congo.

One mineral found in Congo was uranium. Uranium from Congo was used by the Americans for making the first nuclear weapons during the Second World War and it was Congolese uranium which was used in the atomic bombs which hit Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945. The USA had displayed little interest in Africa before the Second World War apart from Liberia, a colony formed by freed slaves in 1847. Following the Second World War and US world dominance under what became known as the "Truman Doctrine" interference in African affairs by the USA grew rapidly.



In 1960, Patrice Lumumba was elected as Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo according to all the norms of western democracy. Within weeks of being elected, he faced a revolt by the police,



**PATRICE LUMUMBA, DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PRIME MINISTER OF CONGO BEING HUMILIATED AFTER BEING CAPTURED. THIS HAPPENED UNDER THE EYES OF UN TROOPS**

and the declaration of ‘independence’ of the mineral-rich southern province of Katanga under the influence of Union Minière and the Belgian government.

When Lumumba, in desperation, called for assistance from the UN, the UN under the guidance of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld, isolated Lumumba, he was captured, tortured and killed early in 1961. US President Dwight Eisenhower had previously demanded his removal.

In 1965, following the near take-over of Congo by Lumumbist rebels under the leadership of Pierre Mulele, President Lyndon Johnson funded white mercenaries who then put Mobutu Sese Seko into power, where he was to remain until [1995]. After Laurent Kabila took power and demanded that the mining companies pay some of their profit back into Congo, the US government armed Uganda and Rwanda to invade what by then was known as the Democratic Republic of Congo therefore launching Africa’s biggest ever war killing millions of people.

Congo has the most horrific history of any country in Africa, and this is entirely due to its abundant natural resources for which its people have been made to suffer.

In southern Africa there was a different set of circumstances to what was happening further north. Firstly, there were well-established local white-settler régimes in both South Africa and Rhodesia. These in turn were flanked by the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and the Portuguese were not interested in granting any kind of independence to their colonies — not even nominal independence.

What was disconcerting for the imperialist centre was that by the mid-1960s it had become obvious to all but the most extreme racists that these government were not going to survive. Even in the United States itself, race laws were being scrapped as black Americans called for equality — and it was not only about internal pressure — the expanding US economy needed access to Africa’s raw materials and that was going to become difficult if the Federal government could not be seen to be dealing firmly with white racism at home. Africans and those of African descent elsewhere had to be co-opted into the system — at least their leadership — or risk that under communist influence that the wealth of the African continent would fall into the hands of Africans.



**W.E.B. DU BOIS AND KWAME NKUMAH**

There were warning signs. W.E.B. Du Bois, regarded by many as the founder of the movement for black emancipation in the United States, a man who had started his career as an unashamed élitist, had, at the age of 93, joined the Communist Party USA shortly before moving to Ghana where his protégé, Kwame Nkrumah had become president.

In Africa’s most developed country, South Africa, the underground South African Communist Party had secured Soviet funding for the main liberation movement, the African National Congress (ANC) and was playing a leading role within the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

In Zimbabwe too, around 1962, the ZAPU President, Joshua Nkomo, obtained Soviet funding and training for the armed struggle in Zimbabwe. Through this connection, many ZAPU cadres also gained other forms of training in practical skills and in management

The underground and powerful Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) also had strong links with the liberation movements, PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral had defeated Portugal and Alvaro Cunhal, General Secretary of the PCP had a close personal relationship with the leadership of both MPLA in Angola and FRELIMO in Mozambique.

There was conscription into the army for young Portuguese who were then sent to try to control the colonies. The PCP did not tell its members to refuse to join or to leave Portugal. The PCP told its young men to follow the tactics of Lenin, the tactics followed by the Bolsheviks in the Imperial Russian Army during the First World War, join the army of the enemy, learn the arts of war, turn the war into a revolutionary war.

In 1974, the Armed Forces Movement (MRA) in Portugal staged a coup against the fascist government and a provisional government was established. Immediately Portuguese troops in the colonies were withdrawn to barracks and arrangements with the liberation movements for a swift but orderly transfer of power took place.

The problem that the imperialists had to solve was how to get rid of the white racists and replace them with compliant black governments.

## Neo-liberalism in Africa

The phrase neo-liberalism is used frequently by comrades — but do we understand its meaning?

Elsewhere in this issue of *Vanguard* there is an article on the topic. Here we are mainly interested in its direct impact on us.

The Independence of Zimbabwe came in 1980. That was the year after Margaret Thatcher, an avowed follower of neo-liberalism became Prime Minister in Britain. The following year, Ronald Reagan became President of the United States. The computer revolution took place about the same time, it made it easier for money to be moved rapidly from country to country and for people who already had large sums of money to make quick deals.

Zimbabweans are quick to learn about what they give them an income, unfortunately they were quick to learn how to use computers and to make a quick buck in an economy not so robust as those of the USA and Europe; unfortunately again, few who went for training in socialist countries really bothered to learn what Marx, Engels and Lenin had to say. Neither did they bother to learn from others about the experience of building economies in underdeveloped countries; unfortunately too, although there were a few in both ZAPU and ZANU who genuinely understood and believed in the scientific socialist ideology, they were very few and they did not take the important step of forming a Communist Party. Their ideas were buried by the surrounding confusion.

Hence when ESAP was introduced in 1991, the opposition to it was muted.

Hence when eventually the trade union movement began to oppose ESAP and form a workers' party opposed to the neo-liberal agenda the imperialists were able to buy the new party even before it was formed and make it seem 'modern', in other words even more neo-liberal in ethos than the corrupt and confused ZANU(PF).

Hence all kinds of false notions are creating political confusion. One is that so long as a black person is in charge it is "economic transformation" even if that person treats other black people worse than the former white person in charge. This has its opposite in the idea that only whites know how to run the economy and we must be, therefore, re-colonised.

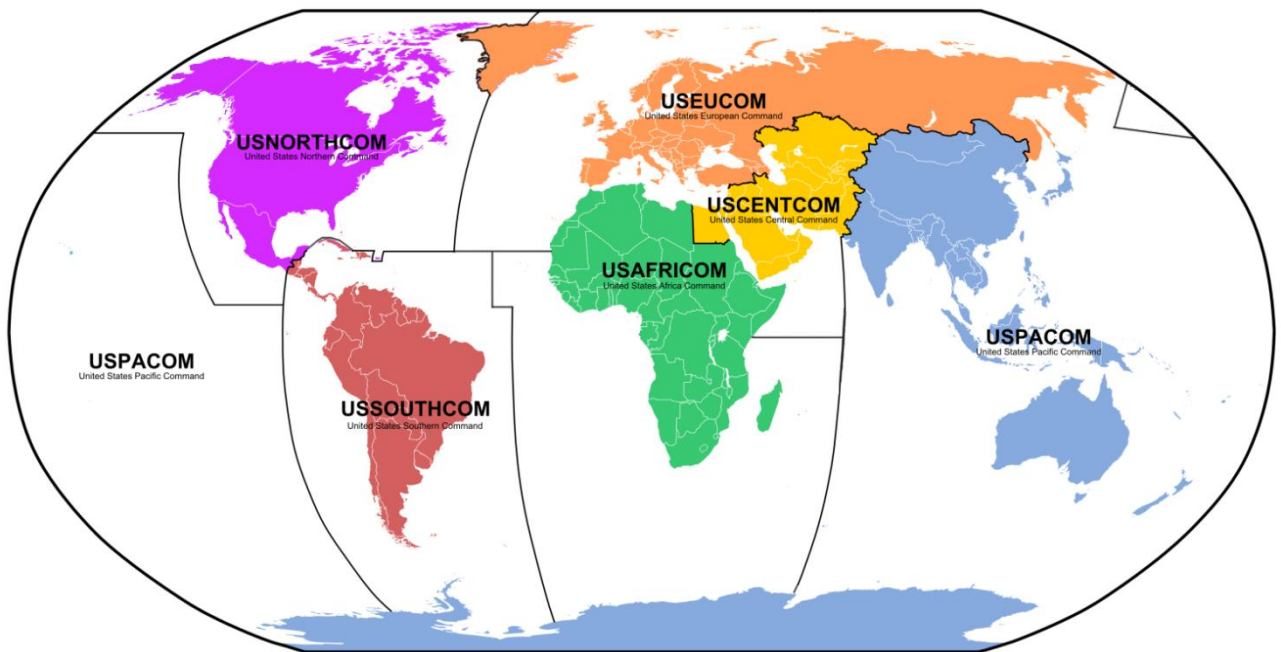
The other currently fashionable idea is that the problem does not lie with the practical ability to run the economy, nor with the class interests of those in charge and not even with the problems of race and ethnicity. The problem, according to the exponents of this ‘theory’ is the age of the leadership. So long as younger people are put in charge, everything will be alright.

Close to our own borders we can see how ridiculous this proposition is. In Swaziland we have King Mswati III who came to the throne at the age of 18 as an absolute monarch. He is now 50, still young for a political leader. There is utter poverty in Swaziland and not even the degree of political freedom that we have in Zimbabwe. He squanders the country’s meagre resources on his playboy lifestyle. In the Democratic Republic of Congo we have Joseph Kabila who came to power in 2001 at the age of 29 following the assassination of his excellent father Laurent Kabila. Joseph Kabila has undone any good done by his father and refuses to leave office. Our own Patrick Zhuwao and Saviour Kasukuwere were part of “Generation 40” the young men of ZANU(PF) aspiring to political power.

Imperialism fosters ideological confusion. It assists monopoly capitalism to quietly go about its business of looting the world’s resources and putting individuals and nations into hopeless debt.

## AFRICOM

At the beginning of this article there is a badge saying “United States Africa Command”. This becomes shortened to ‘AFRICOM’. Below is a map which shows all the Command Areas of the US Military. The US military has the whole world divided into Military Commands. No other country has ever done this. The one which affects us is AFRICOM.



AFRICOM was formed in 2007 under President George W. Bush but was significantly pushed forward by the Obama Administration. AFRICOM does not merely seek to put US troops into Africa.

In June 2013, Ebrahim Shabbir Deen of the Afro-Middle East Centre in Johannesburg noted:

**“[AFRICOM] has surreptitiously managed to infuse itself into various African militaries. This has been accomplished mainly through military-to-military partnerships which the command has with fifty-one of Africa’s fifty-five states. In many instances, these partnerships involve African militaries ceding operational command to AFRICOM.”**

In an article written on 25<sup>th</sup> January 2017 for *Black Agenda Report* in the US, Eric Draitser says:

**“In fact, while President George W. Bush was responsible for the establishment of AFRICOM, it was Obama who expanded it into a continental military force into which national military forces have been subsumed. In effect, Obama was able to make African nations, and especially their militaries, into wholly-owned subsidiaries of the Pentagon and US military-industrial complex. But it’s ok, Obama did it with a smile and with the credibility of the ‘native son’ of the continent.”**

In other words African armies are being trained to occupy their own countries in the interests of US capital and under the command of US military staff.

Further to this, small countries are being used to control big countries. The AFRICOM command



base is in Djibouti a small country on the horn of Africa. Uganda also has a very large base. In southern Africa, the Botswana government likes to pretend that the massive Thebe Phatshwa Airbase outside Molepolole is simply for their own use. At the same time, surveillance equipment is being used from mountain tops in Lesotho and a massive US Embassy is being built in Swaziland.

THIS PHOTO IS TAKEN FROM THE AFRICOM WEBSITE. IT STATES: 40 African nations, NATO allies, Department of State officials, non-governmental organizations, State Partnership Program adjutant generals, African Union, US Africa Command, and other senior military leaders participate in this year’s African Land Forces Summit in Abuja Nigeria, April 16-19, 2018.

This IS imperialism.

This IS neo-colonialism.

**Ian Patrick Beddowes**

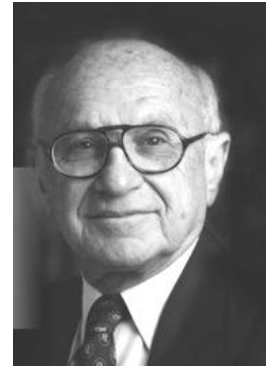




**FRIEDRICH HAYEK**  
**NEOLIBERAL PHILOSOPHER**

## WHAT IS NEO-LIBERALISM?

*Frequently articles written for use by those engaged in finance are very different from what the media feeds to the public and remarkably similar to what communists have to say. This is an example. The article comes from **Investopedia** which describes itself as follows:*



**MILTON FRIEDMAN**  
**NEOLIBERAL ECONOMIST**

***Investopedia** is a privately owned website based in New York City that focuses on investing education and financial news. Its operations have been managed by CEO David Siegel since 2015.*

Neoliberalism is a policy model of social studies and economics that transfers control of economic factors to the private sector from the public sector. It takes from the basic principles of neoclassical economics, suggesting that governments must limit subsidies, make reforms to tax laws in order to expand the tax base, reduce deficit spending, limit protectionism and open markets up to trade. It also seeks to abolish fixed exchange rates, back deregulation, permit private property and privatize businesses run by the state.

### **Breaking Down ‘Neoliberalism’**

Neoliberalism supports fiscal austerity, deregulation, free trade, privatization and greatly reduced government spending. Neoliberalism is often associated with laissez-faire economics, a policy that prescribes a minimal amount of government interference in the economic issues of individuals and society. It is usually characterized by its belief that continued economic growth will lead to human progress, its confidence in free markets and emphases on limited state interference.

### **Neoliberalism: A Brief History**

The term neoliberalism has been used by various scholars, critics and analysts, mainly referring to an upspring of 19<sup>th</sup> century ideas connected to economic liberalism that began in the 1970s and 1980s. These ideals advocate for extensive economic liberalization and policies that extend the rights and abilities of the private sector over the public sector, specifically the shutting down of state and government power over the economy.

The exact meaning and usage of the term has changed throughout time. In its earliest sense, neoliberalism referred to an economic philosophy popular among 1930s European liberal scholars, a sort of middle road between classic liberalism and socialist planning. The use and popularity of the term ‘neoliberal’ declined steadily, specifically in the 1960s. Neoliberalism gained popularity again in the 1980s, connected to Chilean economic reforms issued by Augusto Pinochet. During this time, the term gained a negatively slanted connotation and was used primarily by critics of market reform. The meaning of the term also shifted to indicate a more radical laissez-faire capitalist pool of ideas. Most scholars began to associate the term with Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman. This new meaning of neoliberalism, popular among Spanish-speaking scholars, diffused into the English-language study of the economy. However, the term is rarely heard in the United States.

## Neoliberalism in the Modern World

The popularity and support of neoliberalism is divided. This approach has most famously been connected to various economic policies introduced in the United Kingdom by Margaret Thatcher and in the United States by Ronald Reagan. Some academics and analysts, however, attribute the resurgence of neoliberal economic theories in the 1970s and 1980s to financialization and indicate that the financial crisis of 2008 and 2009 is ultimately a result of such an approach to the economy.

## Liberalism vs. Neoliberalism

Although the terms share some similarities, the two are distinct. Both are rooted in 19th-century classical liberalism, which supported laissez-faire economics and the freedom of people against an overpowering government. Liberalism is more of a political philosophy that holds liberty to a high standard. It defines all social, economic and political aspects of society, such as the role of government, toleration, freedom to act, etc. Conversely, neoliberalism focuses more on the markets, meaning it supports deregulation, ending protectionism and freeing up the markets. Therefore, it is based on economics.

## Criticism of Neoliberalism

The concept of neoliberalism has received a lot of criticism from both sides of the political spectrum. The focus on economic efficiency can, critics say, hinder other factors. For example, by assessing the performance of a public transit system as being purely economically efficient, it may lead to workers' rights being considered a hindrance to the performance. Some critics also say that the rise of neoliberalism has allowed the rise of an anti-corporatist movement, which states that the influence of corporations go against the betterment of society and democracy.

There is also political opposition and criticism of neoliberalism.

First, the concept of globalization is seen as a negative because it can destroy sovereign nations of their own right to self-determination.

Secondly, these critics say that replacing government-owned corporations with private ones can reduce efficiency. Critics also say while neoliberalism can increase productivity, it may not be sustainable because of the world's limited geographical space. In addition, those opposed to neoliberalism add that it is anti-democratic, can lead to exploitation and social injustice, and may criminalize poverty.



**BRUTAL CHILEAN DICTATOR GENERAL AUGUSTO PINOCHET REVIEWING TROOPS. FOLLOWING THE COUP AGAINST THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT HE WAS ADVISED BY THE 'CHICAGO BOYS' TRAINED BY MILTON FRIEDMAN**





## DEPLETED URANIUM

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### ONE OF THE GREATEST ENVIRONMENTAL HORRORS IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

*All pictures in this article are of babies born in Fallujah, Iraq with severe abnormalities due to the use of depleted uranium (DU). Similar is happening in other places where DU has been used for armour-piercing and other weapon, most notably Afghanistan and Libya. Such births will happen in the affected areas for generations to come.*

Most Americans have no idea that depleted uranium munitions used by the US military are causing one of the greatest environmental nightmares in the history of the world. In fact, most Americans have no idea what depleted uranium even is. But even as many Americans gobble down their burgers and french fries and pizza and enjoy the “good life” watching their big screen televisions, an entirely different story is being written on the other side of the world. In Iraq and Afghanistan today, there are some areas that have been so polluted by depleted uranium that they have literally become uninhabitable hellholes. Americans like to think of themselves as so “environmentally conscious”, but the truth is that one of the greatest environmental tragedies of all time is being caused by the US military and yet nobody seems to care.

But now some of the victims are starting to fight back — at least in court. According to one Iraqi minister, Iraq’s Ministry for Human Rights will file a lawsuit against the United States and the United Kingdom over their use of depleted uranium munitions in Iraq.

Iraq’s Minister of Human Rights, Wijdan Mikhail Salim, reportedly told the *Assabah* newspaper that the lawsuit will be based on reports from the Iraqi ministries of science and the environment. These reports allege that the US and the UK used nearly 2,000 tons of depleted uranium bombs during the early years of the Iraq war.

In fact, one official Iraqi study has found that more than 40 sites across Iraq are currently contaminated with high levels of radiation and dioxins.

So who is responsible for that?

We are. In areas where depleted uranium use was the highest, Iraqi doctors have reported a massive rise in the number of babies born with birth defects and they have seen the number of cancer cases among Iraqi citizens absolutely skyrocket. In fact, what is happening to babies in the city of Fallujah is beyond horrifying. Back in November, one major UK newspaper described the situation this way:

**“In September this year, say campaigners, 170 children were born at Fallujah General Hospital, 24 per cent of whom died within seven days. Three-quarters of these exhibited deformities, including ‘children born with two heads, no heads, a single eye in their foreheads, or missing limbs’.”**

From report by David Randall, *Independent*, Sunday 15<sup>th</sup> November 2009





The comparable data for August 2002 — before the invasion — records 530 births, of whom six died and only one of whom was deformed.

The top brass in the US and the UK militaries know full well the impact that depleted uranium munitions have had on many areas of Iraq, but they simply do not care.

So what exactly are depleted uranium munitions?

They are essentially “dirty bombs” made from nuclear waste. Depleted Uranium is a waste product of the nuclear enrichment process. Despite claims that depleted uranium is much less radioactive than natural uranium, the truth is that it actually emits about 75% as much radioactivity as natural uranium. This makes it highly toxic to humans.

When depleted uranium munitions impact a target, the uranium coating of these weapons becomes a powder which easily contaminates the surrounding air, soil and water.

Depleted uranium is both chemically toxic and highly radioactive. In laboratory tests it severely damages human cells, causes DNA mutations and has other carcinogenic effects.

Depleted uranium poisoning has been linked to a vast array of illnesses and diseases including severe skin rashes, intense muscle and joint pain, major birth defects, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, brain tumors and just about every type of cancer.

Depleted uranium also replaces calcium in the body, thus destroying both teeth and bones.

As a result of the massive depleted uranium contamination in Iraq and Afghanistan, severe birth defects and cancer have dramatically increased not only among civilians living in the affected areas, but also among US troops who served in areas where depleted uranium munitions were used.

Depleted uranium munitions are classified by the United Nations as illegal weapons of mass destruction, and yet the US and the UK continue to use them. The uranium used in depleted uranium munitions has a half-life of 4.5 billion years, so the environmental hell that the invading armies have caused in Iraq and Afghanistan will be a gift that keep on giving.

Forever.

It has been said that when a woman delivers a baby in Iraq now, the first question she asks is typically not if it is a boy or a girl. Instead the most typical first question now is this: “Is it normal?”



But it is not just those in other nations who are suffering from the effects of depleted uranium.

Most Americans have no idea that thousands upon thousands of our own troops are getting sick and dying from depleted uranium exposure.

According to official (but unpublicized) US government data, there have been over 70,000 deaths and over 1 million disabilities among US troops as a result of America’s wars in the Middle East.

The truth is that we have been slowly nuking our own troops and most Americans don't even realize it.

In her excellent article entitled *Death By Slow Burn: How America Nukes Its Own Troops*, Amy Worthington painted a very graphic picture of the effect that exposure to depleted uranium is having on US and British troops:

**“US and British troops deployed to the area are the walking dead. Humans and animals, friends and foes in the fallout zone are destined to a long downhill spiral of chronic illness and disability.**

**“Kidney dysfunction, lung damage, bloody stools, extreme fatigue, joint pain, unsteady gait, memory loss and rashes and, ultimately, cancer and premature death await those exposed to DU.”**

Award-winning journalist Will Thomas wrote:

**“As the last Gulf conflict so savagely demonstrated, GI immune systems reeling from multiple doses of experimental vaccines offer little defense against further exposure to chemical weapons, industrial toxins, stress, caffeine, insect repellent and radiation left over from the last war. This is a war even the victors will lose.”**

When a DU shell is fired, it ignites upon impact. Uranium, plus traces of plutonium and americium, vaporize into tiny, ceramic particles of radioactive dust. Once inhaled, uranium oxides lodge in the body and emit radiation indefinitely.

A single particle of DU lodged in a lymph node can devastate the entire immune system according to British radiation expert Roger Coghill. The Royal Society of England published data showing that battlefield soldiers who inhale or swallow high levels of DU can suffer kidney failure within days. Any soldier now in Iraq who has not inhaled lethal radioactive dust is not breathing.

In fact, the vast majority of veterans who have served in the Gulf War, Iraq or Afghanistan either have already developed incapacitating illnesses or they will eventually develop them as Worthington explained in her article:

**“The Gulf War Veterans Association reports that at least 300,000 Gulf War I vets have now developed incapacitating illnesses. To date, 209,000 vets have filed claims for disability benefits based on service-connected injuries and illnesses from combat in that war.”**



DUSTIN BRIM WAS A US SOLDIER FROM FLORIDA. THE PICTURE ON THE LEFT HE WAS TAKEN IN IRAQ IN FEBRUARY 2004, HE WAS 21 YEARS OLD. TWO MONTHS LATER HE BEGAN TO SUFFER FROM MASSIVE CANCEROUS TUMOURS WHICH PREVENTED HIM FROM BREATHING OR EATING PROPERLY. SEVEN MONTHS LATER AGAIN, HE WOULD DIE AT THE AGE OF 22 FROM CANCER CAUSED BY EXPOSURE TO DEPLETED URANIUM. THE PICTURE ON THE RIGHT IS TAKEN SHORTLY BEFORE HIS DEATH.

Dr Asaf Durakovic, a professor of nuclear medicine at Georgetown University, is a former army medical expert. He told nuclear scientists in Paris last year that tens of thousands of sick British and American soldiers are now dying from radiation they encountered during Gulf War I. He found that 62 per cent of sick vets tested have uranium isotopes in their organs, bones, brains and urine. Laboratories in Switzerland and Finland corroborated his findings.

In other studies, some sick vets were found to be expressing uranium in even their semen. Their sexual partners often complained of a burning sensation during intercourse, followed by their own debilitating illnesses.

How is the world can we possibly do this to our own troops? Is our government simply this cold? What in the world are we becoming?

The following is just one testimony from one of our soldiers who has had his life changed forever by depleted uranium:

**“In early September 2003, Army National Guard Spec. Gerard Darren Matthew was sent home from Iraq, stricken by a sudden illness. One side of Matthew’s face would swell up each morning. He had constant migraine headaches, blurred vision, blackouts and a burning sensation whenever he urinated. The Army transferred him to Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington for further tests, but doctors there could not explain what was wrong. Shortly after his return, his wife, Janice, became pregnant. On June 29, she gave birth to a baby girl, Victoria Claudette. The baby was missing three fingers and most of her right hand. Matthew and his wife believe Victoria’s shocking deformity has something to do with her father’s illness and the war — especially since there is no history of birth defects in either of their families.”**

They have seen photos of Iraqi babies born with deformities that are eerily similar. In June, Matthew contacted the Daily News and asked us to arrange independent laboratory screening for his urine. This was after The News had reported that four of seven soldiers from another National Guard unit, the 442<sup>nd</sup> Military Police, had tested positive for depleted uranium (DU). The independent test of Matthew’s urine found him positive for DU — low-level radioactive waste produced in nuclear plants during the enrichment of natural uranium.

What have we done?

This is one of the greatest environmental tragedies imaginable, and yet nobody is talking about it.

What does it say about us when we live in a world where we can knowingly create this kind of environmental nightmare and nobody seems to care?

The truth is that we owe the world an apology of unprecedented magnitude for using depleted uranium munitions. This is one of the biggest environmental crimes in the history of the planet, and it must stop NOW.

The stories of US military veterans who have had their lives destroyed by depleted uranium exposure could literally fill a phone book. We have turned Iraq, Afghanistan and a number of other areas across the globe (including Puerto Rico) into environmental wastelands. And yet the US military continues to use depleted uranium and continues to insist that there is nothing wrong with it.



Depleted uranium needs to become one of the top priorities for every environmental advocacy organizations in the entire world. The environmental damage that is being caused by these weapons is of an unprecedented magnitude and it will never be able to be cleaned up.

It is time to wake up and start making this an issue. Now that you know the truth, you can be part of the solution.

But will you?

**Michael T. Snyder (2010)**

*Michael T. Snyder is a conservative Republican American writer.*

**Source:** <http://endoftheamericandream.com/archives/depleted-uranium-one-of-the-greatest-environmental-horrors-in-the-history-of-the-world>





## VIETNAM'S HORRIFIC LEGACY: THE CHILDREN OF AGENT ORANGE



CHILDREN WITH HYDROCEPHALUS

Forty years after the end of the Vietnam War this is a country which should be rising back to its feet. Instead it is crippled by the effects of Agent Orange, a chemical sprayed during combat, stripping leaves off trees to remove enemy cover. Its contaminant, dioxin — now regarded as one of the most toxic chemicals known to man — remains in Vietnam's ecosystem, in the soil and in the fish people eat from rivers.

Nearly 4.8 million Vietnamese people have been exposed, causing 400,000 deaths; the associated illnesses include cancers, birth defects, skin disorders, auto-immune diseases, liver disorders, psychosocial effects, neurological defects and gastrointestinal diseases.

According to the Red Cross of Vietnam, up to one million people are currently disabled or have health problems due to Agent Orange, 100,000 of which are children.



In Ho Chi Minh City's Go Vap orphanage, five-month-old Hong gazes serenely from her metal-barred cot, empty, save for a soft yellow teddy bear watching over her. From her head grows a huge veiny mass — a rare neural tube defect known as encephalocele, which research suggests could be caused by Agent Orange exposure. Without successful surgery, Hong's future is bleak. She could suffer from paralysis of the limbs, vision impairment, mental disability and seizures.



In the capital's Tu Du Hospital, within the Children's Agent Orange ward lives 13-year-old Tran, with Fraser Syndrome. A rare genetic disorder, it's characterised by completely fused eyelids, partially webbed fingers and toes and genital malformations. Tran's nurses explain how he spends hours each day crying out relentlessly, rocking himself back and forth in his cot.

Named Agent Orange after the coloured stripe on the barrels it was stored in, the US Army, spent a decade from 1961, spraying approximately 80 million litres over 30,000 square miles of southern Vietnam. The aim was

to "smoke out" and weaken the Viet Cong enemy, by decreasing their food supplies. Studies have shown that dioxin still remains at alarmingly high concentrations in soil, food, human blood and breast milk in people who live near former US military bases.

But it's not just families in Vietnam that are affected. Here in Australia, where almost 60,000 troops served in the war, a growing number of veterans, their children and now grandchildren believe they're battling with the effects of Agent Orange exposure.

Hope White, 39, from the Sunshine Coast, suffers from fibromyalgia, spinal problems and infertility. In 1968, her father was deployed for a year in Vietnam's Phuoc Tuy Province, which was widely sprayed with Agent Orange.

"I've had a number of health problems from a young age — especially with my spine forming. I'm only on my feet through heavy medication, lots of physiotherapy and treatments for my back. I feel like my body's fighting itself all the time, some days I can't even get out of bed," she explains.

Although statistics on the number of people affected by Agent Orange in Australia and their associated illnesses aren't currently recorded, animal studies have shown that exposure to dioxin can lead to female infertility.

"I've found that childlessness is very common across the daughters of Vietnam veterans that I've spoken with", says Hope. "It's had a massive impact on my husband and me. Not having children has changed our lives significantly."

Dr Wayne Dwernychuk, a retired senior scientist, adviser with Hatfield and Agent Orange specialist, warns that "countless more generations could be affected in the future". Research suggests that another six to twelve generations will have to pass before dioxin stops affecting the genetic code.

Support services, however, are steadily increasing for Agent Orange-affected families in Vietnam. In Da Nang, the NGO, Vietnam Association for Victims of Agent Orange, operates two day centres for disabled children, offering vocational training, rehabilitation and the chance to make friends. It's a safe haven for children often left on the margins of society because of their disabilities.



16-year-old Thao in Cu Chi is unable to walk unaided, his legs bound from birth. He practices twice a day on his father's makeshift rehabilitation walkway, steadied by wooden rails — and waits for funding to come through for an operation. A quiet, timid boy who's never been to school because of his disability. Their grandfather fought in the war. As in Thao's case, it's common for Agent Orange illnesses to skip siblings and even entire generations within the same family

Charitable donations also help children like 16-year-old Thao in Cu Chi, who's waiting for funding for an operation on his legs. Unable to walk unaided, his legs bound from birth, he practices twice a day on his father's makeshift rehabilitation walkway, steadied by wooden rails.

"When I see my brother like this, I feel sorry for him", says Hieu, "I help him at home, sometimes I feed him and we play marbles together around the house."

"What do you usually do at home?" I ask Thao.

"I just lay there. I don't have anything to do. I don't feel sad, I'm used to it". He only has one wish.

"I just want to be able to walk," Thao says quietly.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FOR THIS ARTICLE TO THE AUSTRALIAN [news.com.au](http://news.com.au) 25<sup>th</sup> MAY 2015**

**PHOTOS: ASH ANAND**



**US WARPLANE SPRAYING AGENT ORANGE IN VIETNAM**

# **INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY NEWS**



## **FULL TEXT OF THE SPEECH BY COMPAÑERO MIGUEL DIAZ- CANEL PRESIDENT OF CUBA**

**Elected by the National Assembly of  
People's Power**

19<sup>th</sup> APRIL 2018

Compañero deputy, Army General Raúl Castro Ruz, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba,

Compatriots:

I come to speak on behalf of all Cubans, who today begin a new mandate at the service of a nation whose history makes us proud; not only those born in this land, but millions of children of America and the world that love and respect it as their own.

I do so with all the responsibility that an act of this nature entails and with the awareness that we are not inaugurating just another legislature.

Martí said that “pompous words are unnecessary to speak of sublime men.” And this is the case now, when I fulfil, with honour and emotion, the mandate of our people to dedicate the first thought to the historic generation that, with exemplary dedication and humility, accompanies us in this hour of pressing challenges in which Cuba expects that we be like them, capable of victoriously fighting all the battles that await us.

The presence of Raúl, Machado, Ramiro, Guillermo and other Heroes of the Republic, as deputies of the Legislature that takes office today, is not due to a, more than deserved, tribute for the work done. The Army General and First Secretary of the Party was the candidate to receive the most votes in the general elections, just as the Second Secretary and the Comandantes of the Revolution, also Heroes of Labour of the Republic of Cuba, were among those who received the highest number of votes.

They ennoble this hall and offer us the opportunity, by embracing them, to embrace living history.



More than half a century of slander and dark invitations to generational rupture and discouragement in the face of difficulties, have not been able to tear down the columns of the temple of our faith: the Revolution of Fidel and the Centennial Generation of Martí continues in its 60<sup>th</sup> year with the dignity of its founders intact and ennobled by having been able to do in each moment what each moment demanded.

With the constitution of the 9<sup>th</sup> Legislature of the National Assembly of People's Power, the revolutionary electoral process that the Cuban people have led in recent months comes to an end, reaffirming its eminently democratic nature and, at the same time, conscious of its profound historic significance.

The people, exercising their civil right, have proposed, nominated, and elected their representatives in the different government bodies based on their identification with them, their merit, and ability to represent communities, social sectors, collective interests, without publicity campaigns subject to the power of money, without politicking or fraud, corruption or demagoguery.

The election has been the result of collective wishes, without any of those elected harbouring personal aspirations. Citizens have honoured humble, hard-working, modest people as their genuine representatives.

This is an election that emerges from the people, who at the same time control its administration, thus participating in the decision making and in the implementation of approved policies. And although we have done so many times in the last 40 years, we can affirm that this election process concluding today has become a resounding victory for the unity of the Cuban people, and an expression of their commitment to defend the revolutionary work in times of uncertainty for the majority of the planet's inhabitants, whose wishes do not count when applying policies that minimize their rights and curtail their conquests.

To that trust that the people place in us with their vote, there is only one way to reciprocate: acting, creating, and working tirelessly, to respond to their demands and needs, in a permanent and close bond with our humble, generous, and noble people.

If someone wanted to see Cuba as a group of citizens, according to their age, racial, gender, and occupational composition, it would be enough to view and study the membership of our Assembly and the representation of women, black and mixed race Cubans, young people and senior citizens, who occupy decision-making positions at the highest levels of government, almost in the same proportion as the statistics that define the nation.

The most important thing is not, however, how much we resemble the country we are. What we cannot forget for even a second, as of this moment, is the commitment that we acquire to the people and to the future. All deputies, the leadership of the Assembly, the members of the Councils of State and Ministers, have as our primary *raison d'être* a systematic link with the population, which obliges us to deepen the analysis of the problems that concern society as a whole and the everyday lives of Cuban men and women, fostering a broad and sincere debate about them, and encouraging all possible ways to solve or mitigate their impact with the participation of those involved, either because they are afflicted by or because they have the ability to solve them.

Compatriots:

Two years ago today, in the closure of the 7<sup>th</sup> Party Congress, the Army General told us that his generation would hand over, and I quote: "the banners of the Revolution and Socialism to new leaders, without the slightest trace of sadness or pessimism, with the pride of having fulfilled one's duty, convinced that they will be able to continue and magnify the Revolution's work, to which great effort was devoted, and life itself for many generations of compatriots."



This means, among many reasons, that the mandate given by the people to this Legislature is to provide continuity to the Cuban Revolution at a crucial historic moment, which will be marked by all that we manage to advance in the updating of the economic and social model, perfecting and strengthening our work in all spheres of national life.

I assume the responsibility for which I have been elected with the conviction that all Cuban revolutionaries, from the position we occupy, based on the work we do, from any post or trench of the socialist homeland, will be faithful to the exemplary legacy of the Comandante en Jefe Fidel Castro Ruz, historic leader of our Revolution, and also to the example, the courage and the teachings of Army General Raúl Castro Ruz, current leader of the revolutionary process

*Applause*

I name them and I evoke Martí, in his biographical sketch of Céspedes and Agramonte: “The stranger, or the pretentious, or the ambitious can write these names without trembling: the good Cuban, cannot.” Fidel and Raúl, bound by blood, ideals, and struggle, show us the meaning of the word brother in its highest degree, so valued in the emotional ties of national identity.

Much more. They, along with the men and women who brought the Revolution to this point, offer us the key to a new siblinghood, forged in the resistance and the shared battles that transformed us into compañeras and compañeros. Unity, so necessary while the nation was being forged, is since 1959 its most valuable and sacred strength; that has become extraordinary and invulnerable in the core of our only Party, which was not born of the rupture or splitting of others, but of the integration of all those that set out to build a better country.

For us it is totally clear that only the Communist Party of Cuba, the superior leading force of society and the state, guarantees the unity of the Cuban nation and is the worthy heir to the confidence placed in their leaders by the people, as compañero Raúl Castro Ruz stated in his speech on the 45<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the creation of the Western Army, on 14<sup>th</sup> June 2006.

That is why Raúl, who firmly prepared, steered, and led this process of generational continuity, without attachment to positions and responsibilities, with a high sense of duty and the historic moment, with serenity, maturity, confidence, revolutionary resolve, with altruism and modesty, remains through legitimacy and his own merit at the forefront of the political vanguard

*Applause*

He continues to be our First Secretary, as the reference that he is for any Cuban communist and revolutionary. And because Cuba needs him, contributing ideas and purposes to the revolutionary cause, guiding and warning of any error or shortcoming, teaching, and always ready to confront imperialism in the face of any attempt to attack the country, as the first with his rifle at the hour of combat.

Raúl, as our people affectionately call him, is Fidel’s best disciple, but he has also contributed innumerable values to revolutionary ethics, Party work, and the perfecting of government.

The work undertaken with his leadership in the last decade is colossal. His legacy of resistance faced with threats and aggressions, and in the pursuit of the perfection of our society, is fundamental. He assumed the leadership of the nation in a difficult economic and social juncture. He put revolutionary courage and his sense of duty ahead of human pain, and led the country without rest, committed, with certainty, with impetus, with dedication and devotion. As a statesman, forging popular consensus, he has led, promoted, and stimulated profound and essential structural and conceptual changes as part of the process of perfecting and updating the Cuban Economic and Social Model.

With patience, intelligence, and firm decisions, that at the same time required secrecy, he secured the release of our Five Heroes, thus fulfilling Fidel's promise that they would return.

*Applause*

He has marked broad and dynamic international relations activity with his affable personal style. With firmness, dignity, and fortitude he led the talks and negotiations that had as their aim the reestablishment of diplomatic relations with the United States. He headed the CELAC presidency pro tempore, defending unity within diversity and achieving the declaration of the Latin American and Caribbean region as a zone of peace.

He decisively contributed to the success of the Colombia peace talks and has defended Caribbean countries, and in particular the always overlooked Haiti and Puerto Rico, in all regional and hemispheric dialogue scenarios.

His rousing voice and forceful speech at the Summit of the Americas in Panama continues to move us, exalting the true history of Our America and the reasons for the Spartan resistance and unwavering solidarity of the Cuban people with the just causes of the region and the world, against all odds, threats and aggressions.

This is the Raúl we know, admire, respect, and love.

The student and rebel Raúl who participated in the first March of the Torches in January 1953, and who, in March of the same year, took part in the International Conference in Defence of the Rights of Youth, and the preparations for the Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students; the combatant Raúl who, in the heat of battle, assumed the command in the Palacio de Justicia of Santiago de Cuba, as part of the actions of the assault on the Moncada Garrison; served a prison sentence on the Isle of Pines; prepared for the fight against Batista during exile in Mexico; landed in the *Granma*; was reunited with Fidel in Cinco Palmas; launched the struggle in the Sierra Maestra; and due to his merits and bravery was promoted to Comandante.

The military commander Raúl, who in the Frank País Second Eastern Front, in the midst of the liberation war, developed organizational and governance experiences for the good of the population, which would later be duplicated throughout the country until the revolutionary triumph.

The Raúl who, at the head of the Ministry of the Armed Forces for 48 years, contributed to the achievement of results in the defense preparation of the country and in the development of the doctrine of the War of the Entire People, making it the most disciplined and efficient state administration body, at whose core experiences were developed that later served the country.

The political leader, Raúl, who has constantly promoted debate for the improvement of Party work, linked to the people, with ears kept well to the ground, and who, at very difficult times, convened us with integrity to prove that "Yes, we can," and thus, the country and the Revolution could be saved.

I am aware of the concerns and expectations that a moment such as this naturally raises, but we have the strength, intelligence and wisdom of the people; the experience and leadership of the Party; the ideas of Fidel and the presence of Raúl, also accompanied by the invaluable leader, human being and devoted worker, compañero José Ramón Machado Ventura [*applause*] as Second Secretary of the political organisation representing Cuban communists; as well as the strength, prestige, loyalty, and example of an Army founded by those who will never cease to represent the uniformed people.

Knowing popular feeling, I state to this Assembly, the supreme organ of state power, that compañero Army General Raúl Castro Ruz, as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba, will take the lead in the most important decisions for the present and future of the country.

*Lengthy applause*

We are living in a world characterised by growing threats to peace and security, interventionist wars, dangers to the survival of the human species and an unjust and exclusionary international economic order.

In this context, I reaffirm that Cuban foreign policy will remain the same and reiterate that no one will be able to weaken the Revolution or crush the Cuban people, because Cuba does not make concessions essential to its sovereignty or independence, negotiate its principles or accept conditions.

We will never give in to pressure or threats; the sovereign Cuban people will continue to decided the changes that need to be made.

I am aware that the task we are charged with entails an enormous responsibility to the people, which is why I call for the support of all those who occupy leadership responsibilities at different levels and in different institutions of the Revolution, but above all, I trust in the decisive support of the Cuban people, without which — and facing threats and challenges, which will always exist for a country committed to Revolution — it will be impossible for our society to successfully advance.

Our management and leadership must be increasingly collective, in constant contact with the people and facilitating the participation of the population in revolutionary tasks and decision making, through broadly democratic processes which are already an inseparable part of national policy.

In the same way that the Revolution has never made any promises over all these years, nor will I. I am here to express my commitment to work for and ensure the fulfilment of the program that we have given ourselves as a government and a people, in the form of the Policy Guidelines of the Party and Revolution over the short, medium, and long term. Only hard, selfless and efficient work every day will lead to concrete results and achievements which will represent new victories for the homeland and socialism, without ever abandoning the combative readiness of our undefeated Revolutionary Armed Forces.

This is how we will confront the threats of our powerful imperialist neighbour. Here, there is no space for a transition that ignores or destroys so many years of struggle. In Cuba, the people have decided, that there is only room for the generations born and educated under the Revolution and the founding generation to continue to work, without bowing to pressure, without fear or retreat, defending our truth and motives, without renouncing our sovereignty and independence, development programmes or dreams.

We will always be willing to dialogue and cooperate on the basis of respect and equality, with those who are also willing to do so.

There will be no space in this legislature for those who aspire to the restoration of capitalism; this legislature will defend the Revolution and will continue perfecting socialism.

In order to tackle our internal difficulties it is important to emphasise that our priorities are defined in the documents approved at the Seventh Party Congress, and reaffirmed by Parliament, after being submitted to a broad process of popular consultation.

These documents recognise that political-ideological work, the struggle for peace, unity and ideological resolve, closely linked to the development of the national economy and ensuring the conscious, active, and committed participation of the majority of the population in the updating of our social and economic model, is our fundamental mission. Simply put, it is up to us to ensure implementation and advance this process.

Conscious of these priorities, it is our responsibility to perfect their implementation, correct mistakes, extract experiences, avoid improvisation, superficiality, delays and violations which irritate the population, sow pessimism and despondency, distancing us from our goals over time.

We must continually work to uphold unity, discipline, comprehensive analysis, and stringency in all organizations, bodies and institutions; in order to ensure that the great potential and opportunities that exist in our society are sustained and expressed in concrete results for growth, development, and prosperity.

On behalf of the compañeras and compañeros elected to senior positions within the National Assembly of People's Power and Council of State we express, with a deep sense of commitment, that we will never betray the confidence placed in us.

And to those who, owing to ignorance or bad faith, doubt the commitment of the generations which today assume new responsibilities within the Cuban state, we have the duty to clearly tell them that the Revolution is alive, and will continue to live on, with a sense of the historic moment, changing everything that must be changed; emancipating ourselves on our own and through our own efforts; challenging powerful dominant forces in and beyond the social and national arena; defending the values in which we believe at the price of any sacrifice; with modesty, selflessness, altruism, solidarity, and heroism; fighting with courage, intelligence and realism; never lying or violating ethical principles, and the deep conviction that Fidel transmitted to us with his concept of Revolution, that there is no force in the world that can crush the power of truth and ideas. Revolution is unity; it is independence, it is struggling for our dreams of justice for Cuba and for the world, which is the foundation of our patriotism, our socialism, and our internationalism.

The Revolution continues its course without a single absentee, because we are even accompanied by our dead in crucial hours, just like Céspedes, Agramonte, Maceo, Gómez, and Martí, among so many others who were always present during our most difficult battles.

To content ourselves with living in the shadow of the glory that precedes us would be to betray that same glory. The members of this Parliament have been born, raised, and learned with the founders of the Revolution that all dreams are possible to achieve, even when the opposite seems to be true. "You don't need wings to make a dream. It's enough to have hands, a chest, legs, and determination," as the poet would say.

This quote reminds us that the effort and sacrifice of Cuban revolutionaries have always been embraced by song and poetry, art and criticism. We are a Revolution that can say that it has been told and sung, from the very beginning, with the talent and originality of its artists and creators, true interpreters of popular wisdom and the dissatisfaction and hopes of Cuba's soul.

And that will continue to be so. Intellectuals, journalists, creators, will always accompany us in our efforts to ensure that this archipelago, put on the global political map by the Revolution, also continues to be recognized for its singular way of fighting while singing, dancing, laughing, and triumphing. We are Cuba, which means resistance, joy, creativity, solidarity, and life.

No other country has resisted for so many years, without surrendering, the economic, commercial, military, political and media onslaught which Cuba has faced. But this has by no means been on account of a miracle. It has been the result of, in the first place, an authentic Revolution which emerged from the very heart of the people, a consistent leadership which never put itself above the people, but at the front in the hours of greatest danger and risk, and of an army born in the middle of the mountains with, and for, the poor of the Earth, whose bravery and expertise transcend our borders and has acted with as much ferocity in war as it has creativity in peace. That is to say, necessity, originality, imagination, courage, and heroic creation, according to Mariátegui.

"Create is this generation's password" wrote Martí, a phrase which Fidel's generation made their own, and which those of us who have the reasonability of elevating his legacy, are duty bound to make our own.

Outside there is a world that looks upon us with more questions than certainties. For too long, and in the worst ways, we have received the erroneous message that the Revolution ends with its guerrillas.

In the age of communication, our adversaries have been able to lie, distort and silence our Revolutionary work. And even then they have still not been able to destroy it. We must be more creative when spreading our truth. At a time when there exist more tribunals than the open and multitudinous ones that were, at another time, the loud-speaker of the Revolution, we must learn to make more and better use of the possibilities of technology in order to inundate our truths across infinite spaces on planet internet, where today lies reign.

Let us clearly state that the Cuban Revolution continues to be olive green, and ready to take on all battles.

The first being to overcome our own acts of indiscipline, mistakes and imperfections, while at the same time advancing “without haste, but without pause,” — a wise warning from compañero Raúl — toward the horizon, toward the prosperity we owe ourselves and which we must achieve sooner or later, in the midst of the turmoil of a world weakened by uncertainty, injustice, violence by the powerful, and contempt for small nations and the poor majorities.

Compañeras and compañeros:

On a day as symbolic as today, full of emotion and meaning, on which we have shared commitments and convictions, we think of Fidel, of his ideas, of his formidable, prolific, indispensable legacy, as a way of nurturing this genuine desire to keep him among us, forever.

May every fibre of our revolutionary lineage tremble when we proclaim: I am Fidel!

And we swear to defend until our last breath this “socialist and democratic Revolution of the humble, by the humble and for the humble,” won for us by the historic generation fighting on the sands of Playa Girón, 57 years ago, and which now hands it over to us, undefeated and assured that we will know how to take it as far, and place it as high as they did, are doing, and will continue to do.

*Applause*

It is vital to state today:

**Homeland or death !!**

**Socialism or death !!**

**We shall overcome !!**



## **PRESS STATEMENT FROM THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ZAMBIA**

2<sup>nd</sup> APRIL 2018



**CUBAN AMBASSADOR COMRADE NELSON PAGES AT THE LAUNCH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF ZAMBIA**

**Topic: The Expulsion of the Cuban Ambassador from Zambia and denying entry into Zambia to nine international guests of the Socialist Party.**

**by: Dr Cosmas Musumali, General Secretary**

**D. Fred M'Membe, Deputy General Secretary and Presidential Candidate**

President Edgar Chagwa Lungu has initiated a process to recall the Cuban Ambassador to Zambia. This is essentially an expulsion of this Cuban patriot out of Zambia. The Ambassador, Comrade Nelson Pages, is accused of having breached diplomatic etiquette and therefore crossed a “red line” by shortly attending the launch of the Socialist Party on the 31<sup>st</sup> March, 2018 in Lusaka and giving a congratulatory message. He was openly and arrogantly ridiculed by the Presidential Spokesperson, Mr. Amos Chanda that the diplomat should have “known better” that opposition political parties are a “no go area” especially coming from Cuba!

The expulsion of comrade Nelson is however not an isolated act by an insecure and desperate President. Two days earlier, 9 international guests to the launch of the Socialist Party were denied entry into Zambia. They were intercepted, interrogated, humiliated and impolitely sent away on subsequent flights out of the country. International protocol and travelling rights were blatantly breached.

This seemingly irrational behaviour of the President and his government over the launch of the Socialist Party is based on real fear. This is the fear of informed and political conscious Zambian masses, of a genuine revolutionary political formation with a credible leadership and that of international solidarity sympathetic to the plight of the people of Zambia. The Socialist Party and its leadership are bringing out all these elements. The Party is the symbol of hope and a new beginning for the suffering and disillusioned Zambia people. There is therefore a good reason for the panic exhibited by the President and his government. However, this panic mode is exposing serious faults and extreme levels of incompetency in the ability of the President to continue running this country.

The Socialist Party, on behalf of all progressive Zambian people, wishes to extend its apologies to comrade Nelson Pages and to the Cuban people. The decision by the president is not a true reflection of the aspirations of the Zambian masses. We are saddened and ashamed of this uniformed and opportunistic decision. Comrade Nelson is and will remain a true friend to the Socialist Party and Zambian people.

Our victory in 2021 is assured and we look forward to receiving him back in the country. Similarly, we would like to convey our apologies to the nine comrades that were humiliated at Kenneth Kaunda International Airport (KKIA). Their commitment to the spirit of Pan-Africanism and the working-class struggle was manifested by their humility in the face of all the injustice they had to endure on Zambian soil.

Our comrade Benewende Sankara, President of the Sankarist Party of Burkina Faso, who was amongst those having been deported at KKIA, is back in his country and sent us the following text message: “I mark my unwavering support for the comrades of Zambia and all people in the struggle. My moral remains high and I know victory will eventually triumph over undemocratic and anti-social forces.”

As of 10:30 hours today, the Socialist Party has received 79 international congratulatory messages from political parties, trade unions and popular movements of 32 countries. The messages highlight the significance of the launch of the Socialist Party in Zambia but also condemn the behaviour of President Lungu and his government.

The responses coming from all districts of Zambia are equally confirming our resolve to fight for Justice, Equity and Peace (JEP) and for Socialism in our homeland. The process is gathering fast momentum. The fast pace is to some extent supported by the incompetency of the current government and failures of the capitalist system in our country. It is now very certain that Fred M'Membe will be the President of a socialist Zambia in 2021.

**Long live the Cuban revolution;**

**Long live the spirit of Pan-Africanism;**

**Long live the Zambian working masses;**

**Their victory is certain;**

**And the days of capitalist exploitation and mass poverty will soon end.**

# COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

## 22<sup>nd</sup> Party Congress

### General Secretary Sitharam Yechury's Inaugural Speech

Chairman of the Reception Committee Cde. B.V. Raghavulu; Cde. Sudhakar Reddy, General Secretary, CPI; Cde. Dipankar Bhattacharya, General Secretary, CPI(ML) - Liberation; Cde. G.R. Shivashankar, Secretary, Central Committee, AIFB; Cde. Manoj Bhattacharya, member, Central Secretariat of National Committee, RSP; Cde. Asit Bhattacharyya, member, PolitBureau, SUCI(C)<sup>1</sup>; delegates, observers and guests.



Dear comrades and friends,

I thank all of you for accepting our invitation and joining us at this inaugural session of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). I am pleased to see the presence of eminent public figures, veteran leaders of the people's movements and leaders of different contingents of the people's struggles here.

I wish to thank the leaders of the Left parties who are here at our invitation to participate in this inaugural session. Their presence here reflects the mutual desire of the Left parties to work towards strengthening Left unity which is a vital imperative in meeting the challenges before the people and the secular democratic republican constitutional values of our country.

Comrades and friends,

We are meeting in this historic city of Hyderabad, the home to the Asaf Jah dynasty of Nizams whose hallmark was a ruthlessly oppressive rule. At one point of time before India's independence the Nizam of Hyderabad was declared as the richest person in the world. This accumulation of riches was directly proportional to the misery of inhuman exploitation of the people they ruled over. It was these conditions that led to the outburst of the heroic struggle of the Telangana peasantry culminating in the glorious Telangana armed revolt. This struggle liberated vast tracts of areas from this oppressive exploitation. This struggle, along with the struggles of the peasantry elsewhere in the country, was the centrepiece of people's revolt that set the agenda of the freedom movement and the post independent legislations like the abolition of zamindari. The post-independent ruling Indian bourgeoisie being in alliance with the landlords ensured that the legislation itself was limited. Its implementation was halting and violated with impunity. The struggles, hence, continue.

I am happy to note that some of those who participated in this historical armed struggle are still with us here in this inaugural session. We salute them.

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1. Abbreviations: CPI — Communist Party of India  
CPI(ML)-Liberation — Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) – Liberation  
AIFB — All-India Forward Bloc  
RSP — Revolutionary Socialist Party  
SUCI(C) — Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)

In post independent India, for my generation growing up here in 1950s and 60s, Hyderabad was a city that symbolised a syncretic culture and emerged also as the cultural capital. Cultural, literary and intellectual stalwarts like Makdoom Mohiuddin, Shaukat Azmi, Shri Dasarathy Krishnacharya who was imprisoned during the Telangana struggle, Arudra, C. Narayana Reddy, to name a few, amongst others, enriched people's socio-political consciousness. Such a cultural synthesis however is coming under a severe strain not only in this city but all over India under the present BJP central government.

Dear comrades and friends,

The 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPI(M) is convening in a period when multifold challenges face both the people and our secular democratic republic. The current BJP [Baharatiya Janata Party – Indian People's Party] central government whose reins are controlled by the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS) [National Volunteer Organisation (Hindu fascists)] is pursuing policies that have imposed unprecedented miseries on the people and, at the same time, grievously threatening the unity and integrity of our social fabric. The dehumanisation of our society is seen in the chilling incidents of rape in Kathua and Unnao recently. It is shameful to see rape being used as weapon for communal polarisation. This must be resisted and defeated.

Amongst these various challenges there are four that need to be confronted with urgency and reversed in the interests of people's livelihood and for safeguarding and strengthening the Indian republic. The assault of neo-liberal economic policies has assumed unprecedented dimensions. The sharpening of communal polarisation is tearing asunder the unity of our social fabric as never before. The assaults on institutions of parliamentary democracy and constitutional authorities has unleashed an anti-democratic onslaught and India has been reduced to the status of a junior partner and a subordinate ally of US imperialism. India's independent foreign policy has been discarded and a US-Israel-India nexus is emerging in global affairs.

This neo-liberal offensive has resulted in sharpening extreme inequalities — in 2017, 1% of the richest Indians cornered 73% of the additional wealth generated in our country. The impoverishment of the vast majority of our people is giving rise to a series of protests. The deepening agrarian distress is being resisted by our peasantry in a militant manner all across the country, the highlight of which has been the recent long march of peasants from Nasik to Mumbai. The BJP central government is clearly betraying its own promise of assuring a minimum support price to farmers which is one-and-a-half times the production cost and a one-time loan waiver to halt the growing distress suicides due to unbearable debt burden.

The promise to our youth of creating jobs every year has been reneged. On the contrary even in the organised sector today there is growing unemployment. The twin assaults of demonetisation and GST have economically uprooted scores of our people dependent on cash economy and decimated the small scale industry which provides the largest employment opportunities outside of agriculture. There is no sector that has not been opened up for foreign direct investment. There is no public sector that is not being privatised. People's assets are thus being placed at the altar of profit maximisation for both foreign and big domestic capital.

The working-class, during the last three years, has risen, through two all India industrial strike actions and a massive mahapadav, in protest against such assaults and the moves to undermine even the existing labour laws.

Intellectuals and well meaning people across the country have risen in protest against growing intolerance against the cold blooded murders of Dabolkar, Pansare, Kalburgi and Gauri Lankesh.

In the name of cow protection, Muslims and Dalits [Dalits — members of the lowest castes formerly known as 'untouchables' about 25% of the population] are being targeted for murderous assaults. In the name of moral policing our youth are being told what to wear, what to eat, whom to befriend. Those not following such 'instructions' are assaulted. These private armies are seeking to control our social order under the patronage of RSS/BJP.

The situation in the state of Jammu & Kashmir has deteriorated to the extent that the degree of alienation of the people in the Kashmir valley from the Indian State was never seen before. In the realm of intellectual thought there is an unprecedented attack of irrationality over rationality; distorting Indian history and reducing it to Hindu mythology; disfiguring Indian philosophy to replace it by Hindu theology. These represent attacks on all progressive thought.

Comrades and friends,

During the last three years there have been new areas of people's struggles that have emerged. There is a stronger assertion of protests and revolt from the socially oppressed communities especially the SCs, STs and OBCs. [scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward castes; together they form 75% of the Indian population] New links have been forged for joint struggles between the Left and such movements.

I greet the Telangana unit of the CPI(M) and the people for forging a broad front for struggles against social oppression in this context.

Comrades and friends,

It is precisely because it is the Left that champions the interests of the people and sharpens such struggles that it is the principal target of the communal forces. It is the Left alone that can give a policy alternative while at the same time strengthening the unity of our country's vast plurality and forging the bonds of struggle against our people. The Left has been a target of the reactionary forces and the communal combine in West Bengal. Hundreds of our comrades have been martyred in the struggles against such attacks there. In the recently held elections to the Tripura assembly, the CPI(M) and the Left have suffered a major setback. The RSS/BJP entered into a unprincipled alliance with extremist tribal organisations and united all anti-Left forces on a single platform to achieve this objective. They have unleashed a campaign of terror and violence attacking Left activists, their offices with the intent of paralysing the Left in the state of Tripura. This shall not be allowed. This shall be defeated. We salute the heroic fighters of the Left for resisting such attacks both in West Bengal and Tripura.

In Kerala, the RSS-BJP is targeting the LDF [Left Democratic Front] government and the Left cadres with murderous assaults. While mounting a nationwide disinformation campaign against the CPI(M) as the perpetrator of violence. The truth is the other way round. This is being resisted and will be defeated.

Comrades and friends,

The challenges that we face in India are related to the international developments. The prolonged crisis of global capitalism, apart from imposing unprecedented attacks on the working people in the developing countries, is also intensifying the pressures on developing countries like ours to further open our markets and resources for the profit maximisation of international finance capital. Instead of resisting such pressures, the current BJP government is willingly succumbing to them.

This global capitalist crisis has led to a crisis of neo-liberalism itself in response to which there is a rightward political shift globally. This, of course, is being resisted in many a country particularly in Latin America, developed capitalist countries in Europe and elsewhere. The Presidency of Donald Trump, representing the most reactionary ruling circles in the USA, is symptomatic of this global rightward shift.

This political rightward shift is leading to more aggressive imperialist interventions across the globe particularly in the progressive countries of Latin America. This offensive continues in the Middle East and the US-Israel nexus intensifies its efforts to destabilise the region and control its



oil riches. Israel continues with its illegal occupation of Palestinian lands and inhuman oppression of people. As we meet here today, heroic battles of resistance are taking place in the Gaza strip.

The CPI(M) expresses its solidarity with the long Palestinian struggle for a homeland and with the peoples struggling against imperialist interventions elsewhere in the Middle East.

Our neighbour, Nepal, has witnessed a historic election that cemented the transition of this once Hindu kingdom of Nepal into a Republic. The major victory by the joint front of Communist Party of Nepal (UML) and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) has established a stable government. It is heartening to note that both these communist parties have decided to announce their merger on the day our 22<sup>nd</sup> Party concludes, the birthday of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. We congratulate our comrades in Nepal for this historic success.

Comrades and friends,

I am confident that this 22<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the CPI(M) will give a new direction to our Party for strengthening the independent activities of our Party for intensifying people's struggles and political intervention; for strengthening the unity of the Left forces and for strengthening the forging of the unity of the Left and democratic forces. In the final analysis the answer to these challenges is the policy alternative that can only be provided by the Left and democratic forces.

This 22nd Congress of the CPI(M) will provide the direction for mobilising secular democratic forces to defeat this BJP government. This is imperative to further strengthen people's struggles for the realisation of an alternative policy direction for our country and the people.

**Further strengthen the CPI(M)**

**Further consolidate Left unity**

**Oust this RSS/BJP government**

**Strengthen people's struggles for a policy alternative by forging the unity of Left and democratic forces.**



**CPI(M) ON THE MARCH**

## HISTORIC PEACE AGREEMENT



KIM JONG UN, SUPREME LEADER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA  
AND MOON JAE IN, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA CELEBRATE PEACE

## CONGRATULATIONS FOM THE ZCP

To: Comrade Kim Jong Un  
Chairman of the Workers' Party of Korea

29<sup>th</sup> April 2018

Dear Comrades,

The Zimbabwe Communist Party was formed only one year ago on 28<sup>th</sup> April 2017, it is our pleasure, as we celebrate our first anniversary, to salute and congratulate the Workers' Party of Korea and the entire people of both north and south Korea on the historic meeting between Comrade Kim Jong Un, Supreme Leader of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and President Moon Jae In of the Republic of Korea and their signing of the Peace Agreement.

Zimbabwean Communists are well aware of the huge death toll and the terrible destruction created by the Korean War, a war against the Korean people waged by the United States and its allies and which has led to a single nation being divided under two administrations.

We commend the Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people for remaining steadfast in the face of US aggression, interference and disinformation over many years. This meeting, this signing of the Peace Agreement, is the first joyful step towards the achievement of the complete national unity of the Korean people.

Comradely congratulations,

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena**  
**General Secretary**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**  
**on behalf of the**  
**National Steering Committee**

# OBITUARIES

## MORGAN RICHARD TSVANGIRAI

(10<sup>th</sup> March 1952 – 14<sup>th</sup> February 2018)

### *A Hero of the Democratic Struggle in Zimbabwe*



The Zimbabwe Communist Party dips its Red Flag as we mourn the death of Morgan Richard Tsvangirai, President of MDC-T.

Morgan Tsvangirai led the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) at the time when the Zimbabwean government introduced the neo-liberal Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1991. Up until the introduction of ESAP, the ZCTU was in alliance with ZANU(PF) which represented the united liberation movement. It was under the leadership of the late Tsvangirai that the working-class in Zimbabwe rejected these neo-liberal policies and pulled the ZCTU out of its alliance with ZANU(PF).

Realising the need for a home grown constitution (as opposed to the compromise Lancaster House constitution negotiated with the British and the Rhodesians) Morgan Tsvangirai and other civil society leaders established the Zimbabwe Constitutional Assembly with the aim of producing a nationally agreed democratic constitution for Zimbabwe. It was through this constitutional campaign that a decision was taken to establish a broad based mass political movement to challenge ZANU(PF) and advance the struggle of the working-class.

It is unfortunate that this political project was hi-jacked by pro-imperialist and former Rhodesian Front forces which managed to capture the political leadership of the newly formed MDC.

The formation of the MDC gave the people of Zimbabwe hope. It became a rallying point for a struggle for democracy against a tyrannical régime. We all remember the brutality committed by the régime against the leadership of the MDC and its supporters.

As we mourn the death of Morgan Tsvangirai, we are confronted by the fact that, he died at a time when his party is going through internal power struggles as a result of both its failure to implement a clear succession plan and also to formulate a clear political and economic strategy which is pro-working-class and anti-imperialist as the MDC was during its formative stage.

As the ZCP, we extend our condolences to his family, his party and the people of Zimbabwe. Ours is to unite Zimbabweans around a National Economic Dialogue which will seek to build the economy of Zimbabwe in the interests of the working-class and the peasants in co-operation with all progressive forces leading to the elimination of poverty in our country.

**Issued by the ZCP Secretariat, 15<sup>th</sup> February 2018**

## **STATEMENT ON THE KILLING OF UNARMED PEOPLE BY THE ZRP FOLLOWING THE REQUEST OF THE HARARE CITY COUNCIL TO “DE-CONGEST THE STREETS”**



Firstly, the Zimbabwe Communist Party extends its condolences to the relatives and friends of those killed by the Zimbabwe Republic Police on the 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2018 due to the request of the Harare City Council to “de-congest the streets”; our sympathy is also extended to those injured.

The shooting and killing of people on the streets of Harare by the Zimbabwe Republic Police can be understood from a number of angles. But first of all, as Communists we see it as reflection of class attitudes by the MDC Harare City Council, the ZANU(PF) government and the police.

What happened is a crude example of the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie against the people.

True. The centre of Harare is congested. But why is it congested?

It is like this because the working-class has been denied means of survival by the parasitic black bourgeoisie who have looted and destroyed the economy in the name of “indigenous empowerment”. But as we have seen many times before, the word ‘indigenous’ has taken on a different meaning in Zimbabwean English. The black majority is simply a nuisance to the new élite — the ‘indigenous’; for them the ordinary people who do not have wealth simply make the streets untidy and must be removed — like garbage.

Those with cars find it very inconvenient that kombis crowd the city centre. People must get off far from their destination — and walk.



These class attitudes persist in the bourgeois parties and in society as a whole. The only light is that in the attempt to try to show a difference, we are seeing that the Police Commissioner, Godwin Matanga has announced an enquiry. We thank him for this. This is a small step forward. It would not have happened previously. We must insist, though, that not only the direct perpetrators are punished, but also those who sent the police in with live ammunition. We are awaiting the outcome.

The Communist Party, is a party of order. But to try to impose order in a situation which is highly abnormal without first dealing with the root causes — unemployment and bad planning — and without any dialogue with the people means that our current ‘democracy’ is a sham. Representatives are elected by the people but choose to set themselves above the people. This must stop.

**Ngqabutho Nicholas Mabhena**  
**General Secretary**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**

**Ian Beddowes**  
**National Political Commissar**  
**Zimbabwe Communist Party**

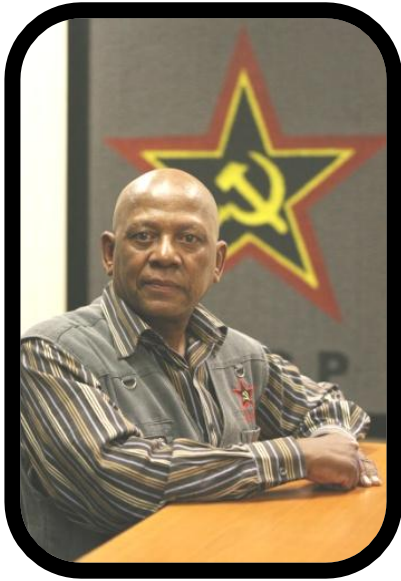
**Issued 26<sup>th</sup> February 2017**



## SECHABA 'CHARLES' SETSUBI

(15<sup>th</sup> January 1948 – 9<sup>th</sup> March 2018)

*Obituary released by the South African Communist Party*



The South African Communist Party expresses its heartfelt condolences to the family of Sechaba Aloys Cosmas 'Charles' Setsubi, the Party's Central Committee and Political Bureau Member, a veteran of our struggle for liberation and social emancipation. Sechaba Setsubi, 70, who was born on 15<sup>th</sup> January 1948, passed away in the early hours of Monday, 12<sup>th</sup> March after he was admitted two days earlier, on Friday 9<sup>th</sup> March at Leratong Hospital in Kagiso, West Rand. Charles Setsubi, as he was fondly known within the ranks of the SACP and the ANC-headed liberation alliance by his combat name, which was his younger brother's real name, and which frustrated the efforts of the apartheid

regime to arrest him, was a full-time professional revolutionary.

The SACP lowers its red flag to half mast in honour of this finest revolutionary, a long standing member of the Party and one of the most experienced stalwarts of our struggle against apartheid, the struggle for liberation and complete social emancipation. Comrade Charles was first elected to the SACP Central Committee at the 11<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Party held in 2002. He served as SACP Central Committee Member with outstanding dedication since 2002 and was successively re-elected at the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> Congresses of the Party held in 2007, 2012 and 2017 respectively. He was deployed to serve as one of the full-time Central Committee members from 2011, specialising in political education and ideological training.

Setsubi started as an active underground functionary of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1970 while a student at the University Fort Hare and left to exile five years later in 1975. He accumulated ideological, political and military knowledge, experience and capacity since then, as well as professional education. He received intensive, extensive and specialised training and education in the spheres of class ideology, politics and military art and science in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) between 1975 and 1976. He was later deployed under the joint SACP and ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) inside South Africa to establish revolutionary underground cells behind the enemy lines. He performed this task between 1977 and 1979 while also based in exile in Lesotho.

He was a functionary of the MK Military High Command and was deployed between 1979 and 1989 as a Senior Staff Officer at Military Headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, where he also served as an MK Military Intelligence Officer. Between 1990 and 1992 Comrade Charles served as an ANC Military Attaché in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Through the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) he facilitated education and regular army training of MK personnel in various arms services and operations in different sympathetic countries. He worked with and under the leadership of many outstanding stalwarts of our struggle for liberation and social emancipation, such as Chris Hani, former General Secretary of the SACP and Chief of Staff of the MK.

Comrade Charles was fluent in Russian and completed his Master of Arts in Political Science in 1982–1984 at the Lenin Party School, also known as the International Institute for Social Sciences in Moscow in the USSR; Advanced Diploma in Education in 1992–1993 and Master in Education in 1993–1994 at the Institute of Education, University of London, United Kingdom in 1993–1994; Civil Service Management (Short Course) at Oxford Brookes University, United Kingdom in 1994; Diploma in Education from the University of Fort Hare in the early 1970s. Comrade Charles left an important legacy of a good leadership example to the youth of South Africa in the sphere of education and training.

Post-1994 he served in various roles in his continued service to the people, Chief of Staff in the Office of MEC for Sports, Arts and Culture in North West Province in 2010; Delegated Authority of the Special Pensions of the National Treasury and Head of Adjudication in 2008-2009; Head of Special Pensions Unit in 2001-2003; Manager of the Centre for Research and Community Development in 1997-2000 and Co-ordinator of Student Internship at the University of Natal, Durban Campus in 1995-1997.

He offered his services in international solidarity to comrades in different countries elsewhere in the world and in the African continent, including to our comrades struggling for democracy in Swaziland.

The SACP will continue and deepen the course of our second radical phase of the national democratic revolution and struggle for socialism where the finest revolutionary who dedicated his life to the achievement of complete liberation and universal emancipation has left.

#### **Statement by the SACP, 12<sup>th</sup> March 2018**

*To this the ZCP can add that Comrade Charles was also a friend to the Zimbabwe Communist Party from the beginning. Prior to the foundation of the ZCP, from the time when “Philosophy and Class Struggle” was published under ZimCom Publishers with the assistance of the SACP in 2010, Comrade Charles took a keen interest. When the Zimbabwe Communist League was formed in September 2011, he also gave his support. The founding of ZAPU (17<sup>th</sup> December 1961) came only one day after the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe (16<sup>th</sup> December 1961) making it impossible to attend the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of both organisations, but Comrade Charles, a senior MK cadre, attended the ZAPU celebrations on behalf of the SACP. Here it must be remembered that the close bond between MK and ZIPRA is written in the blood of our martyrs.*

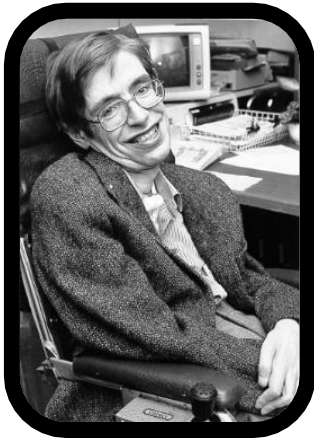
#### **Hamba Kahle, Comrade Charles, Famba Zvakanaka**



## STEPHEN WILLIAM HAWKING

(8<sup>th</sup> January 1942 – 14<sup>th</sup> March 2018)

*Some with a narrow view of communism will wonder why we include an obituary for a famous scientist in a political publication. The scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin concerns far more than a revolutionary political programme. The underlying philosophy of dialectical materialism considers the world as a whole. It is a complete philosophy of the universe that we live in — not only a critique of human society which is itself a product of nature. Marx, Engels and Lenin kept up-to-date with the latest scientific discoveries of their day and valued the work of Darwin and Huxley among others. While Marx was writing “Capital”, Engels, as part of the division of labour between the two founding geniuses of our movement wrote “Dialectics of Nature”. Lenin in his day wrote “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism” in which he discusses the latest scientific discoveries of his day. But though the Marxist ideology is complete in one sense, in another sense it is incomplete and always will be. Thus our scientific ideology and the concepts that come from it will always be tested through experience and observation. Or as Lenin puts it “incomplete, inexact knowledge will become more exact, more complete.”*



Stephen William Hawking was born on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1942 in Oxford, England exactly 300 years after the death of Italian scientist and astronomer Galileo. His father was a medical researcher with a degree from University College, Oxford; his mother had a degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics. he was one of four children.

Brilliant even as a child, Stephen Hawking won a scholarship to University College Oxford in 1959 at the age of 17. Stephen wanted to study mathematics although his father wanted him to follow his footsteps and study medicine. As mathematics was not available at University College, he studied physics instead. After three years he was awarded a first class honours degree in natural science.

In October 1962, Stephen arrived at the Department of Applied Mathematics and Theoretical Physics (DAMTP) at the University of Cambridge to do research in cosmology.

At that time there was much debate in the physics community about the origin of the Universe, in particular the “Big Bang” and “Steady State” theories. Inspired by Roger Penrose’s theorem of a space-time singularity in the centre of black holes, Hawking applied the same thinking to the entire Universe; and, during 1965, he wrote his thesis, *Properties of Expanding Universes* following which he received his PhD in applied mathematics and theoretical physics, specialising in general relativity and cosmology, in March 1966 his essay *Singularities and the Geometry of Space-Time* shared top honours with one by Penrose to win that year’s prestigious Adams Prize.

Over the years, Hawking’s work led to the general acceptance of the Big Bang theory over the Steady State theory. He also showed that, as opposed to earlier conjectures, matter could leak out of black holes and that black holes would eventually collapse. He spent a great deal of time and effort reconciling the General Theory of Relativity which deals with the largest things in the Universe to Quantum Mechanics which deals with the smallest things, working towards a General Theory of the Universe — there are discrepancies between the theories.

Stephen Hawking is perhaps most famous for his book *A Brief History of Time* first written in 1984 then updated in 1992. It attempts to explain the basics of modern physics to ordinary people and thus bridge the vast gulf between what science knows about the Universe and the understanding of most people about the world they live in. The book became a best-seller when it was published, still remains very popular and has been translated into many languages.

In 1963, at the age of 21, Stephen Hawking was diagnosed with motor-neuron disease (also known as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), or Lou Gehrig's disease) that gradually paralysed him; doctors gave him two years to live. By the late 1960s he began to use crutches and eventually a wheelchair. His speech deteriorated, and by the late 1970s he could be understood by only his family and closest friends. To communicate with others, he would need someone to interpret for him, including when he gave lectures at university. Both his body and his speech continued to deteriorate. In 1986 he received a computer programme called the 'Equalizer' developed by Walter Wolosz, whose mother-in-law, who also suffered from ALS and had lost her ability to speak and write. Hawking could now simply press a switch to select phrases, words or letters from a bank of about 2,500 – 3,000. These words were then translated into speech by a voice synthesiser. Originally, Hawking activated a switch using his hand and could produce up to 15 words a minute. He gradually lost the use of his hand, and in 2005 he began to control his communication device with movements of his cheek muscles, with a rate of about one word per minute. With this decline there was a risk of his developing **locked-in syndrome** — being able to think but unable to communicate. A new programme was developed which could translate his brain patterns or facial expressions into switch activations. Near the end of his life, he experienced increased breathing difficulties, often requiring a ventilator.

Politically, Stephen Hawking was progressive. He consistently opposed the privatisation of medicine in Britain and elsewhere and championed the rights of people with disabilities. As a young man he opposed the US war on Vietnam and referred to the invasion of Iraq as a "war crime". Quite recently he refused to take part in a lecture tour of Zionist Israel. But what worried him most was climate change. He said, "Climate change is one of the great dangers we face, and it's one we can prevent if we act now. By denying the evidence for climate change, and pulling out of the Paris Climate Agreement, Donald Trump will cause avoidable environmental damage to our beautiful planet, endangering the natural world, for us and our children," further stating that this could lead Earth "to become like Venus, with a temperature of two hundred and fifty degrees, and raining sulphuric acid."

*Acknowledgement to Wikipedia for most of the information in this obituary.*

*"A Brief History of Time" is available online through [ipbeddowes@gmail.com](mailto:ipbeddowes@gmail.com)*

## **WINNIE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA** (26<sup>th</sup> September 1936 – 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2018)

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was born Nomzamo Winifred Zanyiwe in Mbizana, Pondoland, Eastern Cape on 26<sup>th</sup> September 1936 to Columbus Kokani Madikizela and his wife Gertrude Nomathamsanqa Madikizela, both of whom were teachers. She came from a family of 9 children — 6 girls and 3 boys.

As a young adult, she moved to Johannesburg and became the first qualified black medical social worker at Soweto's Baragwanath Hospital. Research into infant mortality rates in Johannesburg's Alexandra township, as well as other experiences of apartheid South Africa, drew her into political activism.



On 14<sup>th</sup> June 1958, Nomzamo Winnie Madikizela married Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela with whom she had two daughters, Zenani and Zindiswa. Their early married life was turbulent; peppered with constant police raids, African National Congress (ANC) meetings, protest actions and legal cases.

In October 1958, Winnie took part in a mass women's protest against the apartheid government's infamous pass laws organised by Lilian Ngoyi, Albertina Sisulu and others. During the protest, the police arrested over 1,000 women including Winnie who spent two weeks in prison.

She then played a leading role in the "We Stand by Our Leaders" campaign in support of the Treason Trialists of 1956-1961 arrested for their part in the organisation of the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955 and the adoption of the Freedom Charter there. She became close to Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph, two of the leading women accused in the Treason Trial.

From 1961 she was subjected to an almost uninterrupted series of legal orders that curbed her ability to work and to socialise. In 1962 Nelson Mandela was imprisoned only to be released in 1990. Winnie herself was constantly harassed and bullied, and her children targeted. In 1962 she was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, during which time she was restricted to Orlando West, Soweto; this restricted her movements to the magisterial district of Johannesburg, prohibited her from entering any educational premises and barred her from attending or addressing any meetings or gatherings where more than two people were present. Nevertheless, she worked clandestinely for the ANC, attending meetings, printing and distributing leaflets. In 1965 a more severe banning order barred her from moving anywhere beyond Orlando West; this caused her to lose her job as a social worker.

On the night of 12<sup>th</sup> May 1969, Winnie and her children were subjected to a police raid. The police tore her away from her children and she was detained in solitary confinement for 491 days (17 months) under the Terrorism Act of 1967. As soon as she was released in 1970, she was given another more stringent banning order, severely restricting her movements. Despite this, she managed to visit her husband on Robben Island, for 30 minutes.

In May 1973, she was arrested again and given a 12-month sentence at Kroonstad Women's Prison. She was released after six months — surprisingly, her banning order was not renewed.



In May 1976, Winnie Mandela worked with Dr Nthato Motlana to establish the Soweto Parents' Association. When the Soweto Uprising of 11<sup>th</sup> June 1976 took place, suddenly their hands became full of the parents of the youths who had been arrested, injured or killed during the protest. Very soon after, Winnie was held in custody for five months without charge and in January 1977, she was served with a fresh banning order that exiled her to Brandfort in the Free State, an area in which the main language was Sotho, a language which she did not understand. Her banishment to Brandfort backfired: while there, she established a gardening collective, soup kitchen, mobile health unit, sewing club, day-care centre, and an orphan and juvenile centre, winning her the love and respect of the local people,

Eventually in 1986, Winnie Mandela was allowed to return to her house in Vilakazi Street, Soweto from where she took on an increasingly prominent role in the struggle against apartheid.

In 1990, Winnie's husband Nelson Mandela was released from prison; however, in 1992 they separated and were divorced in 1996. Due to their different experiences, they developed opposing political attitudes within the movement. Nelson had time to contemplate in prison while Winnie was subjected to brutal mental, physical and sometimes sexual abuse — these different experiences led to Nelson Mandela's reconciliatory political approach, often too conciliatory, and to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's uncompromising attitude and sometimes erratic behaviour.

From 1993 until 2003, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was President of the ANC Women's League. She served briefly as the Deputy Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in 1994.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela wrote two books: *Part of My Soul* (1984) and *491 Days: Prisoner number 1323/69* (2013). She is survived by two daughters, 8 grandchildren and 11 great-grandchildren.



COMRADE WINNIE BEING MANHANDLED BY A UNIFORMED TERROR SQUAD OF THE APARTHEID REGIME

## WE WANT YOUR ARTICLES AND YOUR LETTERS!

We need reports from ZCP structures, from vendor organisations, trade unions, community organisations and all progressive organisations which serve the people. We also need contributions from individuals.

Do not be afraid if you cannot write good English! If the content of the piece is good, we will deal with that. We also need contributions in Shona and Ndebele. If you write in any Zimbabwean language other than Shona, Ndebele or English, please attach an English translation, we will publish in all our languages and dialects.

Please email to [ipbeddowes@gmail](mailto:ipbeddowes@gmail.com)

**Editor**

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## AVAILABLE LITERATURE

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Vanguard Vol.2 Issue 4    National Economic Dialogue

ZCP Constitution

Why Socialism? *Introductory booklet*

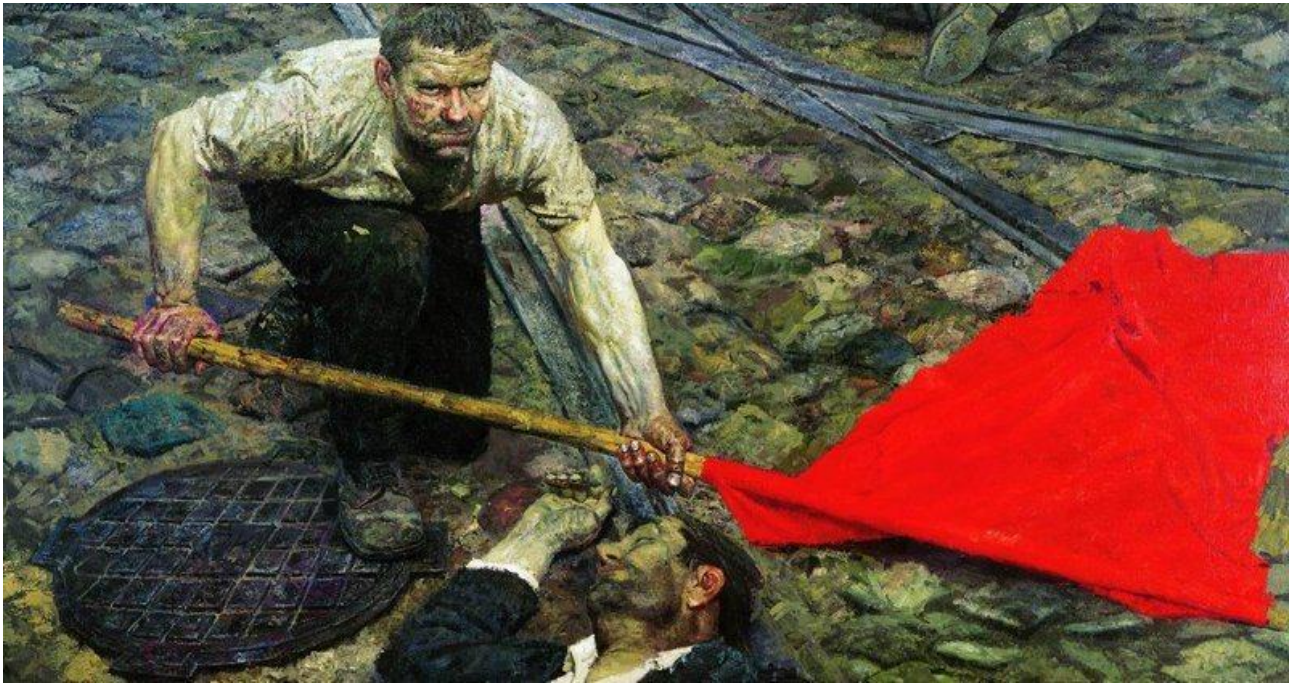
Principles of Communist Organization

Philosophy and Class Struggle by John Hoffman (Dialego)

Manifesto of the Communist Party by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State by Frederick Engels

The Foundations of Leninism by J.V. Stalin



**From:**  
**How the Steel**  
**was Tempered**  
**(1934)**



*Man's dearest possession is life. It is given to him but once, and he must live it so as to feel no torturing regrets for wasted years, never know the burning shame of a mean and petty past; so live that, dying, he might say: all my life, all my strength were given to the finest cause in all the world—the fight for the Liberation of Mankind.*

*by Nikolai Ostrovsky (1904-1936)*