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## The key speeches of the summit

### Fidel Castro: 'no revolutionary has the right to be a coward'

*Following are excerpts from Cuban President Fidel Castro's keynote speech to the Sixth Summit of Nonaligned Nations in Havana, Sept. 3. Subheads have been added.*

Your Excellencies, Guests, Comrades: I would like to ask that the first moments of this solemn event be dedicated to the memory of a beloved friend whom we all admired, a hero of his country's liberation and revolution, a man who guided the Algiers Summit Conference brilliantly in 1973 and who did much for the strength and prestige of the Nonaligned Movement, the late President of Algeria, Houari Boumedienne. ...

Ninety-four states and liberation movements are represented here as full members of this 6th Summit Conference. This Summit Conference is, therefore, the one with the largest attendance and with the greatest number of nonaligned and national liberation movement leaders ever held. ... All efforts to sabotage the Havana Summit Conference have proved futile. All pressures, hectic diplomatic efforts and intrigues to prevent this Conference from being held in our country were in vain.

The Yankee imperialists and their old and new allies—in this case I refer to the Chinese government—didn't want this Conference to be held in Cuba. They also engaged in dirty scheming, saying that Cuba would turn the Movement of Nonaligned Countries into a tool of Soviet policy. We know only too well that the U.S. government even got hold of a copy of the final draft declaration, drawn up by Cuba, and made feverish diplomatic contacts in an effort to modify it. We have irrefutable proof of this. ...

Since when does the United States have the right to involve itself in the Nonaligned Movement and decide how our documents should be drawn up?

What is the reason for the reactionary opposition to

Cuba? ... It is all too well known—and has been admitted and officially published in the United States—that the authorities of that country spent years organizing and methodically plotting to assassinate the leaders of the Cuban Revolution, using the most sophisticated means of conspiracy and crime. ... The U.S. government has not yet deigned to give any kind of apology for those vituperative and uncivilized actions.

The true measure of a revolutionary people—the unblemished conduct of a country that cannot be bribed, bought or intimidated—is given by the imperialists' hatred.

#### **International relations**

In our international relations, we express solidarity with deeds, not fine words. Cuban technicians are now working in 28 countries that belong to our Movement. In the vast majority of those countries, because of their economic limitations, that cooperation is provided without charge, in spite of our own difficulties. Right now, Cuba has twice as many doctors serving abroad as does the U.N. World Health Organization.

Noble, self-sacrificing Cubans have died thousands of miles from home while supporting liberation movements, defending other peoples' just causes and fighting against the expansionism of the South African racists and other forms of imperialist attacks on human dignity and the integrity and independence of sister nations. They express the purity, selflessness, solidarity and internationalist consciousness that the Revolution has forged among our people.

What charges can be brought against Cuba? That it is a socialist country? Yes, it is a socialist country, but we don't impose our ideology or our system on anyone, either inside or outside the Movement, and being socialist is nothing to be ashamed of. That we had a radical revolution in Cuba? Yes, we are radical revolutionaries, but we don't try to impose our radicalism on anyone, much less on the Nonaligned Movement.

That we maintain fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist community? Yes, we are friends of the Soviet Union. We are very grateful to the Soviet people, because their generous cooperation helped us to survive and overcome some very difficult and decisive periods in our people's life, when we were even in danger of being wiped out. No people has the right to be ungrateful. We are grateful to the glorious October Revolution because it ushered in a new era in

human history, made it possible to defeat fascism and created a world situation in which the peoples' self-sacrificing struggle led to the downfall of the hateful colonial system. To ignore that is to ignore history itself....

I wonder whether the United States or any other NATO country has ever helped a single liberation movement anywhere in the world....

If membership in the Nonaligned Movement depended on betraying our deepest ideas and convictions, it would not be honorable for me or for any of you to belong to it. No revolutionary has the right to be a coward.

There are some who have made an art of opportunism. We Cuban revolutionaries are not and never will be opportunists. We know how to sacrifice our own national economic interests whenever necessary to defend a just principle or an honorable political position. We Cubans will never renege on what we said yesterday, nor will we say one thing today and do something else tomorrow....

We have worked tirelessly to create the material and political conditions to make this event a success. We have respected and we will continue to totally respect the rights of all members of the Movement. We have fully and scrupulously fulfilled our duties as host country and will continue to do so. ... We will work with all member countries—without exception—to achieve our aims and to implement the agreements that are adopted. We will be patient, prudent, flexible, calm. Cuba will observe these norms throughout the years in which it presides over the Movement. I declare this categorically.

We have grown and advanced. ... Vietnam is united and free after 30 years of extraordinary and admirable struggle. The Shah is no longer the Shah. CENTO no longer exists; Somoza is no longer in power; and the fascist Gairy no longer rules tiny heroic Grenada. These are unquestionable victories for independence, progress and freedom. Our causes triumph because they are just!...

First of all, I refer to the long-suffering, courageous Palestinian people. No more brutal pillage of a people's rights to peace and existence has occurred in this century. Please understand that we are not fanatics. The revolutionary movement has always learned to hate racial discrimination and pogroms of any kind. From the bottom of our heart, we repudiated the merciless persecution and genocide that the Nazis once visited on the Jews, but there's nothing in recent history that parallels it more than the dispossession, persecution and genocide that imperialism and Zionism are currently practicing against the Palestinian people....

Imperialism has sought to impose its own peace, using betrayal and division. An armed, dirty, unjust, bloody peace will never be a true peace.

The Camp David agreement is a flagrant betrayal

of the Arab cause and of the Palestinian, Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian—all the Arab peoples, including the Egyptians....

International policy should be ethical. The Movement of Nonaligned Countries should roundly denounce the Camp David agreement. Moral censure, at least, is essential. ...

### **Southeast Asia**

Cuba's position on the problems in Southeast Asia is crystal clear. For our people, Vietnam is sacred. We once swore that we were willing to die for Vietnam....

What right does China have to teach Vietnam a lesson, invade its territory, destroy its modest wealth and murder thousands of its people? The Chinese ruling clique that supported Pinochet against Allende, that supported South Africa's aggression against Angola, that supported the Shah, that supported Somoza, that supports and supplies weapons to Sadat, that justifies the Yankee blockade against Cuba and the continued existence of the naval base at Guantánamo, that defends NATO and sides with the United States and the most reactionary forces of Europe and the rest of the world, has neither the prestige nor the moral standing to teach anybody a lesson....

Cuba's position on the problem of Kampuchea is known. We recognize the only real, legitimate government of Kampuchea, which is the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and we endorse Vietnam's solidarity with that fraternal country. People keep saying that Vietnam sent fighters to support the Kampuchean revolutionaries. Why don't they say that the bloody clique that had seized control of the country, in complicity with China and imperialism, provoked and attacked Vietnam first and that there is indisputable documentary proof of mass murders perpetrated against Vietnamese men, women, old people and children?

With all our energy, we condemn the genocidal government of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Three million dead accuse them....

Nevertheless, Cuba, mindful of its obligations as host country, offered the facilities for both parties to be present in Havana until the Movement comes to a decision in this regard....

The new Nicaragua requires maximum cooperation from the international community for the reconstruction of the country, which was destroyed by nearly half a century of the Somoza dynasty, spawned by the Yankee Marines. It is only right that we give it our solidarity.

### **Nonaligned goals**

We do not support the thesis that a world nuclear war is inevitable. That fatalistic, irresponsible attitude is the surest path to the annihilation of mankind in a universal

holocaust. Never before has mankind had that technological possibility. We cannot be so stupid as to ignore it. For the first time in history our generation has had to confront these risks....

We must demand peace, détente, peaceful coexistence and disarmament. We must demand and win them, because they will not come about by spontaneous generation, and there is no alternative in today's world, if we are to preserve the very existence of mankind.

We must encourage every step that leads along this path. Therefore, we should welcome the SALT II agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States and the future steps that are promised in this field....

More than \$300 billion a year is spent on arms and other military expenditures throughout the world, according to statistical publications, and this figure may be a conservative one. ... \$300 billion could build 600,000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million children; or 60 million comfortable homes, for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals, with 18 million beds; or 20,000 with jobs for more than 20 million workers; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land—that, with the application of technology, could feed a billion people. Mankind wastes this much every year on military spending. Moreover, consider the enormous quantities of young human resources, scientific resources, technicians, fuel, raw materials and other items. This is the fabulous price of preventing a true climate of confidence and peace from existing in the world.

These questions lead us directly to the topic of economics. More and more statesmen and leaders in our Movement are stating the need to place this matter at the center of our concerns. You are statesmen who wrestle every day with the knotty economic questions of your countries....

Progressive governments that are making a noble effort to develop and increase the well-being of their countries are overwhelmed and may even be wiped out by economic difficulties and unfair, unpopular conditions imposed by the international credit agencies. What political price haven't many of you had to pay because of the rules laid down by the International Monetary Fund? We Cubans, who were excluded from that institution because of an imperialist dictate, aren't quite sure whether that exclusion was a punishment or a privilege....

One of the most acute problems facing the non-oil-producing underdeveloped countries—the vast majority of the members of our Movement—is the energy crisis. The oil-exporting countries—all of which are in the underdeveloped world and almost all of which belong to the Movement of Nonaligned Countries—have always been supported by the rest of our countries in their just demands for the revaluation of their product and an end to unequal terms of trade and the wasting of energy....

We appeal to the sense of responsibility of the large oil-exporting countries in our Movement, asking them to strike out courageously, firmly and boldly in implementing a wise and farsighted policy of economic cooperation, supplies and investments in our underdeveloped world, because their future depends on ours.

I am not asking you to sacrifice your legitimate interests; I am not asking you to stop all-out efforts to develop and raise the well-being of your own peoples; I am not asking you to stop trying to safeguard your future. I am inviting you to join us and to close ranks with us and struggle together for a real new international economic order whose benefits will extend to all.

No money can purchase the future, because the future lies in justice, in our consciences and in the honest and fraternal solidarity of our peoples....

Those of us meeting here represent the vast majority of the peoples of the world. Let us close ranks and unite the growing forces of our vigorous Movement in the United Nations and in all other international forums to demand economic justice for our peoples and an end to foreign control over our resources and the theft of our labor. ... May a firm determination to struggle and concrete plans of action come out of this 6th Summit Conference: deeds, not just words.

Perhaps this speech inaugurating this conference has been somewhat undiplomatic, not quite in line with protocol, but no one should doubt the complete loyalty with which I have spoken. Thank you.

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## Jamaica's Manley: 'Nonalignment is not neutrality'

*Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley lashed out and the International Monetary Fund, and strongly defended the stance assumed by Cuban President Castro, in his Sept. 4 address to the Nonaligned Summit. Following are excerpts (subheads added).*

...History, Comrade President, occasionally produces Movements and Men which together provide the impulse and the inspiration for great processes of change. Such Movements and such Men are at once catalyst and rock: catalyst, because it is hard to imagine how the change could have taken place without them; rock because they seem to provide a foundation on which new structures can be built.

When we think of the Nonaligned Movement, we think of President Tito as catalyst and rock. So, too, were Nasser, Nehru and Sukarno. We think of the early impulses of racial pride, self-awareness and self-confidence which were the prerequisites of African freedom, and we know that Jamaica's Marcus Mosiah Garvey was the catalyst and the rock. No man speaks of African Independence and forgets Kwame Nkrumah as catalyst and rock.

We may claim to be Communist or Socialist, or Humanist or simply progressive. But all anti-imperialists know that the balance of forces in the world shifted irrevocably in 1917 when there was a Movement and a Man in the October Revolution and Lenin: Catalyst and rock....

We have seen forces of progress extinguished in Guatemala, snuffed out like a candle in the Dominican Republic, undermined and finally overwhelmed in Chile; and yet I dare to assert that, despite these tragic reversals, the forces committed to the struggle against imperialism are stronger today than ever before. We believe that this is so because our hemisphere has had a Movement and a Man: a catalyst and a rock: and the Movement is the Cuban Revolution, and the Man is Fidel Castro....

Those among the developed countries who seek to malign you and your country as a surrogate acting upon foreign orders, mistake the Cuban Revolution, mistake the Nonaligned Movement, and above all, they mistake the man—Fidel Castro....

We who are here know that the balance of power and opportunity was altered positively and irrevocably in Africa during those fateful days when Cuban Comrades helped their African brothers to inflict the first military defeat upon the racist army of South Africa in Angola! We know the agony of decision through which you had to pass before committing your brave sons to struggle and even die in a faraway land. On that act alone you, your people, your revolution and the martyrs who died have written an epic chapter in the history of freedom. Our presence here this week is the answer to those who have tried to use your courage as the means to divide our Movement. ...

#### **Role of the Nonaligned Movement**

But there are some who ... contend that Nonalignment should mean neutrality regardless of circumstances. No one believes that nonsense in this room, I am sure...

If one of our members, or the Movement as a whole, takes a position which coincides with a position taken by, for example, the Socialist Group, it is claimed that we are surrogates of "Socialist bloc power." Nothing could be further from the truth. When that occurs we are glad that somebody else shares our view. Let the countries of the developed world understand that we will not change our view so as to avoid a coincidence of view with the Socialist world, or any part of the

world. And for those who are concerned about the fact that there are increasing examples of a coincidence of view between the Nonaligned Movement and, say, the Socialist Group about matters like liberation struggles, the matter can be simply remedied by the developed countries changing their position and joining us in what would then become a true international consensus! And, certainly, we welcome all occasions when our views do coincide with those of the developed countries: our only regret is that this seems to happen so seldom....

Let me state publicly the repugnance to Jamaica of the bloody, genocidal practices of the fallen Pol Pot regime. On the facts now known to us there can be no justification for further withholding recognition from the Heng Samrin government.

We now have very clear ideas about the problems of conditionality in the International Monetary Fund and a painful awareness of how inadequate is the foreign exchange it can make available even when its terms of conditionality have been met. I believe I can say that there are few countries in the world which know more about this problem than Jamaica....

Our technicians know how significant change might be achieved. And yet on no front is there significant progress! Clearly, that infinitely complex structure of interlocking corporate power that largely runs and controls the bulk of the world's economic system is presently beyond either the will or the capacity for control of the political leadership of the developed world.

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## Tito: Nonaligned must maintain equidistance

*Following are excerpts from Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito's address to the Sixth Conference of Nonaligned countries.*

Recalling the days of the emergence of nonalignment I can say that we were then and are today fully aware that the struggle for national, political and economic emancipation is an imperative. The cold war which threatened to engulf the whole world and to jeopardize its very existence, clearly showed bloc policy to be sharply at odds with the interests and aspirations of mankind.

We have never equated the blocs, either in terms of

the time when they were founded or on the basis of any other characteristics. We have from the very outset been consistently opposed to bloc policies and foreign domination, to all forms of political and economic hegemony, and in favor of the right of each and every country to freedom, independence and autonomous development. We have never consented to be anyone's rubber stamp or reserve, as this is incompatible with the essence of the policy of nonalignment....

In a word, the period of time which has elapsed since the Belgrade Conference gives us the right to say that, without the policy of nonalignment, the world would present quite a different image, and worse might have come to worst. As a matter of fact, the trend towards total bloc division and further fanning of the cold war would unavoidably have brought us to the brink of catastrophe....

In the Middle East, Israeli aggression and occupation of the territories of Arab countries persists, in insolent defiance of the fundamental principles of the international legal order inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations. For years, the Arab people of Palestine have been prevented from exercising their legitimate rights. And the Palestinian question is the crux of the Middle East crisis. Unless it is solved, there can be no just peace or lasting security in the whole region, and beyond. If we wish to be realistic, we must openly say that the road of separate solutions does not lead in that direction....

We are also very worried by the worsening of the crisis in Southeast Asia, by the outbreak of armed conflicts and the use of force in dealing with existing disputes. This endangers the security and independence of the peoples of that region and holds the threat of wider conflicts.

Above all, we must not reconcile ourselves to the imposition of foreign will on peoples by military interventions. Such behavior is totally incompatible with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the policy of nonalignment. Thus, here again, we see a way out of the crisis in the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other countries and in respect for the independence, security and peaceful development of all countries in that region....

The nonaligned countries attach great importance to the process of relaxation of tensions in international relations, which they also consider to be in their own vital interest. Regrettably, this process is not a stable one and is attended by great hardships. Moreover, it is in a state of serious stagnation. Its main weakness lies in the fact that it is still limited by bloc interests. And that breeds the danger of new confrontations with unpredictable consequences. The policy of relaxation of tensions must not serve anyone as a foothold for exerting pressure on any country whatsoever. It must not be pursued at the expense of third parties....

However, while our policy has asserted itself and

our movement has strengthened, we have also been confronted with certain difficulties. Some are the legacy of the past or the outcome of different conditions of development. Others stem from foreign influences and diverse orientations, and this is apt to generate the danger of divisions in the movement. ....

Our movement is turned towards the key problems of the present-day world—to the problems of peace, security, development and general progress. It expresses the essential interests of all mankind, and not only of one part of it. Its historical responsibility is therefore so much the greater. It is the responsibility of all of us. We must always bear in mind all that we have in common, all that unifies us. We must strive against everything that divides us and resist all attempts to insinuate alien interests into our ranks.

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## Singapore's Foreign Minister calls for a second Cold War

*Following are excerpts of the speech delivered by S. Rajaratnam, minister for foreign affairs of the Republic of Singapore, to the Sixth Conference of the Nonaligned Countries.*

We have before us a request for the expulsion of Democratic Kampuchea. ... Those who are making this demand for expulsion have other objectives in mind than strengthening the cause of nonalignment.

It is my contention that the Kampuchean issue is something more than a military squabble between two member states. It may be presented as such but if you consider it against the background of the second Cold War which has emerged out of the ashes of the first, the Kampuchean issue can be seen as the start of an attempt, as in the First Cold War, to align the Nonaligned countries in great power conflicts. If the Kampuchean issue has, as I outlined it, manifested some odd features, they were the consequences of trying to conceal from us the fact that we are being maneuvered into alignment in the New Cold War.

The Nonaligned Movement is the product of two major international issues the world faced at the conclusion of the Second World War—anti-imperialism and the ideological Cold War between the Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union and the capitalist bloc led by the United States.

The war in Indochina and the Kampuchean issue should therefore be seen in the context of the rivalry between the People's Republic of China and the Soviets. It has very little to do with the nature of the Pol Pot regime or with that of the Heng Samrin regime. The war in Indochina is basically a great power proxy war. The Kampuchean question which is now before this Conference is an attempt to align this Movement in this second Cold War.

We all know that Democratic Kampuchea is not aligned to any power bloc. The aggressor is.

We know that Democratic Kampuchea has not sent occupation armies invited or otherwise, into another country. The aggressor has.

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## Zambia's Kaunda: we need western capital to develop

*Following are excerpts from the address given by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to the Sixth Conference of Nonaligned Countries. Kaunda addressed the heads of state summit on Sept. 7.*

Comrade Chairman,

When I was given the opportunity to move a vote of thanks I said among other things, that the Sixth Nonaligned Summit was being held in an extraordinary country with an extraordinary people led by an extraordinary man. Indeed, this is as it should be. All men and women the world over get the leaders they deserve. In the words of Comrade Castro himself, "Leaders do not shape peoples: it is the peoples that shape their leaders." The Cuban people are indeed extraordinary for choosing him and for rallying and closing ranks solidly behind him. Comrade Castro is indeed an extraordinary man leading an extraordinary people.

We in Zambia are not against International Capital. Indeed, we want it. We need it to develop our people so that they can realize their full potential as God's people. But we do not want exploitative international capital, capital that comes to destroy and not construct. The same international capital that enslaved us, plundered our wealth, is the capital that today enslaves the great

people of Chile. It is the capital behind the ever-exploding volcano of the Middle East, leaving a trail of death and destruction in Lebanon! Yes, it leaves a trail of fear, hatred, division and death in Cyprus. It is the capital that propped up the regime of Eric Gary, Idi Amin, Battista, Nguema and is today the capital propping up the savage regime of Bokassa of the so-called Central African Empire. Yes, it is the capital that props up the rebel regime in Salisbury, and the minority racist regime of South Africa in Namibia and South Africa. It is the ultimate force behind the Vietnam conflagration. It is the capital that punishes the weak like Cuba by total trade boycotts. It is the capital that imposes itself on the national naval or air bases of independent countries.

We want and indeed appeal to the developed countries of the West to understand that we need their capital to develop. But also that capital used to enslave us, to undermine our independence and prostitute our people, is a reincarnation of slavery. This is what happens every time that this capital is used to create areas of instability for the sake of furthering the economic interests of the strong. For so long as this capital is used to bolster the ambitions of the strong, for so long shall the Third World continue as an area of permanent friction and war. Our children do not want bullets: they want food. We do not want swords: we want plough shares. We cry for the weapons of progress. But alas, instead we get Trojan horses laden with weapons of death. The developed world pleads that it does not have the resources to help us develop ourselves. And yet how swift and forthcoming it is to create in our midst conditions of war.

We want peace because in our midst is a more primary infrastructure for progress than even the inflows of strictly economic and therefore acceptable capital. We welcome the agreement on SALT II between the United States and the Soviet Union because it offers the prospect of peace to the embattled human race. But the developed countries should remember that we too of the Third World are part of that quest for peace: that SALT II itself will fail unless the spirit of detente pervades the whole world. Development and the objective use of international capital are essential to that process of peace. It is because exploitative international capital is so basic to major conflagration that we in Zambia condemn it. We call for a major reform of these international capital institutions to make them agents of development and not fomenters of discord.

There is an obligation, nay a duty, for the developed world to help the developing world. The primary basis of that obligation lies in the law of morality alone. But if this is not sufficient, the developed countries have a self-interest in helping the developing countries.