

LSM NEWS

QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT

Volume 3, Issue 2. Summer 1976



**AN ARTIST'S GLIMPSE
OF REVOLUTIONARY CUBA**
also **Zimbabwe: Untangling the Web**

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LIBERATION SUPPORT MOVEMENT
Volume 3 Issue 2 Summer 1976

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Don Barnett: founder of LSM.

ABOUT LSM

Liberation Support Movement is a North American-based political organization whose understanding and practice flow from a Marxist analysis of contemporary capitalist society. It is our view that capitalist development over the past five centuries has culminated in an international socio-economic system comprised of dominant metropolitan nations and subordinate countryside nations. Within this imperialist system, economic surplus generated by the colonized and neocolonized peoples of the countryside is drained off and utilized by the ruling classes of the metropolitan nations of North America, Europe and Japan, thus leaving the countryside in a state of economic stagnation and underdevelopment. Backwardness and impoverishment in Asia, Africa and Latin America are but direct consequences of capitalist development in the metropolises.

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To the Reader

This issue of LSM NEWS focuses on revolutionary art and artists. LSM artist, Selma Waldman, has contributed "An Artist's Glimpse of Revolutionary Cuba," an article on her recent experiences in Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade of artists. She describes how the bourgeois conception of art as a means of "individual" expression, far removed from the "dirty" business of politics, has been negated in the Cuban revolutionary process and how art is being used to consolidate and advance the progress of the revolution. "Art in Cuba summons everyone, including the artists who produce it, to develop their political consciousness." As a socialist and an internationalist, Selma's interest in Cuba transcends the scope of art and artists, however. She was deeply inspired by the many manifestations of international solidarity the artists' brigade witnessed in Cuba. In discussing the internationalism of Cuba, she brings home the message that for North Americans as well "solidarity cannot be confined to mere words but must be made physical and concrete."

Also included in this issue is a brief life history of Selma Waldman. This short autobiography reveals the process whereby a North American artist of petty-bourgeois origin came to sympathize with the oppressed, and, eventually, to devote her artistic talents and energy to their struggles for liberation. Our purpose in publishing this story is not to place Selma, the individual, in the spotlight, romanticising her as a totally unique human being. In fact, we believe many North American "eccentrics" share the same inclinations and aspirations which led Selma to embrace the struggle for international socialism. Unfortunately, the majority have not benefited from experiences which would catalyze these sentiments into action. For these people, we hope Selma's life story will demonstrate that "class suicide" is a rewarding alternative to the alienating and dehumanized culture of imperialist North America.

We would like to express LSM's appreciation to those LSM NEWS readers who have provided their comments and criticisms on our journal. These critical remarks are extremely useful in helping us determine the course and content of LSM NEWS. We also want to urge those who haven't yet relayed their ideas on the journal to do so. If LSM NEWS is to be an effective tool of proletarian internationalism, we need your input.

An Artist's Glimpse of Revolutionary Cuba

by Selma Waldman, as told to LSM



Selma Waldman /LSM PHOTO

Selma Waldman is an artist who has produced revolutionary artwork for a wide variety of progressive struggles, including, in recent years, many LSM publications. In March of 1976 she was chosen to go to Cuba with a Venceremos Brigade composed of progressive artists. The Cubans wanted the artists' brigade to view the Cuban Revolution through its art, propaganda and culture. Selma feels she was chosen to go on the brigade because of her LSM work demonstrating proletarian internationalism for which the Cubans have great respect. Some of her work has, in fact, been reprinted in Tri-Continental Magazine, the periodical of the Havana-based Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL).

The artists' brigade was hosted by the Cuban Institute of Friendship with the Peoples of the World. Members of the brigade visited many workshops and institutions of culture, propaganda and



Selma Waldman: 5th Level schoolchildren, Cuba

communication as well as the national art school, Cubanacan. They visited the Institute of Cuban Films and the Department of Revolutionary Orientation (DOR), the most significant artistic design shop in Cuba. Through these

visits and numerous talks with Cubans from many social sectors, Selma was able to learn about the integration of art into Cuban socialist society. Shortly after her return to her home in Seattle, the following article for LSM NEWS was prepared from a taped discussion.

THE ROLE OF ART AND CULTURE IN CUBA

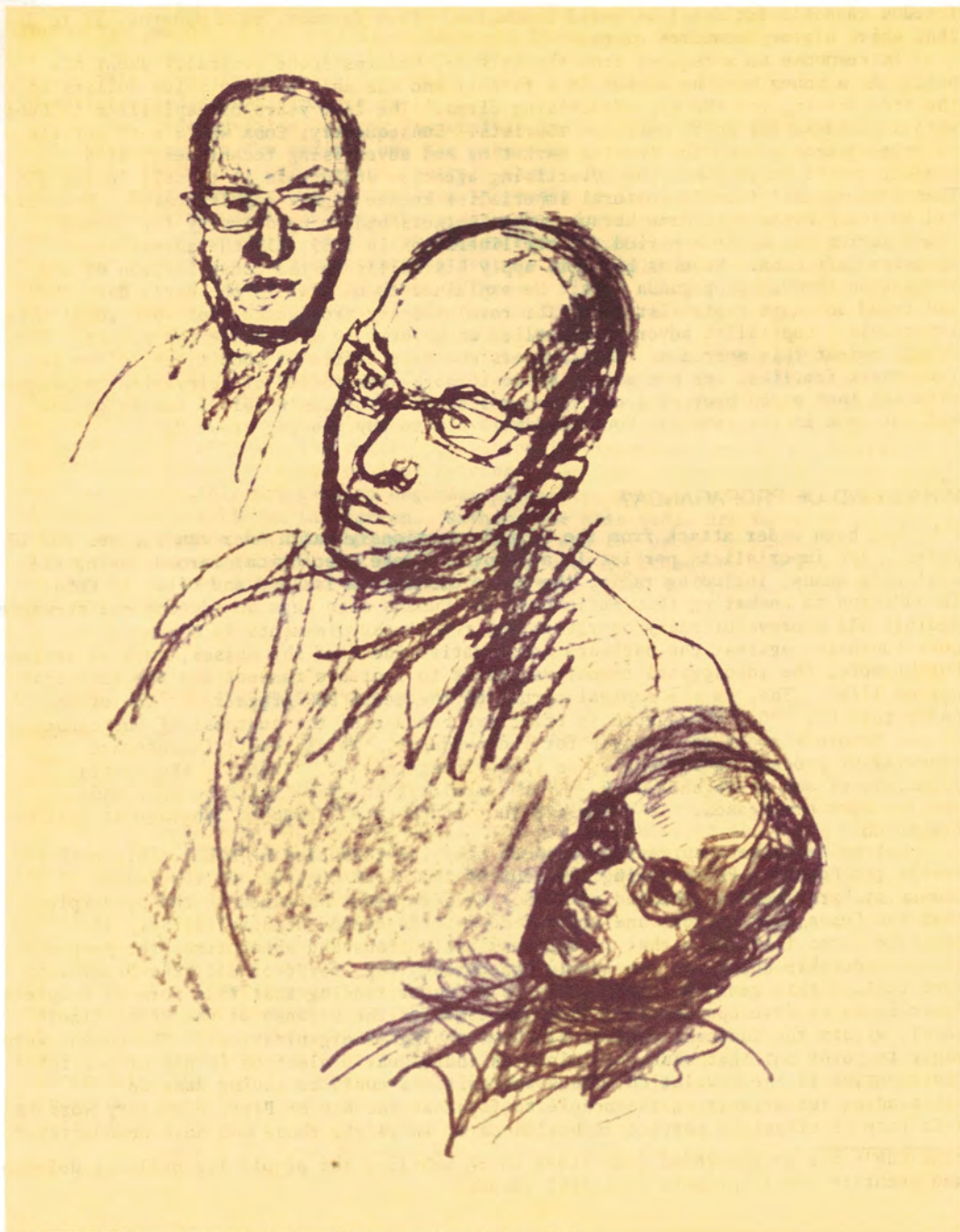
The role of art in Cuba is a very big question which, of course, I'm unable to deal with in its entirety. I did, however, get some idea of the social use of art in Cuba through our brigade's meetings with the DOR, the Department of Revolutionary Orientation - the most important ideological institution of the Cuban Revolution. We particularly discussed the necessity for direct communication and what the Cubans call the Propaganda Task. The DOR is the institution which maintains the entire structure of communications, mass media and the visual and plastic arts. The DOR receives its ideological leadership directly from the Cuban Communist Party and then translates these directives into messages for the entire population. Our meetings gave us an explanation of the Propaganda Task: how propaganda is disseminated, how it is structured, how it is oriented and how all the ideological and educational work done by radio, television, posters, billboards, murals and other forms is coordinated.

The specific function of the DOR is to translate the various educational and production campaigns into graphic language. The cadre or responsible who led our discussion said, "For us propaganda is a form of education which is first of all for the purpose of ideological orientation. It is a means of educating our cadres, preparing our militants and communicating with the people as a whole, for example on sugar production, on Angola or on the First Party Congress. The fulfillment of specific economic and political tasks is the basis of our propaganda work. Our work is based on Marxist-Leninist social analysis; and we make use of all the social sciences, including sociology and psychology, enriched with the experience of our own political struggle. The difference between our work and bourgeois propaganda is that our education is directed toward and for the workers. As the Propaganda Task is carried out, we increase our scientific knowledge and this is directly applied to developing socialist values among the workers in order to advance their social activity at many different levels, to develop the new human being. Now in general this task is the duty of each party member and of each Cuban revolutionary; every political organization should be oriented to revolutionary propaganda. But in DOR we have specialists who have skills in mass media."

On our second day of meetings at the Department, we met Rene Maderos, a very fine artist with an international reputation based in large part on a series of silkscreen posters he did while in Vietnam.* Some of these were reproduced by the North American Left, notably the one showing Ho Chi Minh reading on a river bank. Maderos told us that in Cuba there is a dictatorship of a small part of the world's proletariat. The artist's consciousness is a result of the liberation of the Cuban working classes and of the dictatorship of the peasants and workers. National liberation and proletarian dictatorship determine the social structure within which the artist exists. The individual artist and his or her work can only have relevance in relation to this structure. All artists exist among the vast numbers of people in the world.

What Maderos wanted us to understand is that the people, the workers - and in Cuba artists are considered workers, too - are what the revolution is all about. The phrase he used comes from one of Fidel's early speeches: "Within the **revolution** everything, outside the revolution nothing." He added that **freedom of expression** in bourgeois society is not genuine freedom. In capitalist society **art is part of the superstructure** which protects and defends the entire basis of **exploitation and oppression**. Such freedom is only for the few at the expense of the **many**. Real

*Two complete sets of these posters were given to the brigade and are now on display in New York and San Francisco.



Selma Waldman: Rene Maderos, Havana. March 6, 1976

freedom cannot exist until we build communism. True freedom, said Maderos, is to do that which history requires of us.

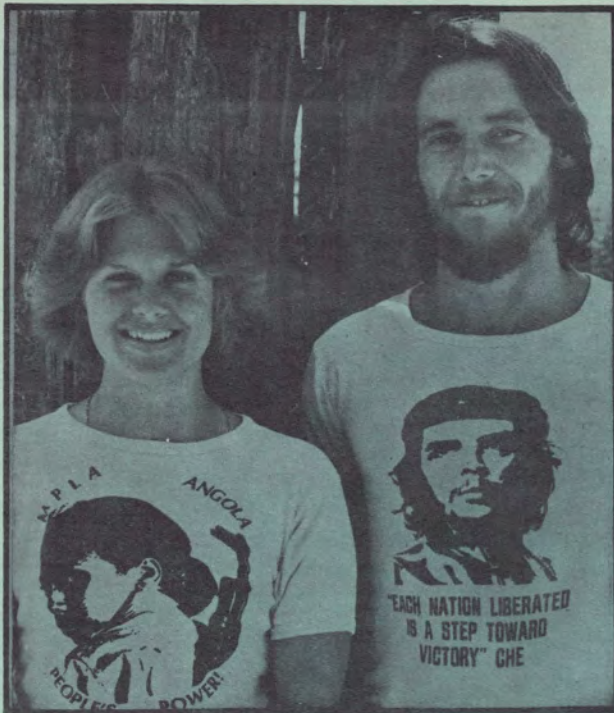
In response to a request from the brigade, Maderos spoke generally about his past. As a young man, he worked in a factory and was able to earn a few dollars on the side drawing for the big advertising firms. The last years of capitalism in Cuba were a paradise for North American tourists. Consequently, Cuba was a most fertile experimentation ground for testing marketing and advertising techniques. If a product caught on in Cuba, the advertising agencies would take it to sell in the US. Thus a commercial form of cultural imperialism became highly sophisticated. Maderos had to teach himself to draw because Cuban workers had no opportunity for formal study during the Batista period. After liberation in 1959, all the advertising agencies left Cuba. Maderos began to apply his skills to the consolidation of the revolution through propaganda work. He explained to us that in the early days they had tried to adapt capitalist forms for revolutionary propaganda, but soon found this impossible. Capitalist advertising relied on bribery to manipulate the people. The Cubans reject this approach. Cane cutters who face difficult conditions, often far from their families, are not bribed to go to work with poster or television campaigns offering them extra beer or a car. Maderos said: "You can't tell a man to go out and cut cane in the same way you would tell him to buy shaving cream."

WHAT KIND OF PROPAGANDA?

Cuba has been under attack from the US and reactionary Latin American regimes for 17 years. The imperialists persist in attempts to make ideological inroads using all available means, including radio; the Voice of America is loud and clear in Cuba. In addition to combating this influence, the Cubans also wage an ideological struggle against all prerevolutionary bourgeois and reactionary remnants in Cuban consciousness, against the backward and negative ideas of the masses, such as sexism. Furthermore, the ideological campaigns strive to increase respect for the socialist way of life. This is the central thrust of the media DOR organizes. One of the cadre told us: "Our propaganda is effective because of the justness of our cause, of any people's right to struggle for independence. We can easily counteract imperialist propaganda so long as we struggle against it. Truth is the central principle of our propaganda work. Truth, reality, the real gains we have made - are the best propaganda. To translate that truth into a graphic language is what we try to do."

Let me describe a current propaganda campaign conducted by DOR. A big push to really get People's Power moving came out of the First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party held at the end of 1975. This movement is based on the principle that the Cuban institutions and economy must be developed democratically. In concrete terms this means that in various institutions and enterprises the people elect leadership which was previously appointed. But, first of all, the Department must explain this general concept. It is my understanding that this form of People's Power is being developed at the CDR (Committee for the Defense of the Revolution)* level, within the factories and at all levels of mass organizations. The Cubans were eager to point out that what determines an individual's election is his or her total contribution to the revolution. Thus the criteria could be having done an outstanding job organizing the people to fight at the Bay of Pigs, exemplary work in a factory or effective service in health care; in short, those who have demonstrated

*The CDR's are neighborhood committees which mobilize the people for national defense and security and to promote socialist values.



Keep your politics up front with Che!

LSM has produced colorful and attractive t-shirts; one portrays Che Guevara and the other celebrates the victorious Angolan Revolution. All proceeds from the sale of these t-shirts go directly to the SWAPO Printshop Project. Available in small, medium and large, and in blue, beige, yellow and green.

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Each shirt: **\$5.00**

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MPLA PEOPLE'S POWER

Women Hold Up Half the Sky



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LSM.

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- * 1976 Subscription to LSM NEWS
- * Free copy of LSM's Principles and of three interviews on Angola

PLUS A CHOICE OF:

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- Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel/Struggles of a Native Canadian Woman OR
- The Urban Guerrilla/Life History from Kenya.

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- * all 1976 LSM publications including upcoming life histories and other materials on Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Mozambique resulting from our 1975-76 Africa mission
- * revolutionary stationery (choice of "Women Hold Up Half the Sky" or "International Solidarity with People's Republic of Angola")
- * revolutionary greeting cards and postcards
- * 1977 Liberation Calendar.

WE NEED YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT! BECOME AN LSM SUSTAINER NOW!

I wish to become an LSM Sustainer for 1976. (\$12 per year) Enclosed is \$ _____.
I wish to become an LSM Associate for 1976. (\$50 per year) Enclosed is \$ _____.

Please send me the following FREE LSM publication chosen from the list above:
 Middle Cadre. Bobbi Lee. Urban Guerrilla. Women's or MPLA Stationery.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF LSM NEWS?

Dear Reader,

We greatly appreciate your response to our recent LSM NEWS issues. We are currently discussing what kinds of articles we need in LSM NEWS, and your thoughts on this issue will be helpful. Please write your comments on this sheet and mail it to us!

Comradely Greetings,

LSM Information Center Staff

THIS ISSUE IS VOLUME _____ ISSUE _____.

- 1) What do you think of "An Artist's Glimpse of Revolutionary Cuba"?
Of the view that North American Leftists must integrate concrete internationalism into our daily activities?

- 2) How do you like "Portrait of a Revolutionary Artist"?

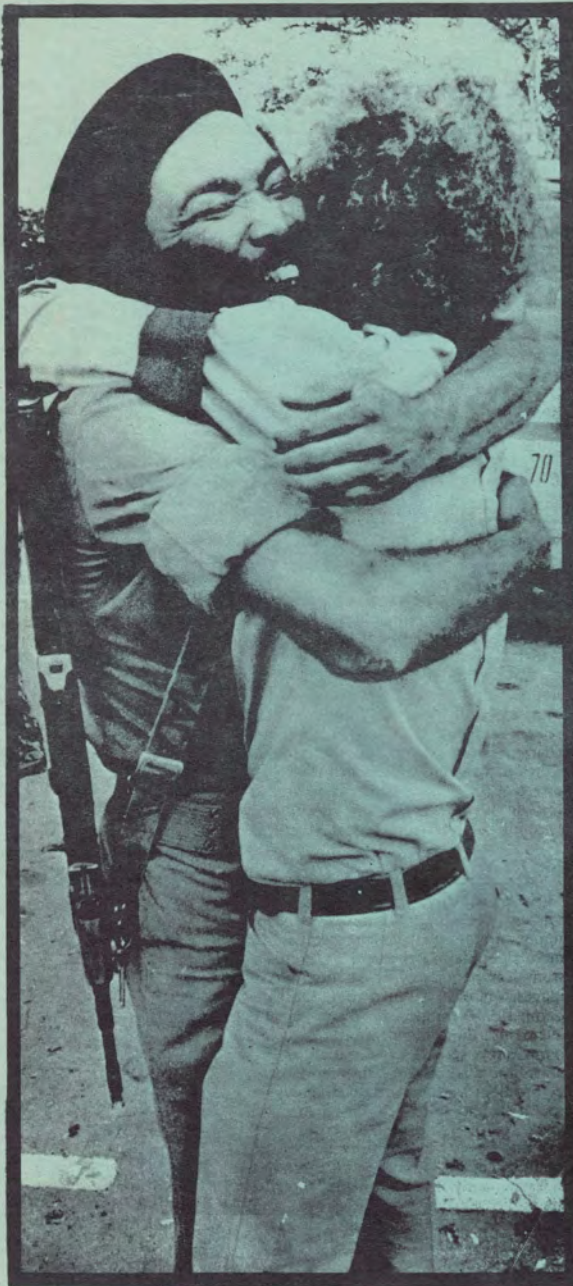
- 3) What is your opinion of "Zimbabwe: Untangling the Web"?

- 4) How does the cover, layout and printing strike you?

- 5) Any requests or suggestions for improvement?

DATE _____ ARE YOU A SUBSCRIBER? _____

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ROAD TO LIBERATION

MPLA DOCUMENTS ON THE FOUNDING OF THE PRA

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\$1.00 25¢ postage. Please Prepay.

LSM News

Quarterly Organ of the
Liberation Support Movement

Its purpose is to let people know about LSM -- our practice, politics, questions and contradictions -- in the struggle for international socialism.

Issues will include:

- reports from Portugal, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Mozambique
- interviews with liberation movement leaders
- analyses of material conditions and revolutionary potential in North America
- discussion of LSM's actions: audio-visual programs, anti-corporate campaigns, material support and informational work
- our relations with liberation movements and
- the dangers of neo-colonialism, national chauvinism, racism and social imperialism.

Standard subscriptions \$2.00

themselves to be vanguard revolutionaries are the ones who will be elected. Of course the people in the localities know who these most dedicated people are. This is how democracy is coming to the elections in Cuba. It is the job of the DOR to reduce this campaign to graphic symbols and slogans which assist the Cuban people in wholeheartedly participating in it.

We met Pedro Majoles, a very responsible cadre within DOR. He told us that in Cuba the message is the medium, not the other way around. The media are given content by the social class which controls them. In bourgeois society, the class which not only controls but manipulates the media is the capitalist class. In Cuba where the working class controls the media, they develop much differently. For example, at the beginning of the revolution Fidel spoke continuously on television every day. This was very constructive because the people in the countryside would gather around television sets and say, "There's Fidel! It's Fidel!" and this gave them confidence in the strength of the revolution. In this way communications reached the broadest number of people, not just a few.

Cuban mass communication is based on the principle that every individual has full rights to all information on the social and economic life of his country as well as on the world in which he or she is living. The use of television is therefore incredibly important. We saw antennae everywhere. Television was effectively used to involve and integrate the entire population in discussion around the socialist constitution which was voted on last February. In Cuba, television and other mass media are definitely not used to engender passivity; people are not expected to just sit and stare blankly at the screen. Rather, the mass media are forms which mobilize people and generate dialogue between the people and the party by enhancing the work of the mass organizations. The media are thus used to stimulate the development of the people, to get ideas and criticisms from the people, to find out what the people want and need.

WORKING WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT OF REVOLUTIONARY ORIENTATION

Members of our brigade were very interested in finding out the role of the creativity of DOR specialists in implementing the Party's line. We were told that the Party doesn't tell the propaganda workers exactly what to do or how to do it. The Party gives the specialists a general orientation and within this framework they are free to experiment as they please. There are no limits on the forms which may be used. The Party has a principle of not imposing narrow and rigid guidelines; the main point is the effective communication of the Party's line to the people. "If the workers understand our message, if that gets across, then we have won a political victory." So the creativity of the artists, designers and other specialists is very much respected by the Party.

How can they tell whether the workers had understood their message? The DOR has a network of correspondents - cadre within the CDR's, workplaces and mass organizations - who communicate with the Department regarding the effectiveness of its propaganda work. When criticisms are made, those who have been criticized are expected to respond by publishing plans for resolving problems in the newspapers. Nevertheless, the cadre we spoke with all agreed that this system isn't adequate. Improvements need to be made in getting suggestions and criticisms from the people. Developing the principle of criticism is one of DOR's ongoing tasks.

We also wanted to find out what were the criteria for evaluating DOR workers. What does communist consciousness mean when applied to these technicians? The



Selma Waldman: *Some Representatives of DOR. March 6, 1976*

Department demands that its workers be revolutionary workers, although not necessarily Communist Party members. Propaganda workers must be both political and practical. They are obliged to know the history of the Cuban independence struggle, to study Marxism-Leninism, and to do whatever is necessary to advance the revolution. Propaganda workers, of course, do not only work at their desks and tables. They visit places they depict in their work. They go to the canefields, to farms and factories, to study all the details of agricultural implements, machinery, worker's faces and so on. Majoles was quick to point out that instant psychology, instant propaganda is not their task. The preparation of DOR cadre takes many years. For this purpose they have prepared courses in revolutionary propaganda. People come from all over the country to attend these courses, many of whom return to do propaganda work in their own regions.

COMBINING LOCAL INITIATIVE WITH CENTRAL COORDINATION

The Department of Revolutionary Orientation is in Havana, but there are DOR-type centers in each province which produce their own propaganda and exchange personnel with the center. The Havana DOR makes up posters for nation-wide campaigns. Then these posters go to the provinces where local initiative is combined with work from Havana. The provincial centers may add something distinct for their region but do not alter the ideological content. The propaganda form is determined by the requirements of differing sectors of the population and for different regions, but the ideological content is the same for all the regions and all the people - workers, peasants and intellectuals. So it isn't as though the DOR's work suddenly blankets the country with uniformity. If that were the case, propaganda couldn't relate to local realities.

It was also brought to our attention that a distinction is made between Party and State propaganda. The DOR is concerned with the direct line from the Party to the people. And though it works with and assists other groups, mass organizations and state organs, these bodies each have their own independent workshops. For example, the Cuban Film Institute prepares its own posters. Every ministry, even trade unions, has its own propaganda and cultural workshops. Thus art is integrated into every level of society.

THE CUBAN ARTIST

The Cuban revolution has always been rooted in the national culture, history and tradition, which imperialism was never able to eliminate. All Cubans have the opportunity to become artists if they have the ability. Since schooling is free and all children have equal opportunity for education and creative expression in the schools, there is no special source of artists. At 14 or 15 years, students may take exams for entrance into Cubanacan, the national art school. Cubanacan has elementary and secondary levels and is now developing what might be called university levels.

Brigade members wondered whether artists in Cuba have time to do their own "individual" work. Rene Maderos explained that in Cuba the conception of the individual and individualism is much different than in bourgeois societies. The chief source of motivation for Cuban artists is the revolution's need for their work. There is enough socially useful work for all artists and so they aren't forced to enter a rat race for jobs. This socialist environment aids them in overcoming the tendencies of individualism and egotism so pervasive in capitalist society. Thus the development of Cuban artists is fundamentally different than that of artists in

North America. All students at Cubanacan are required to work in agriculture during the first month of school as part of their training. The high schools are located in the countryside and combine work and study. All but the older artists have been trained in this milieu which serves to prevent the formation of privileged cliques of careerist intellectuals. Of course they are aware that bourgeois tendencies toward individualism and elitism persist. But the artists are busy working in political campaigns to make graphic the progress and tasks of the revolution; they are very much motivated to study Marxism-Leninism and to appreciate that the artist does not exist outside society but is fully integrated into the task of changing society. This is how elitism is fought.

I was careful to observe mannerisms, gestures, ways of talking which can be very revealing, and in one case I did detect a strong degree of egotism in the way an elder artist presented himself. However, on the whole, those technicians and artists I met were very modest and quite conscious of their role as revolutionary workers. Certainly it would be utopian to suggest that all bourgeois values have been wiped out. But the overwhelming thrust of socialist society and culture mitigate against them. Art in Cuba summons everyone, including the artists themselves, to develop their political consciousness.

CUBAN INTERNATIONALISM: A LESSON FOR NORTH AMERICANS

As representatives of progressive forces in North America, we were treated with great respect. Our last meeting with the DOR was led by Alfredo Balmaceda, a poet, writer and Department responsible, who told us that our struggle must be conducted "in the belly of the beast," inside the US, home base of imperialism. "Your struggle is very hard, and you cannot expect immediate results. You have to learn to work step by step. Life is a dialectic. You have to be able to work slowly and patiently."

When Cuban artists, writers and propagandists worked clandestinely under Batista's tyranny, their lives were extremely difficult. They seldom had time to do thorough work, and those who engaged in political work were often jailed, tortured and killed. Alfred was trying to explain how difficult revolutionary struggles are, and that we shouldn't lose hope when we don't get instant results. This discussion was very encouraging. But it was also ironical because, when we North Americans looked at each other, healthy and well-fed, we knew that the political conditions for most of us aren't nearly so severe as in prerevolutionary Cuba.

The entire Cuban population feels strong internationalist sentiments. These feelings run very deep because, in their view, to defend the struggles of people all over the world is to defend the Cuban Revolution. This belief is at the root of all the campaigns of international solidarity. There is a concrete connection between the struggles of the Vietnamese and the Angolan peoples, for instance, and the Cuban people's defense of their own homeland.

Cuba has long served as an example of resistance against imperialist aggression. For many years, technicians and cadre of liberation movements from all over the world have come to Cuba to be trained. Cuban workers are very conscious of this history and children are taught that imperialism is the common enemy of the Third World. This development of internationalist consciousness is very much the responsibility of Fidel Castro and the Communist Party, and the people consequently place great trust and confidence in the lessons of their struggle. Fidel once said that the Rebel Army could have been like the Paris Communards and died bravely on the barricades. But the revolution did not die; it was instead consolidated through the solidarity of the socialist countries. In this way proletarian internationalism has played a strong



Photo: LSM/Carol Barnett

"Long Live Solidarity with the African Peoples" Revolutionary Square, Havana

role in Cuba's revolution from the outset. Fidel himself is not only a brave man and a powerful thinker; he has an acutely intimate relationship with the people. When Fidel talks about internationalism, he speaks for everyone.

Cuba still has to struggle with grave problems of underdevelopment. Yet they sent many, many cadres of all levels and with many kinds of skills - medical, educational and military - to help the Vietnamese in their struggle. The cadre, of course, volunteered. Cuba has no vast riches, no surplus of cadre at its disposal. Nevertheless, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Cuban people willingly made these sacrifices.

Our brigade visited the offices of OSPAAAL, the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, where we were shown displays of dozens and dozens of beautiful posters. OSPAAAL is an international, a tri-continental organization which worked with the help of Cuban designers. The themes for OSPAAAL's posters are exclusively based on solidarity with the peoples of the countryside struggling against imperialism. We were told that there had just been a week of solidarity with Puerto Rico and were presented with a special issue of Tri-Continental Magazine devoted entirely to Puerto Rico. There had also been a campaign of solidarity with Puerto Rican political prisoners.

All these campaigns are carried out within the schools and include songs and plays as well as posters. At every level of culture and politics, within the CDR's and the trade unions, there are such manifestations of international solidarity.

Cuba is also a crossroads for delegations from all over the world. As we were leaving, young Vietnamese, Angolans, South Africans and Namibians, together with delegates from every Third World country arrived to prepare the 1978 World Youth Congress. Every day the Cuban people have visitors from all over the world.

Internationalism has thus become very much a part of their lives.

CUBA: COMRADE IN ARMS OF THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE

Along the road from Oriente to Havana there are monuments to the heroes and martyrs of the attack on Moncada Barracks. As we travelled toward the city, we saw integrated among these monuments signs and billboards calling for support of the Angolan struggle. On every street corner, on the bulletin boards of the CDR's, we saw DOR posters on Angola connecting imperialist support of Holden and Savimbi to the South African invasion. These bulletin boards or murales, popular discussion points, are everywhere, providing information on struggles all over the world, as well as local news. Radio and television broadcast declarations of support for the People's Republic of Angola constantly, and reports were always coming in from the front lines. The Director of OSPAAAL, one of the finest Cuban designers, is now working in Angola to help MPLA militants in their work. Cuba's artists, too, actively participate in internationalism.

As Fidel has said over and over again, solidarity cannot be confined to mere words but must be physical and concrete. Internationalism means people who operate artillery, drive trucks or provide medical services. If necessary, Fidel said, Cubans will give their lifeblood as indeed they have! Those Cubans who went to Angola were all volunteers. Such truly inspiring heroism is understandable only in the context of militant revolutionary internationalism.

FACING UP TO OUR RESPONSIBILITIES

It is extremely important for North Americans, like the revolutionary workers in DOR, to educate themselves both on the history of struggle here in North America and on the history of the national liberation movements. This is the message I would like to bring back. The Cubans gave us an important responsibility; in return for their openness, warmth and generosity, they expect us to share what we learned with other North Americans in an equally open and generous way. It is not enough for North Americans to merely become "educated" in a narrow academic sense.

Internationalism must be concrete and material. For a revolutionary, words and sloganeering are not enough. This means not only going to meetings not just reacting at the crest of a crisis and coming out on the street with a banner. The Cubans teach us that it is necessary to work steadily from day to day. Cubans are in Angola because Angola needs technicians and cadres to aid in reconstruction, in building socialism and in resisting imperialism's attempts at counter-revolution. We in North America should be part of Angola's revolutionary process, too. We should be helping to build socialism in Cuba, Vietnam and Angola. We should not just protest when a crisis comes. To work in concrete ways should be an important part of our everyday lives.

For myself this means using my skill as an artist, using a charcoal pencil, because a little piece of charcoal can fight the armada of imperialism. For others this means applying their skills and talents to the needs of the struggle. Our work is not petty, but concrete and important. This is what the Cubans mean by struggling bit by bit every day. Too many people have a kind of sensational and theatrical way of relating to the struggle. They want dramatic results and forms of protest. The Cubans taught us that revolutionary love is a daily thing, not always dramatic. Revolutionary love means daily agitation and daily struggle.

Finally, to be nationalist in the context of North America is to be in many ways politically regressive. American national chauvinism is ingrown and, in the

final analysis, panders to bourgeois individualism, "doing your own thing." We of the North American Left must integrate internationalism into our daily activities. To turn outward and support revolutionary people's wars and socialist construction is our internationalist duty. Revolutionary work in North America, at this time, also means concretely building proletarian internationalism. I learned that threefold and over in Cuba.

VENCEREMOS!



Portrait of a Revolutionary Artist

LIFE HISTORY OF SELMA WALDMAN

Recorded and Edited by Carroll Ishee
and Beth Youhn

The important thing about Kingsville, Texas, where I grew up, is that it's the home of the King Ranch. When I was born in 1937, it was a very small town with about six or seven thousand people. Kingsville had a feudal, oligarchical structure. Everything - the banks, the newspaper, the creamery - was owned by the ranch which itself comprised enormous tracts of territory. The Clayburg and King families were the oligarchs. To complete the picture, Kingsville was strictly divided along racial lines; you even knew which roads marked the edge of the white part of town, separating it from black and chicano ghettos. Churches were on every corner. A small store which my father owned was on the main street. My father owned it, but the bank always loomed behind him, that is, the bank owned by the Clayburgs and Kings.

The King Ranch had braceros working on it - "Wetbacks" who in desperation would swim across the Rio Grande to find work. The ranch had a feudal peonage system - peons, just as they existed during prerevolutionary times in Mexico. Well, my father also had a place within that system. The ranch bosses would bring the braceros into my father's store to be outfitted. They would take boots, hats, pants, whatever any working person would need on a ranch; they would clean out the store. And they would never pay my father anything. The sheriff would say, "Joe, we'll see you later." They knew that he owed money to the banks and my father couldn't do much about it. They'd mistreat him because they thought of him as "that Jew."

Throughout my childhood we were the town Jews - my parents, my sister and I. My sister got out of that town as soon as she could, and since she was much older than me, I never really got to know her. So I grew up as an only child. I was born when my parents were well on in years. My mother was ill during most of my childhood, and I was raised by a series of different "mothers"; many of them were chicana and black. I once had a Bohemian mother who escaped from Czechoslovakia

when the Nazis took over. These women stayed in our house rent-free and took care of me until they were able to move on to Mexico or somewhere else.

I started drawing when I was about two. As a small child, I was always at the store sitting on the counter drawing; my father liked that. I'd draw on the back of my father's receipt slips, and he encouraged me. He was very pleased with my interest in drawing and showed my pictures to everyone who came into the store.

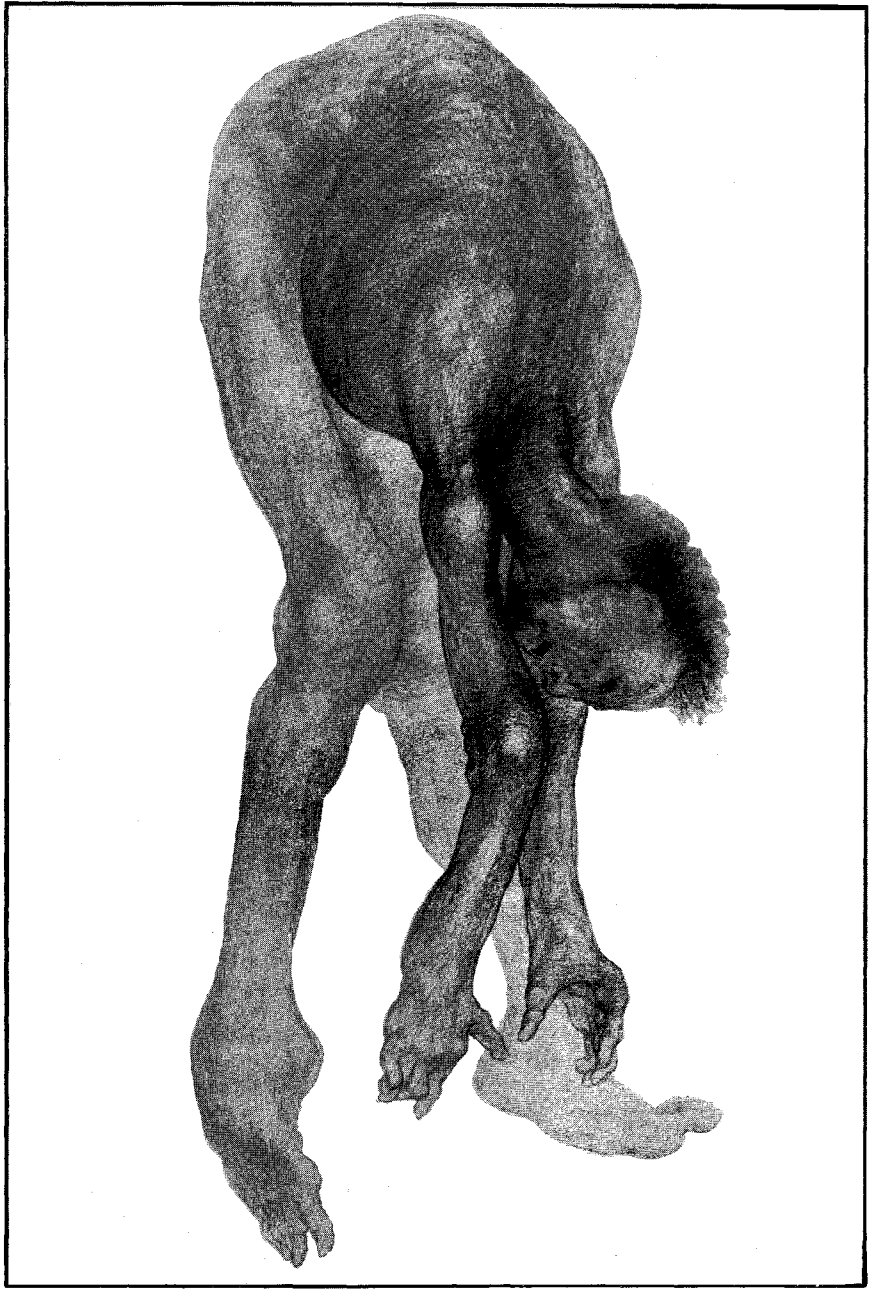
When I grew older, I was supposed to help in the store. But I couldn't stand to go down there and sell. I developed hatred for that store watching what it did to my father. I despised the whole process of having to buy and sell to earn a living and the joke that anyone in this country can make it if he has the wits and the guts to keep his capital moving. My father had never aspired to spend all his life in that goddamn little town; he was more or less stuck there. He had to support us and he tried to do it through that store. All my childhood, except during the Second World War when the store seemed to do a little better, I remember being poor. I remember that store as a millstone, a terrible, dreadful millstone around my father's neck. He struggled endlessly with the bank, the competition brought by the chain-stores and his integrity. It was very important to my father to sell quality merchandise, not just cheap junk. He'd refuse to sell shoddy goods even if the customer preferred the lower prices. I remember my father as having unusual courage, but even though he struggled hard for his principles, he couldn't compete with the bigger stores.

I didn't go to school much before the age of eleven. I had been premature and consequently had many illnesses - strep throat, rheumatic fever and so on. This gave me ample opportunity to draw and read, but it cut me off from other children my own age. My absence from school aggravated the terrible isolation and alienation I experienced as the only Jewish kid in town.

I never felt comfortable playing with the white kids. When I was very young, I felt more at home trotting off barefoot down the dusty road to Angelina's house on a hot day. Angelina was a chicana woman with many children who did laundry for the white people; at her place there were always lots of animals and flowers. I would just run off and go there because I felt better there, more at home. At Angelina's I was accepted and no one put me down because I was small or Jewish. The white kids always treated me as though I was different. Some would tease me and were very cruel; others tried to proselytize me to go to church and become a Christian. I distrusted the children of the white community. They made me feel inferior. Books and drawing had to compensate for the ugly little kid who was different, who wasn't white.

Because our family had darker skins and because we were Jewish, in Kingsville we were not considered white. A Greek family there was also not considered white; this bond drew our families together. My parents came from a European background. Whenever Europeans came through town, they stopped at my father's store as a resting place along the way; it was a rare place where foreigners were welcome in that hostile Texas environment. Some of these people talked about Nazism and other political matters. I think my father was a Roosevelt Democrat, but beyond that I never knew what his politics were.

At that time it was in vogue to be against the Nazis, but in Kingsville there were numerous people who shared the racist and fascist Nazi mentality. So, my family was continually the object of anti-semitic insults and vandalism. I used to go wipe off the soap that was smeared across the window of my father's store and wondered about the racist, anti-semitic things that were written there during World War II. I would often be given a sack to pick up the tacks which were thrown in our



Selma Waldman: "Falling Man" series, 1963-64

driveway.

The best thing about not going to school when I was younger was that it gave me lots of time to draw. My father, contrary to the usual petty-bourgeois mentality, was very supportive of my desire to become an artist. In part that's the intellectual thrust in keeping with Jewish tradition; but it's also because his own artistic ambitions were thwarted. My father had always wanted to be a singer but never made it past the sixth grade. By supporting me and my art, he was working out his own frustrations and living through what I did. That support was enormously important to me because, without it, that town would have destroyed me. In some ways it did destroy my mother. I grew up in a wasteland where it was taboo to read or to be contemplative. It was Lyndon Johnson territory.

Later in high school, there were a few teachers here and there, mostly women, who encouraged and supported me. But generally I was ostracized. It was bad enough that I was Jewish, but it was more than that. I read books and made grades, was small and dark. No guy ever looked at me; so I never dated. There wasn't teasing, just indifference. My only social activities were involvement with school institutions like the newspaper and the debating team. In Kingsville the acceptable thing for a girl to do was to become drum majorette or cheerleader - this was the context in which you learned to become a woman.

Although I was alienated from life in Kingsville, it's important to point out that I enjoyed certain privileges. Had I been black or chicana, I probably wouldn't have had the material means to get out of that stifling environment, to go to college and develop my talents. I think that this combination of material privilege on the one hand and racism and isolation on the other produced in me a latent political sensitivity; by latent, I mean that it was always under the surface, waiting to be developed.

I was fifteen when I went to the university in 1952. I had graduated from high school with a scholarship and was valedictorian. My father wanted me to go to art school and began investigating the possibilities; my uncle recommended the University of Texas Art School. I was overwhelmed by the idea of going; I expected all the students to be extremely talented and well in advance of myself. I said to myself, "I'll do this for my father, but when I'm unable to make it, I'll probably go into English." When I got to the university, I found many sorority and fraternity types who couldn't draw worth a damn. I was appalled by the quality of the work when I went from drawing-board to drawing-board. Upon seeing the work of the other students, I knew that I had the potential to be an artist.

From then on I was totally immersed in art. To discover that I could create was a fantastic breakthrough. Art became a totality for me, to the degree that I only wanted to draw and paint. I tried to avoid the other classes; the academic classes seemed irrelevant to me. Art was salvation, knowing that this was where I finally belonged. I wasn't just a nobody from a small town where I had no friends. The more I involved myself in drawing and art, the more I realized what a petty scene Kingsville was; it was easy to leave it behind.

My father wanted me to go into a Jewish sorority because I had had no Jewish friends. So the first year at college I tried that, but it wasn't what I wanted to be. I didn't look for Jewish friends; I cared only about art.

The university town of Austin was an oasis within the Texas wasteland. A small bohemian crowd was at and around the campus, people who were into art, architecture, dance, theater and music. These were the nonconformists, the rebels of their day. Many were quite serious about art, though there was a lot of partying and hanging-out, too. Most of my friends were within this milieu, which included people with radical

or socialist ideas.

My father managed to support me during my time at the university so I didn't have to work while I went to school. I shared an apartment with a woman studying architecture. Not having to struggle with financial problems at college gave me the freedom to become immersed in painting and drawing, to develop myself into an artist.

I began to be oriented to the human image, and that focus was maintained even though I played with color and did some abstract work. This interest in the human form was partly the result of my latent political tendency. Artists like Rembrandt and Goya impressed me and influenced my art work. The other students were plunging head first into abstract, nonobjective art. There were other things that set me and what I was doing apart. One was that I wanted to work all the time. I would go in early in the morning in my dirty bluejeans and pigtails, and they would have to throw me out at night. Another thing was that I didn't hang-out much like the others in the bohemian scene. I wasn't caught up in partying, sitting around in cafes, and so on. I was still very much a child and very naive about sexual matters.

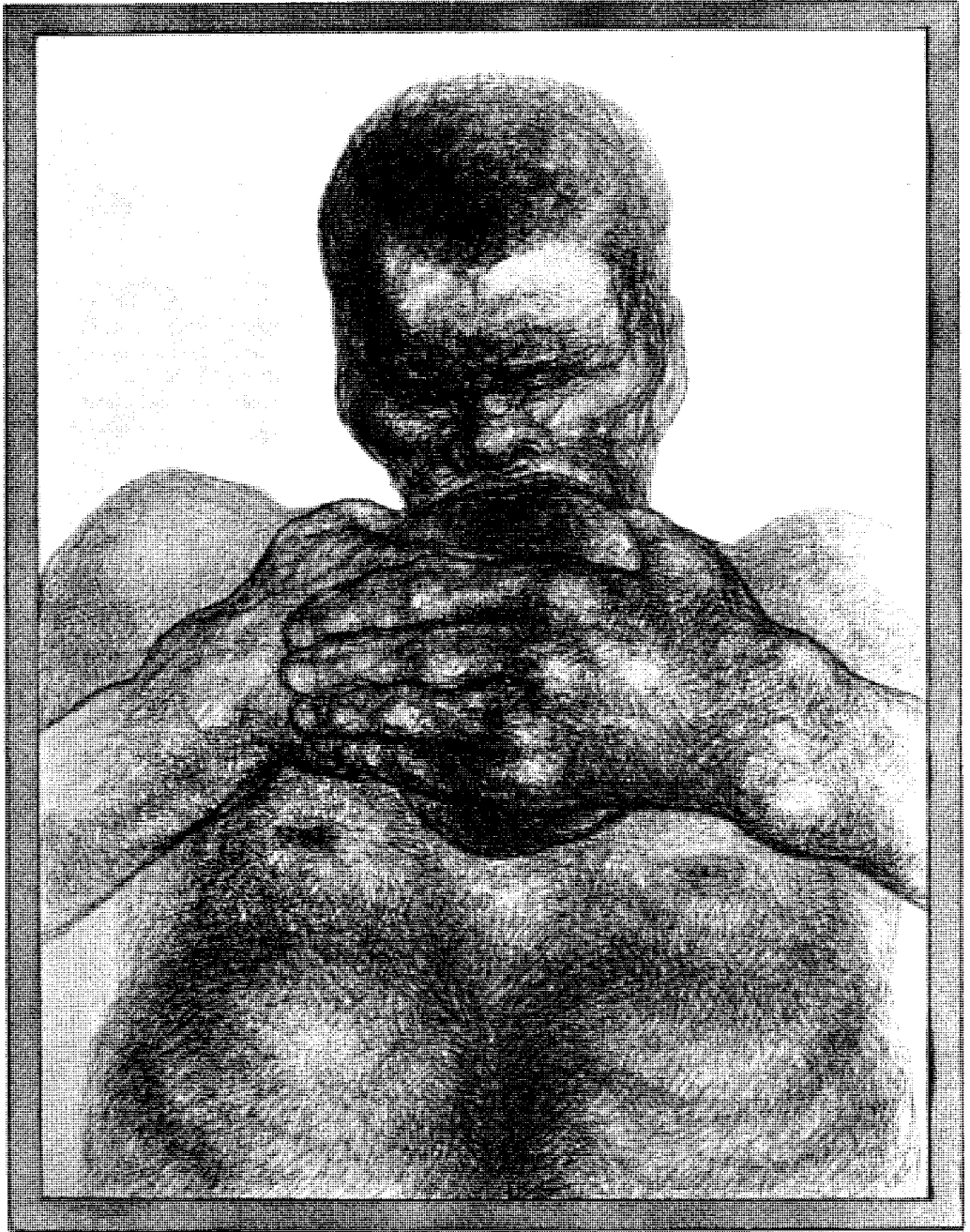
It was at this point that I met Jim and naively entered a relationship with him. Soon after I became pregnant. Jim was an architecture student; I met him at the university. I was seventeen when we met but looked even younger. Jim was much older than me and did watercolors and designing. I looked upon Jim as a fellow artist; my value judgement for everything at that time being based on whether it was connected with art or not. He was a kind of drop-out, feeling that the academic institution wasn't recognizing his talent. I felt that at least I could give him my recognition - you know, the woman's role of comforting and building a man's ego. Years later I understood that a peculiar kind of racism existed on his part, and a subtle form of racism was at play on my part. He was blonde and blue-eyed; he was the living image of the boys back home who wouldn't look at me in high school. He filled a subjective need for acceptance in me that I was unable to comprehend at the time. He seemed kind and interested in me, which no one before had been. For him, I represented what was possible in the range of "exotic"-looking women; it was not acceptable for a white man to go around with a black woman, and I was not a Chicana; but I was close, so he was attracted to me. These feelings, of course, were not conscious but deep under the surface. In those days, however, I simply thought of him as a brother artist. We were two artists who were going against institutional, academic values.

SHATTERED ILLUSIONS

In 1955 we got married, I finished school, and our son was born. My commitment to art was deep by then; I was exhibiting my work and considered myself a professional artist. Jim didn't finish school at that time but went back a few years later when he found he couldn't get any good jobs without a degree. After that, everything he did was determined by his needs. He was longing for mountains and greenery and had heard the environment for architects was better in the Northwest; we moved to Seattle.

Slowly I began to realize that marrying this man whom I didn't really love enmeshed me in a life that was not leading anywhere. The negative way my husband related to me was increasingly revealed. He wasn't supportive of me as an artist; he didn't respect the necessity I felt to work. I had assumed that we were both artists in a common cause and that we would support each other. This illusion was soon shattered by the male chauvinism he increasingly revealed.

Gradually I recognized that I simply couldn't stay in Seattle and continue



Selma Waldman: "The Man and the Loaf of Bread"

developing. I felt trapped, and my work was not going well. I wanted to go to Europe, particularly Germany. I wanted to understand how a country which had produced such great music and artists could also have committed genocide against the Jews. My work was beginning to have European-German expressionist overtones; so I wanted to travel and absorb new things, to be free to create as an artist. At that point I applied for a Fulbright scholarship to go to Europe. I didn't think I'd get it, but I did. When I won the Fulbright, my assumption was that it was "ours," not only mine. I thought Jim would be overwhelmed and pleased to go. He was not.

As we moved farther from the small-town Texas atmosphere, I learned more and more about Jim and his background. This had a political effect on me, because each revelation came as a shock. Eventually I came to understand that an individual can do very nice watercolors, can have a good education and a good veneer of culture but can still harbor deep chauvinistic feelings.

Jim was not very successful in his work. Before we went to Europe, he was working as a draftsman and was not able to do much designing on his own. He wasn't applying himself; he didn't have the desire to make it. Architecture is an elitist profession and he just didn't have the pushiness to move ahead - so, he wasn't moving ahead. Later, he indicated that he felt I was holding him back and that my success was somehow undermining his career. These feelings of his came out as a result of my getting the Fulbright grant.

We left at the end of 1960 and stayed until early 1962. I was 23 when we left Seattle, and our son, Rainer, whom we took with us, was four. During that period we lived mostly in Germany, and I attended the art academy in Berlin. In Europe, I found that Jim's conception of all Europeans, whether white or colored, was simply that they were "foreigners." His whole world view was threatened by being there; his maleness was threatened because I had been given the grant instead of him; his sense of possessing me was threatened because I was meeting artists who were young men; and he was threatened by having to take care of Rainer while I was at school.

As I learned more about the genocide of the Jews, I became emotionally torn up and felt a need to express this in my work. For example, my father had asked me to go and look for my grandparents' graves in Poland, but the Nazis had wiped out the Jewish cemeteries and no graveyards could be found. I didn't go to the concentration camp sites; I just wasn't up to it. I was struggling to handle this new and painful knowledge, and the only way I knew how to handle it was through my work. It was at this time that Jim said to me one night, "Why do you have to be Jewish? Why can't you just be normal?" This display of racism hurt me deeply and made it obvious that we probably weren't going to stay together. After the relationship I'd had with my father, I expected men who were close to me to be supportive. It was enormously disturbing to find that Jim was not only unsupportive but insensitive and hostile to many of my needs. In fact, it often seemed that we no longer had anything in common.

In Germany, the conflicts in our relationship were being played out against the relief of a larger world of history, a political world. This brought out Jim's contradictions more sharply because being in a foreign country focused his chauvinism. For example, he refused to learn to speak German. He was closed to new experiences and uninterested in learning from other cultures. This attitude shocked me. He had been influenced by European architecture, so I assumed he would get a lot out of going to Europe. However, all he wanted to do was go home and establish his career. In Europe it was a constant struggle to travel and learn without feeling a terrible guilt about taking Jim where he didn't want to go.

In Berlin I developed confidence in myself, both as a person and as an artist. I became more deeply involved than ever in being an artist because I saw

extraordinary art there which reinforced my own work. I wasn't interested in superficial styles and I didn't give a damn for the "fashionable" art trends; what I cared about was the content, the skill, the humanity in the work. My experiences in Germany confirmed for me that I should deepen and develop my art in a humanitarian direction.

I met a man who lived in the German Democratic Republic and was able to go back and forth between East and West Berlin. I met him in a museum; he was a singer in the metropolitan opera. We became close friends. Michail was like living history to me; he had been imprisoned in a German concentration camp during the war, when he was very young. After being liberated, he was forced to live in wretched conditions. He met an older woman, who was in the SED (GDR Communist Party); they lived together and were later married. At the time, I was very naive, believing the US propaganda that the GDR was a "totalitarian police state." Michail helped me understand the true situation, though I didn't yet understand socialism. I was very impressed by the relationship between Michail's singing and his politics. He could have been wealthy and famous, singing in operas around the world, but he preferred to stay and help develop the opera for the people of Berlin. This influence was to have a profound impact on me.

Before I left Europe, I made an oath to myself, a very solemn vow: I would never be indifferent to brutality, to oppression, to the suffering of people; I was going to do whatever I could to stop it. It was very emotional and liberal: I could only see victims everywhere; I didn't understand yet that people could struggle successfully against oppression. As a Jew, the first political awareness I developed was of fascism. It was out of my background and my discussions with Michail that I took the vow. Developing an awareness of fascism brought out my political self, which was then to move from an existential to an internationalist understanding of suffering and from there to an internationalist understanding of struggle. Berlin represented a turning point in my life as my conscious political development began there.

The Berlin wall was built in August 1961, and after that I wasn't allowed to go back and forth to East Berlin because I was an American. I was confused because I couldn't understand the necessity of the wall. Later I learned that there were many American agents operating there, that efforts were being made to drain the labor force of the GDR through bribery and to otherwise undermine the progress which was being made. Underneath our apartment lived a couple, the woman was American, the man German, who, we learned later, had been spying on us for US Intelligence. Their job was to observe Americans, especially anyone like me, who frequented the border often. The man became friendly with my husband and informed him they were checking us out. Jim, incidentally, approved of this activity.

I got to know many people in Berlin, not just students and intellectuals, but people from all levels. I learned to speak German just from talking to people about their lives, I was always meeting new people. Some of the experiences I had were unpleasant and frightening.

A gypsy woman, seven months pregnant, lived across from us. The father of the child was an American soldier, and he would spend weeks at a time with her, often bringing some of his buddies along. They had incredible parties during which we could hear people getting beaten up. This woman became very friendly with me. She couldn't read or write, so I started teaching her in English and German, using some children's books I had for my son. This GI promised her that he would support her and the baby. One night they had a party where knives were drawn, and he threw her down the stairs. I heard her screams and ran over to help her. Everything was

bloody. This was the kind of party American soldiers enjoyed, parties where women were raped, drugs and booze were abundant and fighting a normality. The American soldiers were supposed to be there to guard the "free world," but here a pregnant woman was half killed by an American GI. Actually, he thought he had killed her and was frantically crying when I arrived. The scene was just incredible - men were urinating in the sink, there was excrement on the floor, soldiers who drank too much were vomiting. She wasn't dead and her baby was okay, but she was knocked out cold. Later this guy ran off with all the money she had managed to save and bought himself a new car. At that time, there was generally a lot of rebellion among the American forces there, mainly in the form of going AWOL, drinking, doping and fighting. It was an expression of not knowing why they were there and not wanting to be there - the typical behavior of an imperialist army of occupation. The German people, especially the women, were never at all happy about the Americans being there. They felt much worse about the American troops than the British or French.

Our return to the States was done over my protesting body. I didn't want to leave Europe because in Berlin I'd had a sense of liberation, of freedom to learn and develop which I didn't want to give up. I knew that coming back to Seattle would mean the same prison, the same dead end as before. I would be raising my son and trying to do my work without any support from Jim. Before, in Seattle, I had been surrounded by the guilt of not "properly" taking care of a child whenever I was painting. My husband only gave me the silent, grim-set teeth, say-nothing kind of "help." Most women are familiar with this kind of treatment; it's subtle but devastating. Bourgeois society dictates that it's the woman's role to take care of children; not to do so is a primeval sin, especially in the middle-class context.

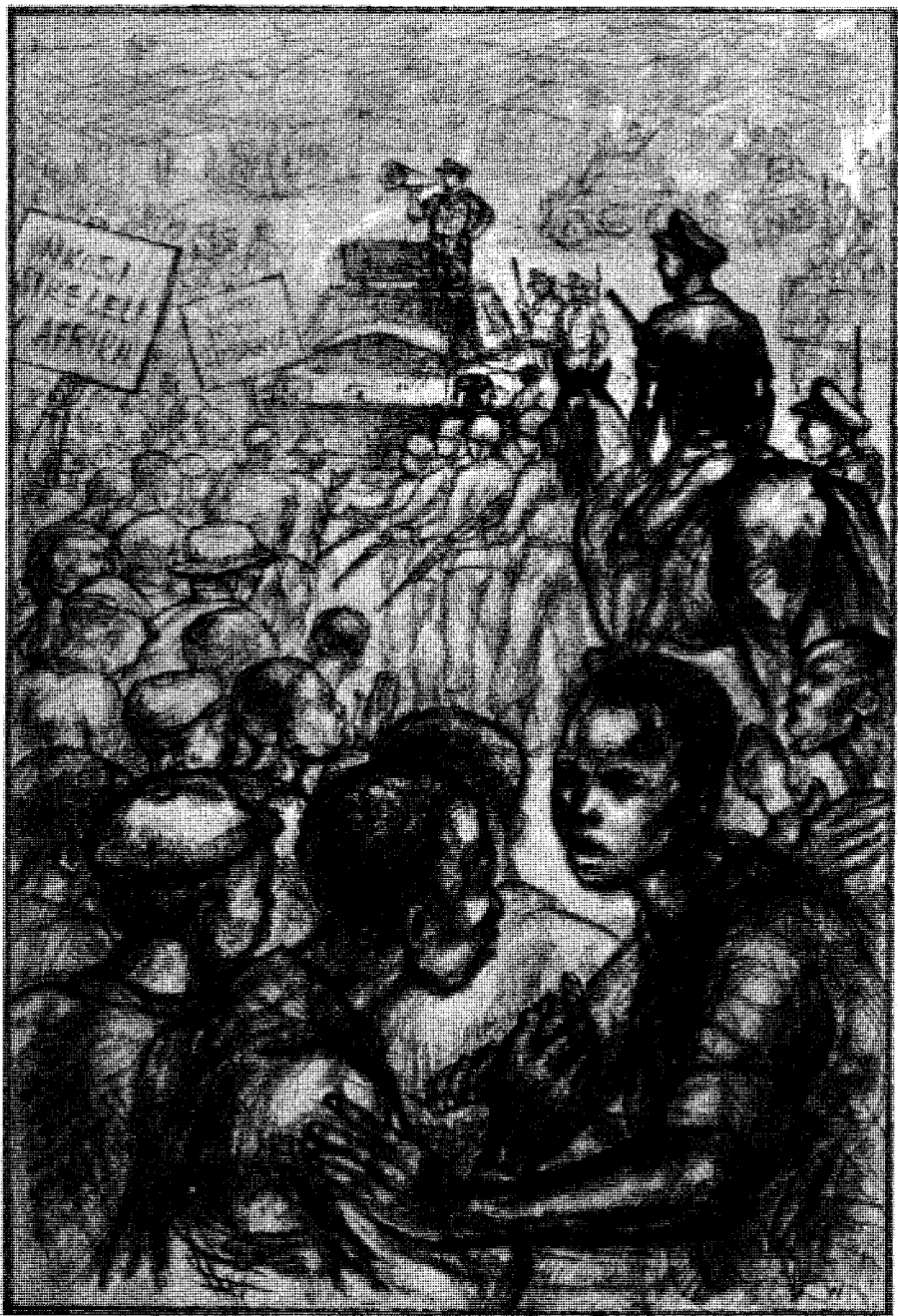
I came back to Seattle because, like so many other women, I didn't have the courage to break away from a marriage situation and assert myself. And I felt guilty because, after all, I had committed myself to marrying this man, and maybe I was somehow to blame for his unsuccessful career. So I came back to help my husband get his career moving again; as he said, "after all his time had been wasted."

Nevertheless, I couldn't be a good architect's wife or a "good wife" for anybody. I can laugh about it now, but then I felt it was really hell. I had so much experience I wanted to express through my art, yet my husband gave me a hard time whenever I asked him for money to buy art supplies. Furthermore, in order for me to work, it was necessary to convert some space where we were living into a studio; this required wiring and insulation. I didn't know how to do these things and Jim wouldn't help. It dragged on and on, preventing me from getting my work done. Later, when the studio was completed, I began to spend more and more time there. I felt it wasn't necessary for me to watch over my seven-year-old son every moment. Jim resented this greatly. It was becoming clearer and clearer that my future looked pretty dim in a marriage where every little ounce of support had to be hassled over in a humiliating way.

Back in Seattle, I was becoming active in the peace and civil rights movements. This work often kept me busy and further threatened our marriage. There were even times when I asked him to buy me a book of stamps for my correspondence and he would start a big argument about it. While I was slowly becoming radicalized, Jim was growing more and more conservative. These confrontations became more frequent until there were eventually violent explosions between us; it was obvious that we couldn't stay together. Finally, in 1965, when I was 29, we were divorced.

THE MOVEMENT: TRANSITIONAL YEARS

My desire to be part of the peace movement and the civil rights movement grew from



Selma Waldman: created for The Organizer, LSM Life History, 1974

the commitment I had brought back from Berlin. All my experiences - especially learning about fascism, the concentration camps and what the American troops were doing - contributed to my political development. In Berlin, my childhood experiences of alienation and racism were put into perspective for the first time. By the time I returned to Seattle in 1962, my politics had emerged, although still quite liberal and moralistic, as an enormous feeling of gut identification and sympathy for the suffering. At that time I had few personal ties in Seattle. I had my son, but my husband and I were very estranged. I was pretty much alone until I began to find people with similar concerns - then a very small number of people.

The protest against nuclear weapons - "Ban the Bomb" - was just starting in 1962. A group of us set up a Peace Information Center at the Seattle World's Fair, which displayed photos and artifacts from the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. My work on this flowed from my feelings about the Holocaust (the Nazi slaughter of 6 million Jews) and the vow I had made. I chaired the committee and directed a national tour of the Hiroshima exhibit. At that time there was a lot of agitation over Hiroshima to demand that nuclear testing be banned. This work was being done by mainly white, middle-class, liberal women.

We started working for the nuclear test-ban and later took up civil rights - it was all connected. I started working in CORE, the first black/white organization; later I became active in SNCC (Congress of Racial Equality and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) and Friends of SNCC. I was never conscious of making a choice to work in civil rights. It just seemed the natural thing for me, having understood fascism in Germany, to come back and make the connection between the oppression of Jews in Germany and the oppression of Blacks in the deep South. At the same time, beginning in 1962, I was working with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) which together with Women's Strike for Peace and Youth Against War and Fascism were the first groups in the US to demonstrate against the war in Vietnam. The student movement didn't really start moving against the war until '65 and '66.

Although actively involved in the Movement, I kept a detached eye, not becoming immersed in any one activity, organization or party. To that degree, I was an outsider. This detachment within the Movement meant that I could learn and be open politically without getting locked into one particular thing before I was politically equipped and ready to make that choice. Just as I had done as an artist in rejecting most of the styles and sifting out what was valid to me, I needed time politically to develop my thinking and find my own direction. It took me a long time to understand and embrace socialism, and maintaining a political detachment in those early years provided me the opportunity to move slowly toward it. Many people in the Movement with me then, including many students, quickly dropped in and out of politics - some got into the "nature movement," eastern religions and so on - without ever developing a political understanding of the world. In Seattle only myself and a few others remained active, moving in a socialist direction.

As an artist, I felt political work was essential to my art work. I had come to see that complete devotion to art was not the totality of myself; the art work I was doing was nourished by and could not be separated from my relationship to humanity. So, during my early years in the Movement there was a harmony between my art and politics.

From time to time I was doing artwork for the Movement. This work was oriented to show suffering and to expose brutality from the point of view of the victims - this still reflected a moralistic, guilt-ridden outlook. Much of my work over those years was in that genre of sympathetic, emotional orientation to suffering. I've always had a marrow-deep sense that whatever is suffering, I feel as though it were

me. This attitude dominated my work; work about lynchings and so on. I don't reject that work now; it has strength, power and validity for what it is. However, this was only one aspect of things; I was portraying oppression but not struggle. It took me a long time to understand the growing contradiction between the direction my politics were taking and the fact that my art was not developing along with it.

After my husband and I were divorced, I grew very close to a couple who gave me guidance and support and helped me raise my son. Vince was black, Gretchen white; they were a very kind and progressive older couple with years of experience in the Seattle Left, including the Communist Party and Trotskyist groups. Knowing them drew me closer to the radical community.

My son Rainer's development was very much affected by my political involvement. Sometimes he came with me to demonstrations or helped out in other ways. It was difficult for Rainer where we lived because he was taunted and ostracized by the kids around him over his mother's activities. Knowing Vince and Gretchen, who were our "family" then, was very good for him. Besides them, many friends in the Movement passed through our doors - people of many different backgrounds, races and cultures. So Rainer developed a political consciousness partly through sheer osmosis. I didn't have to sit down with him with a book in order to politicize him, though, of course, I encouraged him to read political material when he was older.

It was always an economic hassle for us because we were fairly poor. Nevertheless I got Aid to Dependent Children checks and other welfare state benefits, so we certainly weren't starving. And, it was easier then to live on \$200 a month. In spite of my financial worries, I was energetic and healthy and had a lot of help in raising my son. The hippie movement was getting started and, though there were many negative escapist aspects, people were at first very much into taking care of each other and being supportive. The cynicism, demoralization and heavy drugs developed later. In the early years there was genuine love and caring which helped me feel less alone in the responsibility of raising my son.

I remained active in the anti-war movement throughout the sixties. After rejecting pacifism and leaving AFSC in 1965, I worked with the Seattle Resistance, engaging in various activities to resist the draft and protest the Vietnam war. In October 1967, seven of us were arrested when we blocked the draft board offices in the Federal Building. The police dragged me down a flight of stairs as they were arresting me. My back was injured, and I've had trouble with it ever since. This instance of being roughed up represented the very end of my belief in non-violent resistance; for many others it was the apogee of civil disobedience to protest the war. We were convicted but won the case on appeal. Later, I was arrested for other anti-war and civil rights activities in 1968 and 1969.

It was in the years between '67 and '69 that my political development moved ahead most quickly. I was reading almost everything I could get my hands on - about black life and struggle in this country, Third World conditions and struggles, the history of the Bolshevik Revolution, Soviet literature, the history of fascism and progressive struggles in Europe, and the fact that I related to books and artwork created by and about people from other cultures had given me a kind of internationalist perspective; I felt myself to be part of a larger world than just the locality I resided in. Now I was able to develop this internationalist outlook from an intuitive sense to a political understanding. Through reading and my own experiences in the Movement, I was gaining an intellectual grasp of the contradictions of imperialism, the interconnection among the struggles in Mississippi, in Vietnam and throughout the world. I came to see all these struggles as the historical unfolding of contradictions within the same imperialist system.

My movement involvement during the sixties, especially in civil rights and anti-war activity, was deep and I think my contribution to this work was substantial. But as the years passed and my political understanding grew, I found myself in need of going beyond that involvement, to increase my political commitment. Many of the people I worked with in SNCC and the Resistance are nowhere today; some are doing liberal-reformist community work, while others have dropped politics altogether. Although their work in the Movement was positive, it was only a passing phase for them, rather than a lifetime commitment. I had an underlying desire to see deeper change, real change, that kept pushing me forward when real change didn't occur. I gradually realized that if I continued doing that progressive but limited work - as a radical pacifist or civil rights worker - I wouldn't be contributing to the kind of change I wanted to see.

The framework of the Movement had limitations because many of the struggles in the sixties were basically not of a political but a moral orientation which was never really sufficient. Burning draft cards, going to jail and sacrificing for the cause were progressive as far as they went, but they were mostly moralistically motivated actions. As I developed beyond that, I began to shed this perspective like an old shell, not only politically, but as an artist. I'd started with a very petty-bourgeois idea of what art and politics were about - that it encompassed only the liberal concern, the compassion for suffering and martyrdom and so on. But as my politics changed in the process of becoming a socialist, I was forced to question the kind of artistic work I had been doing as well.

REVOLUTIONARY ART

I went through a crisis of contradictions between my politics and my art. I was still deeply committed to being an artist, and yet it seemed that nothing artistic I was doing could really affect the change I wanted to see, at least not the way I was doing it, alone in a studio, for an exhibition every four or five years for a very small number of people to look at. I'd always rejected the bourgeois values surrounding art which made it prestigious, exclusive and egotistical, without any meaningful content. Now I saw that there were still more subtle bourgeois influences at play in my art; I had to go much further in critically analyzing my art. I wanted my art to be political and to effect change in people's lives at a practical level: I felt I couldn't live with myself if I didn't, as an artist, a political activist, a human being. So I underwent a process of rejecting a great deal of my politically backward work. This was difficult for me, but a necessary and important step to take toward becoming a truly political artist, an artist who puts her skill in the service of revolutionary struggle. I'm now aware that this process must be a continual one - that as a political artist, I must struggle daily to achieve artwork which is both esthetically whole and also has a political impact with regard to the liberation of oppressed peoples in a practical way. This process is the most challenging and important dialectic in my life.

I had tried to express my concern for humanity through my political work, but my work was still permeated with the values of guilt-ridden liberal morality. As my politics advanced, I began to be dissatisfied with merely evoking pity for the "victims"; it was an insult to those people who were struggling and fighting back. I realized this as I learned more about these struggles, starting with a knowledge of self-defense in Mississippi and moving on to an internationalist understanding of the armed struggles against imperialism in the Third World.

However, it wasn't easy to apply this principle to my work, which was western-



Selma Waldman, 1974

oriented and heavily influenced by Rembrandt, Daumier and Goya. Regardless of the political content of satire these artists had sometimes employed, I still couldn't see exactly how to bring my politics into my work. I needed to find concrete ways to construct art that was truly political. This meant abandoning art which reflected the struggles one-sidedly in a patronizing, sympathetic way. I wanted to create art that was politically valid, art which could be useful to the struggle in a practical way, art which could be used to help push the struggle ahead. I continued floundering and struggling over where and how I could do this work concretely for quite a while.

SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

I came into Liberation Support Movement (LSM) when it was known as African Support Committee. At that time on the University of Washington campus there was a Third World Student group, just a handful of people. Some of them brought ASC to the campus to show their film, "Armed Struggle in Angola," which had just been made in MPLA's semi-liberated eastern region. I was very impressed with what the African Support Committee was trying to do and decided I wanted to be part of it.

There were a number of reasons I was attracted to this organization and its work. First, I was ready to increase my political commitment. I was ripe for a practice in which I could work in a concentrated, ongoing way for the overthrow of imperialism, not just for a month or a year, not just as a dramatic gesture that would put me in jail, and not in a practice based on a sectarian line that was outdated and irrelevant. The people in ASC were hardworking, dedicated and nondogmatic, struggling to build support for the Angolan Revolution at a time when almost no one,

including others in the Movement, knew where Angola was.

I had already decided that the struggles in Africa were extremely significant. I think at first this feeling was intuitive, based more on a subjective romanticism than on a real knowledge of these struggles. But, as I learned more about them concretely, it was quite clear that victories for the African liberation movements were as essential to the downfall of imperialism as the victories in Indochina. My awareness of the African struggles was heightened by a Kenyan friend who had been influenced by the Mau Mau revolt in the fifties. I was later quite impressed with Don Barnett's analysis of this struggle in his book *Mau Mau From Within*. Working with ASC afforded me a solid practice where I could make a contribution to the African struggles whose historical importance I was beginning to appreciate.

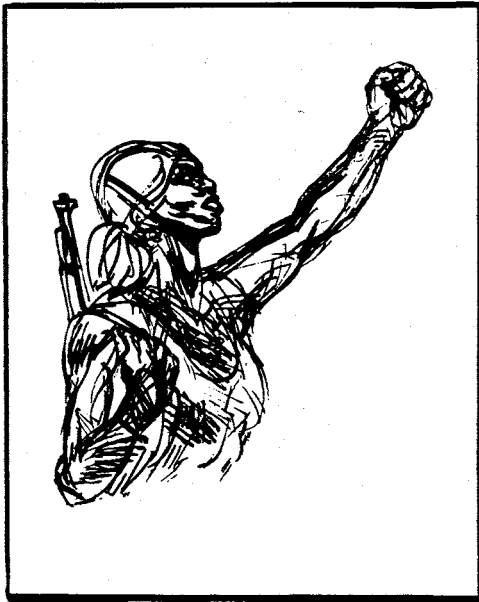
I did not work as an artist then with ASC; instead I did many of the same things I had done previously in the Movement - organizing educational and radio programs, distributing literature, working to get out information on the struggles and involving other people in support work for the movements. For instance, in 1970 as LSM, we sponsored a speaking program for Commander Toka, the first MPLA cadre to visit North America. Later, when the decision was made to dissolve what was by then the Seattle branch, I continued to distribute LSM's literature in the Seattle area. Thus, my activity was quite limited for a time because there was no LSM body in Seattle.

In 1971, LSM Chairperson, Don Barnett, approached me with the idea of illustrating LSM's series of life histories from the African liberation struggles. I could see the real need for illustrating these autobiographies because it usually wasn't possible to have current photographs of the militants, much less pictures of their families and from their earlier years. Here was a practical need for my artistic skills and sensibilities; I was very excited about undertaking this work. Providing a graphic expression for the message in the stories would give me a welcome opportunity to develop and be useful as a political artist.

This is not to say that I had no doubts about taking on this work - I had many. I was intimidated by the fact that I was not African and had not lived in Africa, and, therefore, had no vocabulary of African gesture or tradition. I was also intimidated by the fact that I felt the people involved in these struggles were better than me because they were facing guns and death, and I had never had to confront these things. This may sound silly now, but I really had to struggle against these things. I did the work because I had a conviction that the work was important and should be done. Fortunately, this conviction has maintained me and pushed me into taking on things that my timidity and lack of confidence might have prevented me from doing. People often tell me I'm strong and self-assured, yet I'm basically a very shy person, not at all aggressive.

For a period of about two years, in '72 - '73, I worked consistently, almost full-time, on illustrations for five life histories and two Africa Liberation Calendars. There were so many drawings I did, and many that we had to reject, so many false starts I made, so much research I had to do for each life history. I had no firsthand experience with African conditions so I had to gain as thorough a grounding as I could in other ways. I did an enormous amount of research, spending much time in libraries, reading news accounts and historical material, whatever resources I could find. There were times when I didn't know where to go for what I needed, and with few people in Seattle who could help me, it was often quite difficult.

When I look back at my first drawings, they are not as good as they could have been if I had had more self-confidence. They reflect the timidity I felt as I struggled through a process of experimentation, of trial and error. I don't reject



Selma Waldman, 1972

those first efforts, though I do cringe a bit when I look back on them. What I do regret is the agonizing and time wasted worrying about whether they were "correct," whether they were "authentic" - an old existential hangover from my past. From revolutionary artists in Cuba, I would later learn that what's important is to use your experience and resources in the best way you can to get the job done, confident that, through struggle, you can create artwork that is politically worthwhile for the revolution: you should minimize mistakes, but when they occur, they are a great teacher - in learning from them you can turn a weakness into a strength, a setback into an advance. But at first, I feared that any mistake I made would become a terrible indictment against my "inauthenticity!" I had to replace this destructive outlook with a more dialectical view of myself and my work.

It wasn't easy by any means to produce these life histories. When I handed out copies of them in Cuba, many people, especially the propaganda workers I met, expressed an appreciation for the amount of labor, thought and skill that must go into producing these books. To produce a book like a life history, it's necessary for all levels - political, technical, esthetic - to coordinate well. But even if something is done technically well, it's possible for the political content to fall short; and therefore, its political purpose can't be realized and the effort is wasted.

Criticism plays a crucial role in this collective process; it acts to safeguard the politics of the work by providing a means to identify and correct errors. For instance, Don once criticized a drawing I did of a young MPLA militant carrying a book. He said that this kid looked holy and pious, like he was going to church or to a bible missionary school. Of course, this was not at all reflective of the attitude conveyed by the militant in his story. Although the drawing was technically good, it was politically weak; this error was recognized and corrected through the process of criticism. Over the years I received many valuable criticisms from my LSM comrades which helped to shape and develop my work. And the fact that LSM continually reproduced my work whenever they could encouraged me to continue improving it.

Don also helped me in another way that perhaps he didn't realize. I had great respect for the way he wrote. In reading Russian literature, I had been impressed by the capacity of a good author to write well politically and still make the writing a work of art, to successfully connect the human emotions and struggles within the revolution to an objective political, historical context. This quality is to be found in the best of revolutionary and progressive literature, and I was quite inspired to find this in Don's writing, especially in *Mau Mau From Within*. His work was strong politically; at the same time, it was also art. This reinforced in me

the perspective that art could also be political, that there must be no separation between art and politics. Don's work encouraged me to continue to develop as a political artist; his work encouraged me, not only knowing him, because we didn't actually get together very often. And I believe his work stands today as encouragement, not only to me, but to those who continue to read his writings. This is because his work transcended simply the retelling of people's lives in the struggle; its insight and humanity has the capacity to inspire people like me to carry on the struggle and make a contribution to the revolution.

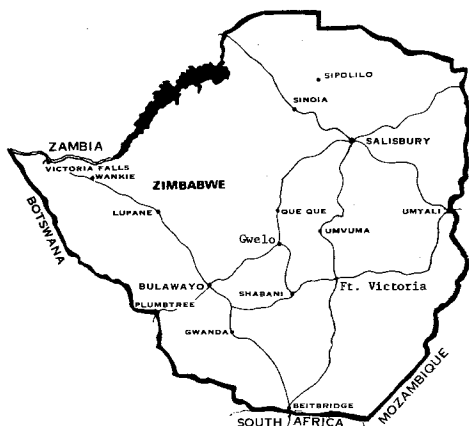
The working relationship I've had with LSM has been a solid and productive one, despite some real problems, such as being geographically isolated from the rest of the organization. This physical separation has often generated a political isolation, especially since, for so long, people were not interested in, much less working around, the struggles in Africa. It's curious to talk about this now, when everyone knows about Angola, but not so long ago, most people didn't know where Angola was and didn't give a damn either, including many people on the Left. When I started working on the 1972 Liberation Calendar, for instance, I felt quite isolated here in Seattle. When friends with various left perspectives would come over, they usually admired the quality of my work, but they all felt I was wasting my time. Although I was doing work in other movement activities then, my main thrust was for LSM and, through this, for the Angolan liberation struggle and other African struggles. Many people didn't understand this, and their narrowness and blindness didn't help me at all. In fact, this lack of support was a hindrance and an obstacle to my work.

I've found that people in the Movement will often develop a vested interest in their particular party line or in the direction they are going, which causes them to block out everything else, instead of remaining open to new ideas. Many of them are intelligent, sensitive people, but having arrived at an established position within a party or an organization, they become unwilling to question their assumptions or to sacrifice their ego-stake in what they are doing. So often, I would find that my internationalist politics, the way I approached the world-wide struggle and put my beliefs into practice, represented somewhat of a threat to people I knew who fit this category.

During those years, some people I knew or had worked with in the Movement put pressure on me to join their party or organization. At times this was subjectively tempting to me because I was so isolated in my work in Seattle. Sometimes it was a struggle to keep my internationalist politics in the forefront, guiding my actions, and guard against succumbing to the seductions of joining this or that left organization which did not have a strong internationalist practice.

The main reason I joined and continue to work with LSM is very simple: LSM's analysis and practice make sense to me, while the others don't. Of course, I agree with certain aspects of the perspectives of other left organizations. The work I've done with LSM has afforded me a way of confirming my internationalism in practice and has given me a feeling of substantive contribution to the anti-imperialist revolution. In many ways, my trip to Cuba was a culmination of my development, not only as a political artist, but as a socialist and an internationalist. The political consciousness and internationalism of our organization, which I brought with me to Cuba, was confirmed there in many ways. And I think it will increasingly be confirmed as the world-wide struggle progresses.

Zimbabwe: Untangling the Web



As this issue of LSM NEWS goes to press, the African Heads of State are heading for Mauritius where the question of Zimbabwe will be a prominent item on the OAU summit agenda. The development of the liberation struggle will be reviewed and several factions of the Zimbabwean liberation movement will be vying for recognition as the only legitimate voice of their people. In Zimbabwe, only two things appear certain: First, the present guerrilla campaign is but a first step of a protracted political-military struggle; predictions of a "quick kill" and imminent installation of revolutionary black regime are not based on a thorough assessment of the factors involved. Second, given the

history of the nationalist movement, only such protracted struggle can give it the level of unity and ideological strength necessary to proceed from armed struggle to socialist revolution.

It has been 18 months since LSM last published anything on Zimbabwe (see LSM NEWS, Volume II, number 1). Since then, the struggle against the Smith regime has passed through several stages and, after MPLA's victory in Angola, become of primary importance to the struggle against capitalist and racist oppression throughout black Africa. With this, the need for correct and accurate information has also grown, and we have received countless inquiries over the past year about "what's going on in Zimbabwe?"

Why, then, have we been so long in trying to fill the gap? First, because reliable information has been exceedingly difficult to obtain. Not willing to accept statements for facts, we have found it no simple task to interpret the flow of contradictory and often recriminatory "evidence" released by the various factions of the liberation movement, the OAU and the settler regime. Second, for some time it seemed as if unity of action within the movement was not too far off. Our plans were therefore to publish nothing until the Zimbabweans themselves could present an effective united front, with channels open for political and material support from anti-imperialist forces in the western world.

None of these criteria have been fully met. But now, with a rapidly escalating guerrilla campaign, with US political intervention to save what can be saved for capitalism, and with South Africa exploding in apartheid-provoked violence, it is imperative that supporters abroad have a clear view of the Zimbabwe struggle. This is so especially here in North America where news of the struggle is so frequently distorted, where many progressives have uncritically followed the bourgeois media in

pinning the labels of "militant" and "moderate," "revolutionary" and "reactionary," on different nationalist leaders and where, for some, relations with China or the Soviet Union have become the decisive factor in assessing a liberation movement's politics. The presence in North America of numerous alleged representatives of Zimbabwean organizations have added no clarity. Simplistic answers do not explain complex situations, and though our own understanding is far from complete, LSM now finds it necessary to do what we can to promote a better, more critical understanding of this struggle. The following brief review is based on our contacts with Zimbabwean comrades, documents released by the different factions of the liberation movement, reports in a variety of publications and on our own observations from several visits to southern Africa.

THE LUSAKA DECLARATION

On 7 December 1974 4 Zimbabwe nationalist leaders signed the Lusaka Declaration of Unity in the presence of Presidents of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and FRELIMO (Mozambique was not yet independent). By the stroke of a pen the four, Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole, Bishop Abel Muzorewa and James Chikerema, agreed to unite their respective organizations in the African National Council (ANC) as "the unifying force of the people of Zimbabwe." They called on "all Zimbabweans to rally behind the ANC" and, under the chairmanship of the Bishop, joined in an Executive whose function it was to prepare for a National Congress within 4 months, at which, among other things, "the leadership of the united people of Zimbabwe shall be elected." In conclusion, they recognized "the inevitability of continued armed struggle and all other forms of struggle until the total liberation of Zimbabwe." The Declaration was the result of months of efforts by the "front line" states which, through their unofficial channels with South Africa, pressured the Smith regime to release Sithole, Nkomo and other long imprisoned nationalists, who were then flown to Lusaka for immediate negotiations.

Of the 4 organizations that united, Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was the direct descendant of earlier, outlawed nationalist organizations. When declared illegal in 1962, it had switched from open to clandestine opposition and its exile cadres were responsible for periodic sabotage and guerrilla campaigns from 1966 to 1970 and, on a smaller scale, from 1972 to 1974. The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed by Sithole and other dissident ZAPU members in 1963 and, though it had claimed earlier military actions against the settler troops, it was not until 1972 that it demonstrated its ability to wage a sustained people's war. Between November of that year and December 1974, according to a ZANU document,¹ its forces inside Zimbabwe grew from a mere 30 to over 6,000 in the most effective campaign so far. Chikerema's Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (FROLIZI) was formed by a small number of ZAPU and ZANU members in 1971. It had no apparent mass basis inside Zimbabwe and remained marginal to the liberation struggle. The Lusaka Declaration most likely saved it from oblivion by, in the name of reconciliation, giving its leaders equal influence to those of the other organizations. Finally, there was the "old" African National Council, led by Bishop Muzorewa. This organization had also been formed in 1971, at the initiative of the clandestine ZAPU and ZANU, as a legal organ to oppose the attempts by Smith and the British to once and for all settle "the Rhodesian problem" over the heads of the African masses. Former ZAPU members were particularly active in the ANC and had used ZAPU's old structure in their organizing work.

It should be recognized that the differences between these organizations were

not always clear. Personal, ideological and, at times, ethnic conflict interacted to create situations which the settler regime and its agents exploited to sow further disunity. Like all liberation movements, each of the 4 organizations contained different elements - Marxist-Leninist, petty-bourgeois nationalist, opportunist or chauvinist - who differed greatly in their motivation and ultimate objectives for majority rule, the common aim. Under conditions like these, it is essential to penetrate the verbiage of speeches and official communiques, frequently designed for foreign consumption, and look to the concrete practice of the different organizations within the framework of the liberation struggle.

A BRITTLE UNITY

The front-line states applied no small amount of pressure on the Zimbabweans to unite in order to, in the words of one official, "avoid another Angola." It soon became obvious, however, that the prospects for effective unity were slim. The signing of the Declaration took place at a time when ZANU was in the middle of an internal conflict which culminated in the liquidation of many of its militants. The ZANU military leadership also did not want to subject their operations to the directives of the new ANC leadership, totally unfamiliar with guerrilla warfare and whom they also considered politically suspect. They subsequently rejected the clause of the Declaration which stipulated that "ZAPU, ZANU and FROLIZI take steps to merge their respective organs and structures into the ANC" and, with the support of most of the guerrillas, split from Sithole and that part of the organization which merged with the ANC. The guerrilla campaign had been suffering under internal conflict and was finally left to fizzle when, in March 1975, following the assassination of ZANU Chairman Herbert Chitepo, the Zambian Government imprisoned 57 of the dissenting ZANU leaders and cadres and detained the nearly 1,500 guerrillas on Zambian territory. The majority of ZAPU's and the handful of FROLIZI's trained militants were also detained. The ZANU prisoners have repeatedly claimed that this was part of Zambia's effort to neutralize the radical elements in the liberation movement so as to facilitate a "compromise" solution in Zimbabwe and "detente" with South Africa.² ZANU militants in Tanzania and Mozambique and a growing number of Zimbabwean refugees entering Mozambique were also restricted to their camps.

Meanwhile, the new ANC had been recognized, in January 1975, by the OAU as the only legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people. But little progress was made toward preparing for the Congress at which the Executive appointed in December was to face a democratic election. March 2, the originally planned date, passed with part of the Executive opposing the holding of a Congress on the grounds that the domination of ex-ZAPU forces and the likely election of Nkomo as ANC President would revive the rifts of the past.³ They argued, too, that the Smith regime's failure to grant safe conduct to political exiles made it impossible to hold a Congress inside Zimbabwe. Both Bishop Muzorewa and Sithole went into exile in mid-1975 while Nkomo and the vast majority of the Executive remained within Zimbabwe.

Whether or not to hold a Congress: this question remained the major point of division for several months while the opposing factions drifted further and further apart. On June 1st a large majority of the Executive, now having outlived its mandate by 3 months, finally voted to convene a Congress 3 weeks later. Bishop Muzorewa, however, vetoed this decision from exile. Then, at an August meeting in Lusaka, the Bishop and some of the exile Executive members created the Zimbabwe Liberation Council (ZLC) to direct the armed struggle and take care of external relations. Sithole was elected Chairman and Chikerema Secretary. Of its 6 committee



ZIMBABWE REVIEW PHOTO

chairs 4 were given to ex-ZANU members, the remaining 2 to ex-FROLIZI.

In practice, this spelled the death of the united ANC. The Bishop and the ZLC did not consider themselves responsible to the Executive in Zimbabwe, while the majority of this Executive considered the ZLC an attempt by a few leaders to usurp its powers. Each camp claimed to derive its ultimate authority from the support of the vast majority of Zimbabweans.

"MILITANTS" AND MODERATES"

With the blessings of the OAU the frontier states, and particularly Zambia, meanwhile followed up their earlier initiative to press for a negotiated settlement between the settlers and the Zimbabweans. A discrete meeting in Pretoria cleared the way for the Victoria Falls Bridge meeting in September 1975. Shortly after its abortive conclusion, and against wholesale expulsion orders from the Bishop, the ANC Executive majority finally convened the national Congress, on 27-28 September in a Salisbury stadium. Amid opposition charges of collusion with the Smith regime, 6,000 delegates elected Nkomo as their President, Joseph Msika Secretary-General, and Samuel Munodawafa National Chairman. A few weeks later the supporters of Muzorewa and Sithole flexed their political muscle by rallying 35,000 to a "consultative meeting" at the same stadium.

Throughout this period the former ZANU military leaders remained in Zambian prison, subject to severe torture which was stopped only after intervention by Amnesty International. Many of the guerrillas in the Zambian and Tanzanian camps appeared loyal to their imprisoned leaders. A statement signed by 44 cadres at the Mgagao camp in Tanzania condemned "the Nkomo formation of the ANC" and its Congress

as "reactionary and divisive" and expressed a complete lack of confidence in the ZLC and its leadership, including former ZANU President Sithole. The single ANC Executive member to have retained their trust was Robert Mugabe, Sithole's former deputy, who was at the time believed to be in Mozambique. The ex-ZAPU combatants, on the other hand, including large numbers fresh from training, appeared loyal to, if not altogether satisfied with, their political leadership. According to one of these leaders, they began approaching the ex-ZANU forces soon after the Salisbury Congress with a view to military collaboration. Their common aspiration was to put the seemingly interminable quarrels of the old guard behind them and get on with the liberation of their country.

During the latter half of 1975 foreign supporters of Zimbabwe liberation were treated to an almost impenetrable mish-mash of claims and counter-claims, half-truths and over-simplified versions of Zimbabwean affairs. In general, the "inside" ANC of Joshua Nkomo was labeled "moderate" or "sell-out," while the ANC/ZLC became the "militants," though their calls for intensification of the armed struggle remained empty as the ZLC had no guerrilla force to lead. The accusations that Nkomo had clinched a secret deal with Smith naturally rose to a crescendo when the two started negotiations in December 1975.

In the face of such accusations and the obvious need for the settler regime to buy time, the decision to enter into negotiations must have been preceded by considerable debate within Nkomo's organization. The rationale which prevailed saw the quasi-legal conditions which accompanied the talks as important for recruiting and reorganizing within Zimbabwe, to politically educate the population and to demonstrate to both Zimbabweans and the outside world that the "inside" ANC was willing to accept peaceful transition to majority rule. The alternative, "too ghastly to contemplate," in the words of Nkomo, would then clearly be due to settler intransigence. Armed struggle and talks were seen as complementary tactics in a combined strategy and not as mutually exclusive. While opportunist elements within the organization might have settled for a "compromise," there is nothing to indicate that the cadres and guerrillas across Zimbabwe's borders were contemplating anything less than "Majority Rule Now!" The latter were engaging in armed struggle (see below) already before the negotiations were broken off last March, while at least one ANC official in Salisbury has since hinted at a resumption of talks. Nkomo himself, no doubt subject to pressure from both camps, has now voiced his support for armed struggle as the only effective means to gain majority rule. Reports from Zimbabwe, however, indicate that popular opposition to talks was wide-spread all along and has led to the decline of Nkomo's stature as a leader of his people.

THE "THIRD FORCE"

The inability of the "old guard" to overcome their differences and advance the struggle for liberation seems to have exasperated not only the guerrillas, but also some of the front-line states whose own destinies are closely tied to that of Zimbabwe. In a particularly central position was Mozambique, whose ports served as the conduit for much of Rhodesia's imports and exports. In the early seventies there had been close FRELIMO-ZANU cooperation on both sides of the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border, and after Mozambican Independence, Zimbabweans flocked across the same border to escape settler repression and join the liberation movement. FRELIMO and Mozambique had already demonstrated their full commitment to the liberation of the whole of southern Africa, among other things by having all Mozambicans contribute one day's wages to the MPLA, and so it was not surprising when they, again, came to



SOUTHERN AFRICA

play a key role in facilitating the resumption of the Zimbabwe armed struggle. Early last January, the ex-ZANU guerrillas detained in Zambia (but not their imprisoned leaders) were transferred to Mozambique, and on 28 January the Rhodesian army announced that guerrilla warfare had resumed in the eastern part of the country. One month later the Mozambican Government closed the border and seized all Rhodesian property on its side. The war has since spread rapidly with incursions also from Zambia and operations have stretched over half the national territory.

The Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) - or the "Third Force," as it has also been called - operates from Mozambique and consists of ex-ZANU and ex-ZAPU militants, with the former in majority. The command is shared by cadres from the 2 organizations. This new, and frail, unity is closely supervised by FRELIMO to prevent factional eruptions similar to those which have reportedly taken place in Tanzanian camps. Of the traditional leaders only Robert Mugabe appears to have gained access to the bases in Mozambique. Obviously, the FRELIMO leadership considers this a necessary step to transform the Zimbabwe struggle. In the words of President Samora Machel, "A protracted people's war has started in Zimbabwe. This war will give the Zimbabweans the possibility to transform the present nationalist struggle to a revolutionary struggle, which aims at fundamental changes in society . . . a complete separation from the capitalist system."

There is no shortage of recruits as most of the 20,000 - 30,000 recent arrivals are youths, both women and men. Unlike before, many now come from urban areas where they have given up jobs and secondary schooling - both of which are privileges in Zimbabwe - to join the liberation movement. Conditions in the camps, however, are difficult with shortages of both food and clothing.⁴ (Mozambique itself is getting very little of the assistance promised by other countries as compensation for lost

revenues when it closed its borders to Rhodesia.) The guerrilla forces operating from Zambia are likely made up of ex-ZAPU combatants only.

Thus it may be that a new generation is in the process of taking the lead as the Zimbabwe liberation struggle is again gaining momentum. While the earlier leaders may find themselves sidelined by events, the former ZANU leaders in Zambian prisons still have the support of many. The prospects of their early return to the ranks are remote, however, as the Lusaka Government seems determined to use whatever means necessary to keep them behind bars.

Unity among the combatants and cadres who are today in exile will be an important step toward the liberation of Zimbabwe. But unity, support and a high level of political consciousness must also be built among the masses at home. It is here, no doubt, that the liberation movement will face its most difficult test in the years to come. It is also obvious that reliable information about such matters is least accessible. A revolutionary mass movement can only be built through years of struggle and with strong leadership. And this is why the US, Britain and perhaps even Vorster, are prepared to pull the chair out from under the rickety Smith regime; by forcing a rapid political solution they hope to create a situation favorable to neocolonialism and put the revolutionary forces at a disadvantage.

With this brief piece we do not pretend to give a complete account of the Zimbabwe struggle. Many may feel, and perhaps correctly, that important information has been left out or that facts have been misrepresented. We shall, as before, leave our pages open to comments and constructive criticism which help promote a critical understanding of the Zimbabwe struggle. We, too, whose struggle is in solidarity with the Zimbabwean comrades and all other peoples fighting for their liberation, have a responsibility to study the lessons learned. The words of the late Amilcar Cabral serve as a reminder to all of us:

"Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures. Claim no easy victories."

1. The Price of Detente, London, Workers' Publishing House, n.d.
2. Whatever the truth of such claims, it was at this time that the Lusaka Government started in earnest to impose severe restrictions on the Namibian and South African liberation movements with bases in the country and to step up their support for UNITA in Angola. But Zambia's relations with both liberation movements and neighboring independent countries are subject to the influence of many forces and, so, to judge either by their relationship to the Kaunda regime - by a facile guilt/virtue-by-association rationale - does little to advance our understanding of the basic contradictions involved.
3. This was communicated to LSM by members of both camps in Lusaka later that year.
4. See reports from Salisbury by Peter Earl in *Africa Report*, March-April 1976 and from Chibabava, Mozambique by Anders Johansson in the *Stockholm daily Dagens Nyheter*, 14 March 1976.

LSM Actions

UN ANTI-APARTEID CONFERENCE IN HAVANA

The International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa was held in Havana, Cuba from 24 to 28 May and sponsored by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid in consultation with the Organization of African Unity. The Seminar was attended by about 150 delegates and guests from governments, trade unions, solidarity organizations, national liberation movements and other organizations. Liberation Support Movement was represented by its chairperson, Carol Barnett.

Dr. Raul Roa Garcia, Cuban Foreign Minister, spoke at the opening session, affirming that the destiny of Africa is also the destiny of Cuba. "That has been an invariable attitude and sentiment since the Cuban Revolution appeared on the international scene. . . . It is a great honor for Havana, capital of the first socialist country in America and, therefore, completely emancipated from imperialist domination, human exploitation, and racial discrimination, to be selected to host this event." He spoke of Cuba's role in fulfilling its inevitable duty of solidarity by giving unrestricted support to the People's Republic of Angola and recalled Fidel Castro's recent words that "we are a people of our America and at the same time a Latin-African people." Dr. Garcia concluded his talk with a poem:

Apartheid is asphyxiation and pain;
apartheid destroys our lives;
apartheid murders our children
and takes us far from our women.
We must bear the pass,
slaves in our own land.
But the Congress of the people
is pointing the way
by which we will be free.
Arise, people of color
the long, long night is ended;
the rays of dawn are rising
in the east.
From the vile dream of labor and sorrow,
people of color, arise,
for dawn is already here!

Among the speakers in the afternoon session were liberation movement representatives. M. P. Naicker, Director of Publicity and Information of the African National Congress of South Africa described Kissinger's Lusaka speech as another attempt to hoodwink Africa into thinking of the US as a friend, while the US attitude toward Africa is totally guided by its investments and by cold war considerations. Naicker told the Seminar that the Federal Republic of Germany, whose nuclear

collaboration with South Africa has been exposed, had put pressure on UN members not to contribute to UN funds in aid of southern Africa.

David Sibeko, Director of Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, noted that South African aggression had been defeated in Angola while the recent by-election in Durban, won by a "relatively anti-apartheid candidate," might indicate a "certain degree of panic" among South African Whites. He reported that South Africa plans to inaugurate a Bantustan in the Transkei on 26 October and was seeking recognition from neighboring African states before sponsoring "this monstrosity" for UN membership.

Tulinane O. Emvula, Deputy Representative of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), expressed a commitment to armed struggle to gain independence for Namibia from South Africa's illegal occupation. The bullet is the only communication SWAPO can have with the racist Vorster regime until it agrees to leave the country. South Africa must recognize Namibia's national right to independence, release all prisoners - including two SWAPO members recently condemned to death - and withdraw all troops and police.

Issam Kamel, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, directly related the struggle against apartheid to the struggle against Zionism. The Palestinian Revolution is part of the world-wide movement against imperialism. Kamel stressed that Zionism is an imperialist, colonialist, racist ideology, reactionary and discriminatory. He referred to recent developments in occupied Arab territories and said that the Zionists wanted "Bantustans for the Palestinians in their own homeland." Mankind should put an end to both apartheid and Zionism.

Among the second day's speakers was Mrs. Maria de Jesus Haller who represented the People's Republic of Angola. After receiving a standing ovation, she said that her country was working to get its economy "out of the hands of the vultures." Angola's oil and diamonds will help enrich the national heritage. Angola's coffee is now being harvested by Angolans for Angolans. Her country would not be subjected to blackmail in international markets. Comrade Haller paid tribute to Cuba, the Soviet Union and others that had helped Angola achieve its freedom.

To coincide with the event, meetings of solidarity with Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa were organized by the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions on Africa Day (25 May) at six different work centers.

On the third day the Seminar split into two commissions which analyzed the propaganda in South Africa and the present stage of the liberation struggles in southern Africa, along with the question of aid to the South African people and their liberation movements.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The delegates approved a final declaration, messages to Cuba and Angola and an action program which reflects the proposals made by delegates during the Seminar. The Action Program contains a pledge for concerted international action to bring about the rapid elimination of apartheid and the liberation of the South African people. Effective action must come from the UN, the OAU, the nonaligned countries, the Arab League and from other organizations, trade unions and churches. Strict observance of the arms embargo on South Africa was declared essential and means of implementation were discussed. The role of multi-national corporations in strengthening the South African economy was noted and the Seminar urged action to block the activities of companies which invest in South African industries bordering on or located in the bantustans.



Workers at the Jose Ramirez Casamayor Railroad Works during Africa Day rally on 25 May in Havana. Photo: LSM/Carol Barnett

NAMIBIA

The international community was urged to act in a clear and effective manner to end the illegal South African occupation of Namibia and to support SWAPO in its struggle for liberation. The "SWAPO Printshop Project" was presented to Commission II by LSM. While the Commission was not in a position to endorse any single project, it discussed the liberation movements' needs for informational facilities to counteract enemy propaganda, noting that South Africa disseminates tons of propaganda in dozens of languages while the movements have the capacity to produce in at most 2 or 3 languages. All groups present were urged to publicize anti-imperialist struggles and to help provide the movements with their own publicity facilities. In this light, the "SWAPO Printshop Project" was recognized as completely in accord with the objectives of the Commission.

"... SAY 'MAN' AND ALL RIGHTS HAVE BEEN STATED!"

The Seminar closed at the 6,000-seat Karl Marx Theater with a speech by Armando Hart, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba. "The fact that the Seminar saluted the brilliant victory of the Angolan people - not only over the Portuguese colonial yoke but also over the South African invaders and their allies and eggheads, the imperialists - was especially noteworthy. But that's not all. Apart from the fact that this event fully met its objectives, it is worth noting that the Seminar energetically condemned the fascist regimes in Latin America, which, as is only to be expected, have strengthened their political, economic, military and other ties with South African tyranny. The repulsive dictatorships of Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay, about whose machinations concrete data were supplied, were

denounced before international public opinion as transgressors of numerous resolutions of the UN General Assembly."

Hart went on to discuss some of the inequities of the South African system of apartheid and how racism has been used as a cover for slavery of black Africans in the Americas; how it is used to justify the plunder of the Third World and how it has served as an ideological banner for the ruling classes in the US, first to enslave the Blacks and later to practically wipe out Native people. He asked of the US: "How can they speak of friendship and solidarity with black Africa? What kind of solidarity and friendship can a social system which itself upholds racial discrimination offer to Africa? Those who abuse and beat Blacks in the US have no right to speak of freedom, dignity and democracy to peoples through whose veins flows the blood of Africa!"

He pointed out that the establishment of apartheid was in keeping with the imperialist strategy of suppressing revolutionary and national liberation movements following World War II and that the international alliance of imperialism makes possible the existence of the racist state of South Africa. He noted that apartheid is in crisis; that the crisis of South Africa is part of the general crisis of capitalism and imperialism.

"With a new balance of forces in the world - a balance that is favorable to the cause of socialism, the liberation of the peoples, social progress and peace - there is no place for such a reactionary, criminal system as that of the Pretoria racists. . . . The crisis of South Africa is a reflection of the crisis of colonialism and neocolonialism throughout the African continent. . . . [It] has a lot to do with the events in Angola, with the overwhelming defeat dealt the racists and imperialists there. . . . The imperialists tried to use South Africa and its military forces as a spearhead for a reactionary plot aimed at doing away with the independence of the country; dismembering its territory; and, on its soil, soaked with the blood of Angolan patriots during 15 years of heroic struggle, erecting a new racist 'protectorate' along the lines of that in Namibia - a sanctuary for monopolies, mercenaries and puppets on the CIA payroll.

"However, the people of Angola dealt a hard blow to racism in South Africa, obtaining a victory which, as Fidel said, represents an African 'Bay of Pigs.' In carrying out that great task, the Angolan people were supported by international solidarity. Together with the Soviet Union and various African countries, Cuba offered Angola all-out cooperation. By so doing, we were no more than reciprocating the international solidarity which our homeland received in its struggle against imperialism." Hart called for a powerful mobilization of international solidarity with the cause of liberation of the peoples victimized by apartheid and ended his powerful address with a quote from Jose Marti: "Man is more than white, mulatto or black. . . . Say 'man' and all rights have been stated."

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

It was proper for this meeting to take place in Cuba, a citadel of revolution and proletarian internationalism. There were many references to Cuba's demonstration of solidarity with the Angolan Revolution. The Cuban Government hosted the event superbly. The warmth, comradeship and political acuity of the Cubans was ever-present. Even as a small organization among many large ones, including liberation movements and governments, LSM was treated with respect for its work.

The bringing together of such a variety of individuals, organizations and governments from all over the world could be an important step toward increasing international support for the liberation of southern Africa. The important thing

now is, of course, whether the resolutions, promises and declarations are carried out. There were criticisms of past UN meetings which expressed similar declarations of intent, never to be implemented. The enthusiasm and inspiration we received will certainly help to promote the goals of the Seminar in LSM's work. If this is the case for other participants, concrete action will result.

Long Live the Cuban Revolution!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live Solidarity with African Liberation Struggles!

PROGRAMS ACROSS THE US

LSM recently toured the US with another series of educational programs on African liberation struggles. Central objectives of this tour were to heighten political support for the newly-victorious People's Republic of Angola and to raise support for the SWAPO Printshop Project. Ole Gjerstad and Chantal Sarrazin spoke at more than fifty gatherings across the US, conveying their personal impressions of the People's Power movement in Angola and socialist reconstruction and women's emancipation in Guinea-Bissau. Their direct accounts presented the human aspects of the day-to-day revolutionary process and laid the basis for many productive discussions on the relationship of these and other Third World struggles to political work in North America.

ANGOLA SUPPORT CONFERENCE

To further facilitate and advance support for MPLA and the Angolan Revolution, two LSM/EUC members attended the Angola Support Conference in Chicago at the end of May. This conference of 140 delegates from 70 organizations was addressed by a delegation from the People's Republic of Angola, who outlined the current problems and needs of the country and stated their political objective - "to build socialism with the broad exploited masses as its source." The contact with the Angolan comrades, who answered questions and later had informal discussions with the participants, was a high point of the gathering. The conference established a National Interim Coordinating Committee, including one LSM representative, to coordinate and develop greater political and material support for the People's Republic of Angola.

TOWARD A UNITED ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEFT

Throughout the world our brothers and sisters are struggling against imperialist oppression. Here in North America, LSM has been continuing its work to help build proletarian internationalism, to build international support and solidarity with those who are directly engaging our common enemy. However, we also need to help build a sense of unity and solidarity amongst our comrades of the US and Canadian Left - presently a much divided force. With these objectives in mind, LSM has continued to work together with other progressive North American organizations and individuals, building support for the Angolan, Namibian, Palestinian and native revolutions, as well as promoting unity among anti-imperialists.

On May 1st our East Coast Unit co-sponsored and participated in a march and rally in commemoration of International Worker's Day, this year designated Anti-Apartheid Day to express solidarity with workers in the fascist apartheid states in particular. In New York City, 1200 people marched through a heavy rain in support

of the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The demonstration encompassed a wide sector of political, community and trade union organizations.

In March the Bay Area Unit, together with the Bay Area Namibia Action Group, premiered two films on Namibia documenting its history and the growing struggle led by SWAPO. This was one of the first opportunities for Bay Area residents to learn about the Namibian war of national liberation.

The Bay Area Unit has also continued to work in the Angola Solidarity Coalition, which recently published an informational paper covering Angola's history, imperialism's interests in Angola, the national liberation war and MPLA's victory in the "Second War of Liberation." In April the ASC presented a forum, attended by over 300 people, which dealt with the myths and realities of the Angolan Revolution and generated discussions of the struggles in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Now the ASC, having recognized the strategic significance of the entire southern Africa region in the fight against imperialism, has decided to continue and widen its scope of work as the Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition.

In support of another front, the BAU worked in the May 15th Coalition to prepare a program for the Day of International Solidarity with Palestine, in support of the PLO. People from both the Arab and North American communities enjoyed a variety of educational and cultural presentations on the background of the Palestinian Revolution, the growth of the PLO, as well as the culture and spirit of the Palestinian people.

NORANDA

In mid-April several of LSM's Vancouver members joined an informational picket at the Noranda Mines Ltd. offices in Vancouver. Noranda, Canada's eighth largest corporation, recently expanded its investments in Chilean copper production. In partnership with the fascist military junta, Noranda will be developing a \$350 million mine and smelter complex at the Andocollo deposit north of Santiago. This is the largest single foreign investment in Chile since the Allende government was overthrown in 1973. The picket outside Noranda's Vancouver offices was organized by the Vancouver Chilean Association and aimed at raising public resistance to further Canadian investment in the bloody repression of the Chilean people.

LEONARD PELTIER

On April 10th LSM members marched in a demonstration of several hundred people (the largest in Vancouver since the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations) demanding political asylum for Leonard Peltier. The march, organized by the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, tied up major streets in downtown Vancouver and made clear progressive people's opposition to the Canadian Government's extradition plans. The Canadian Government has ordered Peltier held for extradition on June 25 to the US for his participation in the battle at Wounded Knee, South Dakota and other native people's struggles. Peltier is charged by US authorities with the death of 2 FBI agents after a shootout on the Pine Ridge Reservation. He was arrested in Canada and has been held in chains and solitary confinement in Vancouver. It is clear that extradition will mean death for Peltier at the hands of US Government agents before reaching trial, a fate met by many other native Indian militants under arrest. One of Peltier's lawyers, Stuart Rush, is now filing an appeal with the Federal Court of Canada. FREE LEONARD PELTIER!

HABITAT

During the recent UN Habitat Conference in Vancouver, a public Habitat Forum featuring various displays and speakers was opened in conjunction with the official gathering. Although this "counter-event" was designed to promote the liberal image of Canada's sub-imperialist government, LSM decided to use this opportunity to

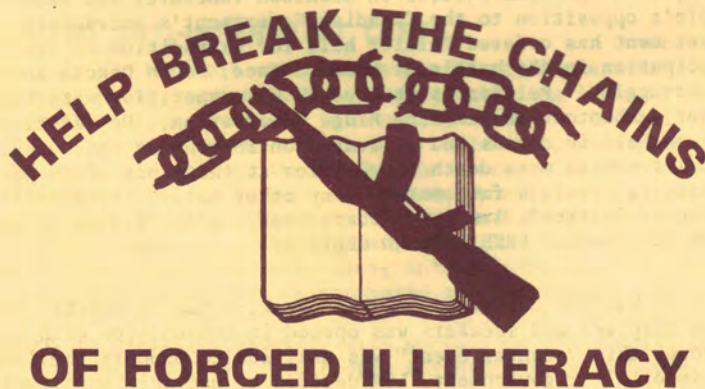
Support the Liberation of Namibia

Help Build the SWAPO Printshop Project!

At the request of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) LSM has launched an international campaign to provide it with a complete printshop. SWAPO is leading the struggle of the Namibian people against apartheid and imperialism. Their struggle for national self-determination has many fronts, and one of the most important is education and information. To enable the movement to expand and improve its informational work - printing texts for technical and political education as well as communiques and bulletins for publicizing the struggle - SWAPO has called on LSM to coordinate a printshop project with progressive groups and individuals in North America. We have begun raising funds to purchase and send SWAPO printing equipment and supplies. To further advance the movement's self-reliance in this area we are providing two LSM cadres to instruct SWAPO members in techniques of offset printing.

We have prepared an informational brochure which is available upon request. LSM NEWS readers wishing to join in these efforts can send contributions, suggestions and questions to:

**SWAPO Printshop Project
Liberation Support Movement
Box 94338, Richmond, B.C.
CANADA V6Y 2A8**



Enclosed please find \$ _____ as my contribution to the SWAPO PRINTSHOP PROJECT.
Our organization wishes to contribute some equipment or supplies to this project. We can give:

Our organization would like to help raise funds for the SWAPO PRINTSHOP PROJECT. Please send more information.

NAME _____

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

Please make checks payable to SWAPO PRINTSHOP PROJECT and mail to:

LSM INFORMATION CENTER, Box 94338, Richmond, B.C. CANADA V6Y 2A8 or LSM BAY AREA UNIT,
Box 756, Berkeley, Calif. USA 94701 or LSM EAST COAST UNIT, Box 673, Brooklyn, N.Y. USA 11202



LSM photographer captures a moment of gaiety during the presentation of a bullhorn to PRA representative. Extreme left and right: PRA delegates Mendes de Carvalho and Dinis de Gama. Center: LSM members Ole Gjerstad and Carol Barnett.

expose imperialism and raise support for national liberation struggles. We presented four audio-visual programs on revolution in Africa and the Middle East, and maintained an exhibit where we sold LSM literature, posters and records. The forum proved to be a useful vehicle for advancing proletarian internationalism and raising SWAPO Printshop Project funds among people who rarely or never have contact with the work of LSM or other progressive organizations.

Additionally, we met representatives of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the African National Congress of South Africa and the African National Council of Zimbabwe and discussed current developments in their struggles. We had several meetings with the PRA delegation consisting of long-time MPLA militants Agostinho Mendes de Carvalho, the Mayor of Luanda, and Dinis de Gama, a young Angolan architect. We heard more on the PRA's reconstruction efforts and sang MPLA songs, including a new LSM composition. Comrade Carvalho requested we record this song so he could take it back to President Neto. In discussions with Carvalho, we learned of his need for a bullhorn for use at public meetings. So, we were pleased to be able to present the PRA delegates with a bullhorn and a tape of our Angola song before their departure.

The delegates from the progressive governments, as well as the liberation movements, generally agreed that the UN conference was not going to solve the problems in human settlement for the world's exploited peoples, that they themselves must solve this problem in their national liberation struggles and socialist reconstruction. The conference was important, however, for establishing their international stature and gaining more support in the international community. We hope our efforts, too, facilitated this in some small way.

Solidarity with the Palestinian Revolution



The Palestinian liberation movement is in crisis. The Palestinian liberation movement has never been stronger than it is today. In these two seemingly contradictory statements lies the essential truth about the Palestinian people. Forged in a struggle against extremely adverse conditions, the Palestinian revolution, when challenged, becomes stronger. Years of insidious Zionist propaganda have forced the Palestinians to state their case clearly and persuasively until today most of the world's peoples support their cause. Reactionaries in Jordan in 1970 and Lebanon in 1973 tried to liquidate the Palestinian revolution, but each time unity grew and the goal of a secular, democratic state in Palestine became closer.

Today the fight continues on two fronts. In Lebanon, Syria has begun an invasion designed to eliminate the Lebanese Left along with the Palestinian resistance. Inside occupied Palestine, the Zionist state has stepped up its campaigns to destroy Arab villages, confiscate Arab land and deport Arabs from their homeland. The heroic Palestinians have responded with massive demonstrations and overwhelming electoral support to the PLO. In 1975 over 400 operations were conducted inside Palestine by commandos based there. In Lebanon, the PLO is united as never before and Syria will find it impossible to crush the revolution. The Palestinian revolution is a revolution until victory.

Palestinians do not only respect guns and demonstrations; their cultural heritage is very rich especially in poetry. In the recent elections, one of Palestine's most famous poets, Tawfiq Zayyid, was elected Mayor of Nazareth. In solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, we reprint below part of one of his poems, "The Impossible."

THE IMPOSSIBLE

It is a thousand times easier
For you
To pass an elephant through the needle's eye
To catch fried fish in the milky way
To plow the sea
To teach the alligator speech,
A thousand times easier
Than smothering with your oppression
The spark of an idea
Or forcing us to deviate.
A single step
From our chosen march.
Like twenty impossibles
We shall remain in Lydda, Ramlah, and Galilee.

Here upon your chests
We shall remain
Like the glass and the cactus
In your throats
A fiery whirlwind
In your eyes.

Here, we shall remain
A wall on your chests.
We wash dishes in the hotels
And serve drinks to the masters.
We mop the floors in the dark kitchens
To extract a piece of bread
From your blue teeth
For the little ones.

Here, we shall remain
A wall on your chests.
We starve,
Go naked,
Sing songs
And fill the streets
With demonstrations
And the jails with pride.

Tawfiq Zayyid

In Tribute to Don Barnett



LSM members and associates in Vancouver, Oakland and New York joined together in commemorations honoring our late founder and leader, Don Barnett, on April 25, the first anniversary of his death. Just as Che remains a living force in Cuba, so too is Don, despite his physical absence, very much alive in LSM. Don exemplifies for us a deep love for the oppressed and exploited masses, communist principles and morality, revolutionary determination and proletarian internationalism. His comrades in LSM are striving to uphold and advance his example of selfless dedication to revolutionary struggle.

During his life, Don devoted his full energies to developing productive working relationships between revolutionaries of North America and of the super-exploited Third World. This tireless and enthusiastic work made an important contribution to the Angolan revolution in particular, earning respect from comrades the world over.

Now the responsibility lies with us, socialists within and without LSM, to continue this mission. Motivated by Don's vision of genuine proletarian internationalism, let us learn from him the courage and audacity to project ourselves into a future of struggle.

In the Spirit of Don!
In the Spirit of Che!
Victory or Death!
Victory is Certain!

ABOUT LSM from inside cover.

Since World War I, and especially World War II, the super-exploited peoples of the countryside have been waging revolutionary struggles to liberate their nations and create peasant-worker states which will serve their real interests. By removing vital markets, labor and raw materials from imperialist control, these struggles are gradually reducing the flow of surplus to the metropole, making it increasingly difficult for the metropolitan bourgeoisie to sustain high wage levels for metropolitan workers as well as welfare and unemployment benefits. Thus the revolutionary struggles of the countryside are creating conditions for intensified class struggle and proletarian revolution within the metropolitan nations as well. This is precisely why we in LSM view the revolutions of the countryside as the vanguard forces of a single revolutionary process which is eliminating the entire capitalist system and ushering in an epoch of international socialism.

In light of this analysis, LSM has put into practice a strategy designed to maximize our contribution to anti-imperialist revolution. The central component of our strategy has been the development of proletarian internationalist links with national liberation movements. Beginning with MPLA in 1968, LSM has been working with several liberation movements, providing concrete support in the form of funds, essential supplies, technical assistance and informational activity. This has ranged from shipping clothing, medicines and concentrated foods to contributing research on means to counter chemical defoliants; from organizing MPLA's first tour of North America in 1970 to supplying MPLA with a printing press and technical cadre in 1972. Additionally, we have published a wide range of materials by and about liberation movements, including numerous movement bulletins and documents which we have translated and/or reprinted for North American distribution, interviews with movement leadership and autobiographies of cadres and guerrilla fighters. This literature is geared toward raising North American consciousness of and solidarity with national liberation struggles. To this end we have also engaged in many agitational and educational actions, often in conjunction with other anti-imperialist organizations. For example, LSM periodically tours North America with film, slide and discussion programs on the revolutionary struggles in southern Africa. Through such direct and indirect participation in the revolution of the countryside, LSM hopes to accelerate the process of imperialist dismemberment, thus hastening the development of a mass-based revolutionary movement in the metropolitan nations. For LSM, Che's call to "develop a true proletarian internationalism" is no mere platitude to be pulled from the shelf and echoed on "appropriate" occasions, but a call to revolutionary action.

For those interested in learning more about LSM's strategy and practice see *Notes on a Strategy for North American Revolutionaries*, *Toward an International Strategy* and *Principles of LSM's Anti-Imperialist Work*, all obtainable from LSM Information Center. And, if you have further enquiries, please direct them to: LSM, P.O. Box 94338, Richmond, B.C., CANADA V6V 2A8.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!



Cover from an original mural designed by Lucy Mahler for "A People's Salute to Cuba", New York City. Venceremos Brigade card.

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