

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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## Huge Crowds March Against NATO Missiles



A quarter million people in London antimissiles march, October 24.

***Nicaraguan Revolution Under Siege***

## Polish workers stand up to new provocations

By Ernest Harsch

The new Polish Communist Party leadership of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski has chosen a course that risks a direct confrontation with the vast majority of Poland's working people.

By announcing on October 23 the deployment of tens of thousands of troops around the country to stifle "local conflicts" and "street demonstrations and disturbances," the ruling bureaucracy is seeking to engage the 10-million-member Solidarity union movement in a major test of strength. The prospects for a physical confrontation have been greatly heightened.

The Solidarity leadership, meeting in Gdansk earlier that same day, aptly described the authorities as a "group of adventurers."

But if the government, party leadership, and army hierarchy think they can intimidate Poland's workers, they may have another thing coming. Their campaign of threats, police provocations, and arrests has been building up for weeks, but the workers have so far shown no sign of retreating.

In fact, the same day that the deployment of troops was announced, some 250,000 workers were occupying their factories around the country and Solidarity called for a one-hour nationwide strike on October 28, the biggest protest action called by the union since March.

### Government blames workers

In its October 23 declaration on the use of troops, the government sought to place the blame for this tense situation on the workers themselves, accusing "chapters of Solidarity" of aiming to provoke "a test of force with the authorities" with the "clear intention of assaulting the socialist statehood."

Nothing could be farther from the truth. What the workers are reacting to are the disastrous results of years of economic mismanagement and authoritarian rule by the small layer of privileged bureaucrats who are in power in Poland. They are directly responding to attacks on their rights, the authorities' refusal to fulfill the many promises they have made, and the government's failure to assure even a minimum standard of living.

Many of the recent strikes around the country have been in response to the very serious shortages of food and other basic necessities.

In Zyrardow, near Warsaw, some 12,000 women textile workers have been occupying their plants for more than a week. They have issued a list of sixteen demands, including the right to control food distribution and punishment for officials responsible for the shortages.

In Warsaw, a cavalcade of several thousand cars and taxis drove through the city with horns

blaring October 22 to protest the shortages of gasoline.

The same day in Grudziadz, in northern Poland, some 9,000 workers marched through the streets with banners reading, "Effects of the rationing program — we lose weight" and, in reply to the government's attempts to turn people against Solidarity, "We want to divide up the food, not Poland."

Other strikes around this issue have been held in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Niewiadow, and Piotrkow Trybunalski. Plans for strikes or the declaration of strike alerts have been reported in many other cities.

These strikes highlight the fact that the supply of many basic necessities such as meat, cheese, and butter have been becoming increasingly scarce and erratic in recent months. The lines outside food shops are growing longer almost daily, and even the rationing system can no longer ensure that everyone receives what they are entitled to.

### Workers fight 'real starvation'

One example of the results of this has been the decline in coal production. Already plagued by gross economic mismanagement, the coal miners are now being further affected by undernourishment.

"Six to eight men are doing the job previously done by two. They simply have not enough strength," a correspondent for the union paper *Glos Pracy* (Workers Voice) reported after a tour of the mines.

The situation is similar in Zyrardow, where the women textile workers are on strike. Solidarity's Warsaw news service reported on October 14 that although Zyrardow was supposed to get 5,280 pounds of meat that day, it received only 2,420 pounds. One union official said that food supplies were so tight that people faced "real starvation" and could not do their jobs because of hunger.

One of the chief reasons for such economic chaos, Solidarity points out, is the authorities' monopoly on decision-making. In response, workers have increasingly been demanding a voice in the making of economic decisions and have already set up committees to fight for workers control of the factories in 14,000 enterprises, a majority of those in the country.

At its meeting in Gdansk October 22-23, Solidarity's 107-member National Commission called for the establishment of a socioeconomic council to oversee the government's handling of the economy.

### Anger at police provocations

Another major factor behind the new wave of strikes and demonstrations has been the government's attempts to crack down on Soli-

arity's activities and to intimidate its members.

In recent weeks, according to a report from Warsaw in the October 24 *Washington Post*, about 200 Solidarity activists have been arrested and charged with "disturbing public order, violating the censorship law and slandering Poland's Soviet Bloc allies."

During a meeting of the party's Central Committee October 16-18 — at which Jaruzelski replaced Stanislaw Kania as party chief — a resolution was adopted outlining a much harder stance toward Solidarity and the workers in general. It included a call for a "temporary" suspension of the right to strike.

Solidarity responded, "We believe that in order to avoid strikes, it is necessary to eliminate their objective causes rather than resort to bans in violation of international law. No ban can be effective if cooperation between the authorities and society is broken and the security of union members threatened."

In the wake of the Central Committee meeting — which was greeted enthusiastically by the Soviet leadership — the authorities carried out a series of new provocations against Solidarity.

In the southern city of Katowice, in the heart of Poland's mining region, police attempted on October 20 to arrest three Solidarity members distributing political literature from a van, which was decorated with the slogan, "Freedom for political prisoners." Two of them got away into a gathering crowd. As the police were trying to take away the third activist, the crowd, which grew to 5,000 persons, began chanting, "Gestapo!" The police responded with tear gas. "Helmeted police used truncheons against the crowd," a Solidarity spokesperson in Katowice said. Some protesters replied with rocks, and a police van was overturned.

The crowd then marched to the police station two blocks away, where the arrested Solidarity member had been taken. The protesters refused to move until he was released. He eventually was.

Throughout the confrontation, Solidarity sought to avoid direct clashes between the protesters and the police. Union members circulated through the crowd and formed a cordon to separate it from the riot police. That night, workers guards patrolled the city to keep order.

A similar incident developed in Wroclaw, in southwestern Poland, on October 21. More than forty riot police halted a union van broadcasting daily Solidarity news bulletins over loudspeakers, arresting the three unionists inside. A demonstration of 1,500 was held outside the police station demanding their release, and city bus and trolley drivers struck for seven hours in protest. The unionists were released the following day.

In Zielona Gore province, on the western border with East Germany, about 180,000 workers laid down their tools October 22 in an indefinite work stoppage. The dispute was sparked by the firing of a Solidarity leader at a

state farm. Although the authorities backed down and reinstated the unionist, the strikers continued to demand punishment for those responsible for the provocation.

### 'A state of danger'

The many strikes, demonstrations, and local conflicts sweeping Poland are a reflection of the workers' militancy and of their mounting anger at the government's policies.

But the uncoordinated character of these actions also carries dangers for the workers movement, giving the authorities greater opportunities to try to provoke people into physical confrontations that could be used as a justification for a broader crackdown. Solidarity members in Katowice, for instance, viewed the arrest of the union activist there as just such an attempt.

How best to respond to the authorities' attacks was the main item of discussion at Solidarity's National Commission meeting in Gdansk.

Accusing the party leadership of causing the "disastrous economic situation," a resolution passed by the commission said that its handling of the crisis and its campaign against Solidarity was creating a "state of danger" that could lead to a national tragedy.

In an effort to channel the disparate actions around the country into a more focused response, Solidarity called the one-hour nationwide strike to begin at noon on October 28 in protest against the food shortages and police "reprisals." In the meantime, the resolution said, there should be a halt to all uncoordinated actions. (The strikes nevertheless continued).

Solidarity's leading body went on to state that if its demands were not met by the end of the month, it would launch a new form of struggle, the "active" strike, in selected industries. During an active strike — the idea of which was originally developed by Solidarity militants in the Lodz region — workers would continue to produce, but under the instructions of strike committees, not the old management.

### Jaruzelski's risky move

The government's announcement on the deployment of troops came a few hours after Solidarity issued its strike call. In doing so, Gen. Jaruzelski and his colleagues have chosen to raise the stakes in the conflict tremendously.

But they were also careful not to present the move as an outright attack against Solidarity. That could come later. For the moment, the government claimed, the troops would be used to improve transportation and food distribution, besides securing "constitutional order in respect of the law." This caution in explaining the move is a sign of the government and party leadership's continued political isolation.

So is the higher profile for the armed forces themselves. The elevation of a general to the post of party first secretary and the active involvement of troops in local administrative tasks is virtually unprecedented in Eastern Europe. It reflects the extent to which the party and administrative apparatus have become dis-

credited, isolated, and paralyzed.

Long held in the wings by the Polish bureaucracy, the armed forces have now been brought out to center stage.

While this holds grave dangers for the workers movement, it also carries risks for the authorities themselves. One of the biggest questions on everyone's mind is: What will the ranks of the army do in the event of an open confrontation between the government and the workers?

The Polish army is a conscript army. The overwhelming majority of its troops are from working-class families, and most of them have relatives who belong to Solidarity. Although the army hierarchy has taken great pains to try to isolate the ranks from what is going on in the country (only army newspapers are generally available in the barracks), that has proved im-

possible. One former soldier told me in July of open expressions of support for Solidarity during discussions following army political lectures.

Solidarity members have distributed leaflets calling on troops not to fire on workers. Solidarity publications have carried letters expressing dissatisfaction with the recent two-month extension of the period of army service.

During Solidarity's National Commission meeting in Gdansk, one member cited a recent survey showing that only 17 percent of the soldiers would open fire on the population if ordered to do so.

The accuracy of that poll remains to be seen. But it is nevertheless an indication of the depth of the revolutionary process under way in Poland and of the stakes involved in this struggle. □

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# Revolution under siege

## COSEP leaders jailed as U.S. threats mount

By Fred Murphy and Matilde Zimmermann

Four of Nicaragua's top capitalists were jailed by the revolutionary government on October 21. Enrique Dreyfus, president of the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), and three other big-business leaders were charged with violating the economic emergency decrees adopted September 9 as well as several other Nicaraguan laws.

Three other COSEP officials were being sought. One was reportedly in hiding from the police, and two others had just left for Venezuela (where they were to accept a posthumous award to the late COSEP leader Jorge Salazar, killed in a shootout with Nicaraguan security forces one year ago).

The immediate cause of the arrests was an inflammatory statement issued by the COSEP on October 19, which among other things accused the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of carrying out "Marxist-Leninist" policies "behind the backs of the Nicaraguan people" and "preparing a new genocide."

The statement, though issued in the form of a letter to Commander Daniel Ortega of the Junta of National Reconstruction, was sent directly to the foreign news media and to the Organization of American States. It was even sent to a U.S. Senate committee holding hearings on a request by the Reagan administration for \$33 million in aid to the "private sector" in Nicaragua.

One of the charges against the COSEP leaders is violation of a provision of the September 9 decrees that makes it illegal to "incite foreign governments and international lending institutions to carry out actions or make decisions that cause damage to the national economy."

In announcing the arrests on October 22, Commander Daniel Ortega declared, "This revolution is not going to be turned around."

The COSEP's declaration, along with the Sandinistas' decisive response, is a dramatic indication of the degree to which class tensions are rising in Nicaragua.

### Washington's financial squeeze

The provocation by the COSEP was only the latest element in a series of threats, pressures, and attacks on the revolution by U.S. imperialism and its capitalist allies inside Nicaragua and throughout Central America.

These attacks are not only economic and political, but military as well.

On the economic front, Nicaragua faces a drying up of credit from international banks and the imposition of a de facto blockade by the U.S. government. Under the Reagan administration, more than \$80 million in sched-

uled aid to Nicaragua has been cut off. As a result, the U.S. Export-Import Bank has refused to finance the sale of goods to the country by private U.S. suppliers.

Washington's vote of financial no-confidence signaled most big private banks in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan that they should not lend to Nicaragua either (despite the Sandinistas' commitment to honor the \$1.6 billion foreign debt inherited from Somoza, and despite the successful renegotiation of the bulk of that debt).

Lack of short-term credit has had immediate adverse effects on the country's economy — difficulty in obtaining spare parts for agricultural machinery and industrial plants, shortages of vital raw materials for factories, lack of pesticides and fertilizers needed for the production of agricultural exports such as cotton and coffee.

Even simple consumer goods such as toothpaste are becoming scarce. This in turn opens the door wider for hoarders and speculators.

In recent days Washington has also begun pressing the Inter-American Development Bank to cut off its loans to Nicaragua. The IDB has been one of the revolution's main sources of financial aid.

The U.S. economic moves recall the strategy followed against Chile ten years ago. "Not a nut or bolt will be allowed to reach Chile," Ambassador Edward Korry said in a secret cable to Henry Kissinger in September 1970. "Once Allende comes to power in Chile, we will do all in our power to condemn Chile and Chileans to the utmost deprivation and poverty; a policy designed for a long time to come to accelerate the hard features of a communist society in Chile."

Hand-in-hand with the economic squeeze from abroad has been the role of the remaining capitalists inside Nicaragua. Despite repeated appeals to their patriotism by the revolutionary government, and assurances that so long as they produce and respect trade-union rights they can continue to operate, businessmen have instead resorted to all sorts of subterfuge to remove as much of their capital from the country as possible.

Many have used their still-considerable control over the economy to sabotage production, or to get large loans from the nationalized banks and then refuse to invest or plant crops.

### Bush calls for uprising

U.S. Vice-president George Bush has taken the lead in Washington's offensive against the revolution. During a tour of Latin American capitals in mid-October, Bush repeatedly attacked the Sandinista government in the sharpest terms. "The West will not allow Nicaragua

to follow the tortuous path of Cuba," Bush told a gathering of Latin American newspaper owners in Brazil.

In the Dominican Republic, Bush told the country's legislature that "the people of Nicaragua still have the chance to throw off the chains that 5,000 Cuban advisers are slowly wrapping around them. But they must act quickly. . . ." This was a scarcely veiled call for an armed uprising against the Nicaraguan government.

An especially ominous provocation was mounted during Bush's tour. The U.S. embassy in Managua claimed that the big anti-imperialist demonstrations there protesting the Pentagon's military maneuvers in Honduras posed a direct threat to U.S. diplomats. The embassy requested protection from the Nicaraguan government and leaked word to the international news media that U.S. personnel had burned files and made other preparations to evacuate. "Will the United States respond in some way if its embassy is taken by force?" Bush rhetorically asked reporters in Brazil — "I think you can count on it."

### Honduras — staging area for counterrevolution

The maneuvers in Honduras, conducted under the title "Falcon's Eye," were only the latest and most ominous installment in Washington's plans to use that country as the staging area for rolling back the Nicaraguan revolution.

The Honduran military dictatorship now receives the third-largest allocation of U.S. military aid to Latin America (behind El Salvador and Colombia). There are already at least forty U.S. military advisers stationed in Honduras. U.S. officers have visited the country and pledged Washington's aid in the event of a war with Nicaragua.

Bands of Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen and other Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries operate with impunity from camps in southern Honduras. Other military training camps of this kind have been established in southern Florida, in open violation of the Neutrality Act and other U.S. laws.

Raids from Honduras by counterrevolutionary terrorists have taken the lives of more than 100 Nicaraguans in the past year. Such attacks have recently been stepped up. In the first three weeks of October alone, at least sixteen clashes with armed bands were reported in northern Nicaragua.

### Cuban teachers murdered

Because of the armed peasant militias and the militia reserve battalions and regular army units stationed in the north, most of the recent encounters ended badly for the attackers. On October 22, however, a terrorist band murdered two Cuban teachers and two Nicaraguan peasants near the remote mining town of Siuna in the Atlantic Coast region.

This cold-blooded crime has generated an angry response in Nicaragua. There have been protest marches in a number of cities, along

with expressions of gratitude and support at the homes of Cuban teachers and doctors.

The fact that Nicaraguans so warmly welcome Cuban assistance is one of the things about the revolution that most upsets Washington. The theme of "Cuban intervention" has been especially prominent in the growing press attacks on Nicaragua.

The most outrageous instance of this was an October 19 column in the *Washington Post* by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. They claimed that 500 to 600 elite Cuban troops had been flown secretly to Managua in September, spirited off to the northern jungles, and then infiltrated into El Salvador, where they supposedly destroyed the key Puente de Oro bridge on October 15. (The bridge was blown up, by Salvadoran guerrillas.)

Arturo Cruz, Nicaragua's ambassador to the United States, responded October 21 in a letter to the editor of the *Washington Post*: "The government of Nicaragua is indignant at the allegation and is very concerned about the repercussions such a malicious accusation could have on the development of a positive and harmonious relationship between the government of Nicaragua and the United States. . . ."

A State Department spokesman retorted that Cruz was describing U.S.-Nicaraguan relations "as we wish they were, rather than as they actually are." He refused to confirm or deny the lie about the Cuban troops.

#### What's behind the attacks?

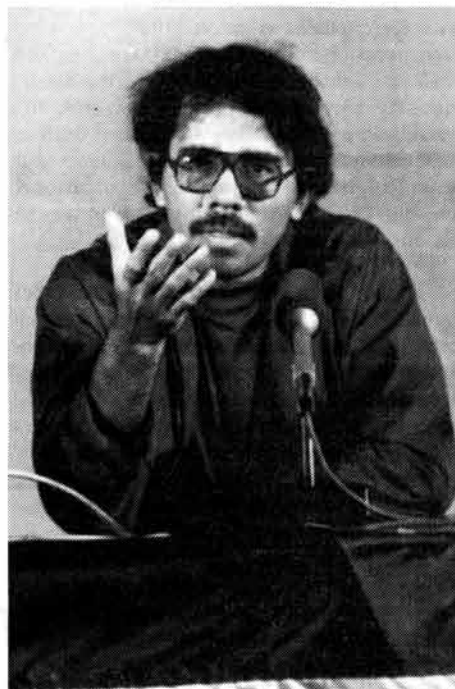
Why have the enemies of the Nicaraguan revolution — starting with the one in the White House — stepped up their political, economic, and military attacks?

Because the Sandinista revolution has continued to move forward, as the power of the workers and peasants has been strengthened within the country and as the FSLN-led government has played an increasingly active role in world politics.

Most galling for Reagan has been the leading role Nicaragua has played in building support for the revolution in El Salvador. Daniel Ortega's proposals for peace in El Salvador, presented to the United Nations on October 7, make it harder than ever to try to portray the Sandinistas as the source of violence in Central America.

The "Falcon's Eye" military maneuvers in Honduras were organized to try to intimidate Nicaraguans. But their effect was exactly the opposite. In every village, workplace and barrio, from one end of the country to the other, Nicaraguans by the thousands and by the tens of thousands turned out to demonstrate against the U.S. threats and in support of the FSLN. In Managua alone there were marches every day for more than a week, culminating in a huge demonstration in the Plaza de la Revolución October 13.

In spite of the extremely difficult economic conditions, the revolutionary government continues its efforts on behalf of the workers and peasants. Implementation of the second phase of the agrarian reform began in mid-October.



DANIEL ORTEGA

Fred Murphy/IP

Four thousand campesinos attended a ceremony in the village of Wiwilí on October 16, at which land titles were handed over to peasant cooperatives.

This is not the kind of government the Nicaraguan capitalists want. More and more they are coming to agree with U.S. Ambassador to the UN Jeane Kirkpatrick, who, when asked by the Peruvian magazine *Caretas* if she "would prefer that Somoza were in power instead of the Sandinistas," replied: "Yes, I would prefer that. It would be better for Nicaragua and for the hemisphere." (*Caretas*, Lima, August 17.)

#### Declaration of war

The October 19 statement by the COSEP was a signal to tighten the screws on the revolution still further. It was designed to pave the way for more hostile acts and even intervention by foreign governments and particularly by the United States.

The COSEP blamed all of Nicaragua's economic problems squarely on the FSLN. It accused the government of "confiscating businesses illegally," "antagonizing other Central American leaders by calling them 'gorillas,'" and suppressing democratic rights.

The COSEP condemned "internationalism," terming it "the doctrine of a radical and fanatic minority." It chimed in with Washington's anti-Cuban line, complaining of an invasion "by a constant stream of foreigners, many of whom bring in ideas that are alien to our national consciousness." Such statements, FSLN leaders have declared, make their authors accomplices of the murderers of the Cuban teachers.

In sum, the COSEP has declared political war on the revolution and the FSLN. "We are

on the brink of the destruction of Nicaragua," the capitalists threaten. "We are coming to the point of no return."

#### Moves against ultralefts

The COSEP leaders are in jail because they represent a social class that is more and more the sworn enemy of the Nicaraguan revolution. This class sees its survival — that is, its ability to continue enriching itself at the expense of the workers and peasants — as being dependent on the overthrow of the Sandinista government.

When Daniel Ortega announced the arrest of the COSEP leaders on October 22, he made it known that leaders of the Communist Party of Nicaragua (PCN)\* and the PCN-controlled Confederation of Trade-Union Action and Unification (CAUS) had been detained as well.

The latter arrests involve quite different considerations than those of the capitalist leaders, however. It is true that the PCN and the CAUS have adopted an ultraleft, confrontationist approach toward the leadership of the revolution. Nevertheless, they remain part of the workers movement.

While only about 5 percent of organized workers belong to CAUS-affiliated unions, these are concentrated in some important industrial plants in the capital. The 1,000-strong union at the nationalized textile mill, Fabritex, for example, is a CAUS stronghold.

In recent weeks the PCN and CAUS have sharply attacked the September 9 economic-emergency measures and have threatened to call strikes in all the workplaces where they have influence. They claim the measures represent a sellout to U.S. imperialism.

The September 9 decrees were the FSLN's response to the economic pressures bearing down from the world capitalist market and from Washington's financial squeeze. They included cuts in government spending, a campaign for efficiency and austerity in state ministries and institutions, controls on the parallel currency market, steep new taxes on luxury imports, and new blows against hoarding and speculation.

The emergency measures also included a ban on strikes, workplace takeovers, and land occupations. The latter step, along with the arrests of the PCN and CAUS leaders, was taken from a position of weakness.

This weakness is partially the result of the Sandinistas' own shortage of experienced cadres. It also stems from the severe economic difficulties. These lead some of the least politically conscious workers to look to the PCN and CAUS, who oppose the FSLN's necessary

\*The PCN arose out of a 1967 split in the pro-Moscow Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN). While the PCN's outlook remains Stalinist, and while it has always made a special point of its loyalty to Moscow, the Kremlin has never returned the favor. For further information on the history of the PCN and the CAUS and their role since the revolution, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, 1980, p. 710.

calls for efficiency, discipline, and sacrifice.

In this situation, even though the Sandinistas continue to enjoy the support of the vast majority of the workers and peasants, they have resorted to administrative measures against a sector of the workers whom they have not yet been able to win politically.

A general ban on strikes and the arrest of opponents within the workers movement clearly involve dangers for the revolution. The FSLN leadership has proven by its record that it is aware of these dangers.

Conflicts have arisen between the Sandinistas and opponents like the PCN and CAUS on several occasions in the past. Then as now, the

FSLN has accused the ultralefts of linking up with the capitalist counterrevolution. But on each occasion, despite verbally equating the "extreme right" and "extreme left," the Sandinistas have proceeded to treat the two quite differently in practice. Blows have been dealt to the exploiters, strengthening the workers and peasants government, while the occasional tensions with the ultralefts have given way to periods of collaboration.

The current prohibition of strikes and other forms of direct action by the toilers puts an even greater responsibility on the revolutionary government to play a decisive role in defending the interests of the workers and peasants. But the dangers involved in the present

situation must be seen in light of the proven record of the FSLN leadership and the trajectory of the Nicaraguan revolution.

#### Redouble solidarity efforts

The international movement in solidarity with Nicaragua also has greater responsibilities, now that immense pressures are bearing down from U.S. imperialism and its local capitalist allies.

The Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan toilers have shown time and again that they are prepared to stand up to whatever threats Washington makes. Supporters of the revolution abroad can do no less. Now is the time to redouble our efforts to demand, "U.S. hands off Nicaragua!" □

## Britain

# 250,000 protest NATO missiles

*Huge demonstrations also take place in Brussels and Rome*

By Cindy Jaquith

LONDON — "One, two, three, four, we don't want a nuclear war! Five, six, seven, eight, we don't want to radiate!" The chants echoed throughout this city October 24 as demonstrators poured in from all over Britain to protest the placement of U.S. nuclear weapons in their country.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), which sponsored the march, estimated its size at 250,000. This is larger than any of the peace marches here during the Vietnam War, and one of the biggest protests here ever. In 1971 a labor-led march against antiunion laws drew 140,000 in London.

The huge outpouring in London on October 24 followed the protest of 300,000 on October 10 in Bonn, West Germany, against nuclear weapons and NATO, spearheaded by the U.S. government's plans to install 572 Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983. Of these, 162 Cruise missiles would be placed in Britain.

The same day as the British march, more than 200,000 people demonstrated against the missile-deployment plan in Rome. Protest of 50,000 in Paris and 100,000 in Brussels — the largest demonstration there since World War II — took place on October 25. Anti-NATO actions were also scheduled on that day in Madrid, Oslo, and Helsinki.

#### 'Maggie out, Reagan out, Weinberger out!'

The young people who made up the majority of the marchers here in London set the tone and spirit. They chanted until they were hoarse: "No Cruise, No Trident. Britain out of NATO!" "Jobs, Not Bombs." "Maggie, Maggie, Maggie, out, out, out." "I won't die for Thatcher."

The latter slogans referred to British Prime



Minister Margaret Thatcher, who in addition to backing the Cruise missiles, has decided to spend £6-8 billion on Trident II missiles (£1=\$1.90), at a time when unemployment here is nearly 3 million and is expected to reach 4 million by 1984.

Some marchers added to the "Maggie Out" slogan "Reagan Out, Caspar Weinberger Out." The size of the protest was fueled by Reagan's recent statement that limited nuclear war could occur on European soil. Caspar Weinberger, who has been on a public-relations tour in Europe to promote the NATO militarization drive, was in London two days before the demonstration insisting that Britain accept the U.S. nuclear weapons.

Many hand-made signs bitterly blasted the U.S. government as a threat to world peace. "U.S.A. — Traitors of the human race"; "For a crisper Edinburgh, fry with Caspar Wein-

berger"; "Uncle Sam wants you for nuclear waste"; "Europe is not Reagan's to sacrifice."

#### 'No more Hiroshimas'

One group of demonstrators, dressed up as skeletons, carried a giant U.S. bomber made out of cardboard. Another contingent had a banner depicting a city destroyed by an atomic bomb. The slogan read "Urban renewal the American way."

Thousands bore a simple three-word demand on picket signs: "No more Hiroshimas." Two men carried a mock Statue of Liberty clenching a nuclear missile in her fist. Many signs also condemned the neutron bomb.

Hundreds of banners identified CND affiliates from every part of the country — from major cities like Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool to rural areas and small towns. Tens of thousands marched in the Scottish and Welsh contingents.

The demonstrators from Wales carried colorful handpainted banners with slogans in Gaelic. There was also a CND contingent from Northern Ireland, where some of the missiles are scheduled for deployment.

Numerous student, environmentalist, pacifist, women's rights, and religious groups participated. A big red, black, and white Labour Party banner was near the head of the march. It said "Nuclear bombs, no. Peace, yes."

Dozens of Labour Party branches carried their own banners, as did the party's youth group, the Labour Party Young Socialists (LPYS). The Labour Party is based on the trade-union movement in Britain. The recent national conference of Labour reaffirmed a stand against the Cruise and Trident missiles, for closing all nuclear bases in the country, and for unilateral nuclear disarmament. One-third

of the delegates voted for Britain to withdraw from NATO.

### Yorkshire miners

While most of the trade unionists in the demonstration did not march in labor contingents, there was a contingent of miners from Yorkshire with their own marching band. There were also banners from the National Union of Mineworkers in Cardowan, Scotland, and from Kent.

Other banners were carried by the Transport and General Workers Union, post office workers, fire brigades, electrical trades, public employees, teachers, health workers, and journalists.

Many families came on the protest. A young woman pushed her daughter along in a carriage. The child held a sign that read "I want to be grown up, not blown up."

At the rally in Hyde Park, organizers from the CND pointed to the rapid growth of the movement in the one year since up to 100,000 marched in London against Cruise missiles in October 1980. The CND itself has grown from about thirty affiliates to hundreds.

Mary Kaldor told the crowd that the antimissiles struggle has become international. She pointed to the Bonn demonstration and the other marches planned throughout Europe. It was announced that greetings had come from Japan, East and West Germany, and the United States.

Anna Davis of the Youth CND emphasized the effect of the escalating British military budget on young people, who suffer the worst unemployment. "Our goal must be insuring employment for young people — education, not cuts."

### 'Time to close U.S. bases'

Historian E. P. Thompson pointed to the election of Andreas Papandreu in Greece as another victory for the antinuclear weapons movement. Papandreu, of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), was elected on the basis of a program that called for pulling Greece out of NATO and getting rid of U.S. military bases.

Alan Sapper spoke for the Trades Union Congress (TUC), Britain's union federation. He noted that the TUC has passed a resolution for unilateral disarmament and called the march "the beginning of a mass movement."

Labour Party leader Michael Foot also spoke. "This is one of the greatest and most historic meetings ever to take place in Hyde Park," Foot declared. "We say it is madness to stockpile more nuclear weapons. When we get a new Labour government, as we will, we will translate these measures of nuclear disarmament into practical action."

Tony Benn, leader of the Labour Party's left wing, received an even warmer response. He urged continued mass meetings and demonstrations. "It is time we stood up to the Pentagon and closed the U.S. bases in Britain," he said.

While sentiment was also voiced for the So-

viet Union to remove its nuclear weapons from Europe, the clear thrust of the action was that the United States government is responsible for the arms race and the threat to annihilate the world.

## NATO's plans for 'limited nuclear war'

President Reagan's October 16 comment that a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union could be restricted to European battlefields has provoked a new storm of opposition to U.S. military policy on that continent.

Reagan told a group of newspaper editors in Washington, D.C., that he "could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button."

These comments, together with the White House decision to produce neutron bombs for use in Europe, have added fuel to the mass campaign throughout Western Europe against a 1979 decision by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to place 572 U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe targeted on the Soviet Union.

Reagan administration figures tried to play down the impact of his comments. They argued that Reagan was only responding to a hypothetical question, that his comments were nothing new, that they represented decades-long NATO policy.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, in Scotland for a meeting of NATO's Nuclear Planning Group, told reporters he could not understand why Reagan's "response to a question in Washington last Friday should suddenly attract quite as much interest as this has."

In fact, as the October 21 *Washington Post* noted, the official NATO military doctrine of "flexible and controlled response, adopted in 1967, provides for the deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe," and "allows for the possible use of the weapons in the event deterrence fails."

But NATO's planning for "limited nuclear war" goes back at least a decade further than 1967. To get a flavor of what is actually contemplated for Europe, it is worthwhile to go back to Henry Kissinger's 1957 book *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*. In a chapter entitled "The Problems of Limited Nuclear War," Kissinger deals with this question at length.

For example, Kissinger wrote that the U.S. should not "be defeatist about the possibility of limiting nuclear war or about the casualties it might involve."

It showed that American workers have powerful allies in Britain and the rest of Europe in the fight against the escalating U.S. war budget, militarization, and the threatened resumption of the draft. □

Kissinger claimed that "there need not be an inevitable progression from limited nuclear war to all-out thermonuclear conflict."

Kissinger further argued that "the best strategy for exploiting the rigidity of the Soviet command structure is that of limited nuclear war." Therefore, he maintained, "it is no wonder that Soviet propaganda has been insistent on two themes: there is 'no such thing' as limited nuclear war, and 'ban the bomb.' Both themes, if accepted, deprive us of flexibility and undermine the basis of the most effective United States strategy."

In fact, according to Kissinger, "Limited nuclear war represents our most effective strategy against nuclear powers or against a major power which is capable of substituting manpower for technology," such as China.

Kissinger even went to great length to spell out his vision of how a "limited nuclear war" could actually be fought and kept from expanding into all-out nuclear war. Washington, according to Kissinger, could announce that:

We would use weapons of not more than 500 kilotons explosive power unless the enemy used them first; that we would use "clean" bombs with minimal fall-out effects [neutron bombs] for any larger explosive equivalent, unless the enemy violated the understanding; that we would not attack the enemy retaliatory force or enemy cities located more than a certain distance behind the battle zone or the initial line of demarcation (say, five hundred miles); that within this zone we would not use nuclear weapons against cities declared open and so verified by inspection, the inspectors to remain in the battle zone even during the course of military operations.

As these quotes from Henry Kissinger make clear, Reagan's comments in Washington reflect longstanding and carefully thought out U.S. military doctrine. While from NATO's point of view Reagan's remarks were extremely ill-timed — coming between the 300,000-strong antinuclear demonstration in Bonn on October 10 and the October 24-25 mass marches in London, Paris, Rome, and Brussels — they confirm that NATO has plans for fighting a "limited nuclear war" that would leave Europe in radioactive ashes.

— Will Reissner

# Masses deal a blow to NATO

## Defeat of rightist government jolts Reagan

By Argyris Haras  
and Bobby Misailides

Hundreds of thousands of people poured into the streets of Athens October 18 to celebrate the electoral defeat of the ruling New Democracy party, the staunch defender of U.S. imperialism and Greek big business.

As the first results came in, showing that Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) would win a big victory, the gathering began to take on the air of a people's festival.

Papandreou had campaigned around opposition to Greek membership in NATO and in the European Economic Community (EEC). During the election campaign hundreds of thousands of Greek workers and farmers mobilized behind slogans such as "Out of NATO forever."

In addition to calling for withdrawal from NATO and the EEC, PASOK demanded the closing of four U.S. military bases in Greece and proposed extensive "socializations" of key sectors of the economy, including banks, foreign trade, and major industries.

In the days leading up to the voting, gigantic rallies took place in twenty-five Greek cities where Papandreou made campaign stops. The rally in Athens on October 15 was one of the largest ever held in Greece.

The final results showed PASOK winning a sweeping victory with 48 percent of the vote. PASOK took 174 seats in parliament, giving a clear majority. The Communist Party won nearly 11 percent of the vote and 13 seats, while the New Democracy, with almost 36 percent, took 113 seats.

### 'Funeral of the right'

Faced with the huge anti-NATO mobilizations and the clearly expressed radicalism of the masses, the imperialist rulers are hoping that Papandreou can hold back the Greek workers and peasants. "It has been very striking during the election campaign how far and fast Mr. Papandreou has been rowing back from his most extreme positions on the issues of Greece's withdrawal from the EEC and the military wing of NATO," the British daily *Guardian* editorialized October 20.

"As election day neared, Mr. Papandreou muted his neutralism and spoke mainly about his plans for radical social reform," the editors of the *New York Times* noted October 20.

They concluded as a result: "There is time for talk. Greece isn't 'lost.'"

Nevertheless, *Times* reporter Marvin Howe said the same day, "some diplomats question whether Mr. Papandreou may not remain a prisoner to his party's slogans and promises of so-

cialization."

There is certainly no doubt about what Papandreou's supporters expect. On the night of his victory working people and youth flooded into the streets of Athens, dancing and singing revolutionary songs. Waving PASOK flags, they chanted "Today is the funeral of the right," and "The people and PASOK to power."

Officials in the Reagan administration, according to *Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman, were "jolted" by the events. "Officials said that they were concerned that the victory of Mr. Papandreou's party could encourage similar anti-NATO sentiments in Europe, where the Reagan administration's nuclear policies are already under attack."

The ouster of the rightist movement in Greece comes after the election of a Socialist Party government in France last May, the leftward turn of the Labour Party in Britain, and the massive anti-NATO demonstrations in West Germany and other European countries.

### The economic crisis and the EEC

The size of the PASOK rallies and the vote for it reflect a tremendous sentiment for change. Working people expect the new government to realign Greece's foreign policy, solve the economic crisis, improve living conditions, create new jobs, improve health and education, end corruption, guarantee the basic rights of women, eliminate the remnants of the dictatorship that ruled until 1974, and put a stop to the destruction of the physical environment.

The context of the election, of course, was the worldwide economic crisis, which has hit Greece especially hard. Even official Greek government sources describe the economic situation as "lamentable." The inflation rate is currently 25 percent a year. Average real income has fallen, and more than 200,000 workers are unemployed in a total population of 9 million.

Destruction of the physical environment has also become a big issue. Huge tracts of forest have been indiscriminately burned to clear real estate for development. Air pollution in Athens, which contains more than half of Greece's 7,000 factories, is three times the officially accepted limit.

The economic problems have been further aggravated by Greece's entry early this year into full membership in the EEC. Because productivity in Greek industry and agriculture still lags far behind the levels in the rest of the EEC, the elimination of tariff protection for the Greek economy means that weaker industries and crafts are facing an onslaught of com-

petition from incomparably stronger rivals. This has resulted in blows to Greek industry and, for the working masses, an increase in unemployment.

At the same time, income of many small farmers has been sharply cut because under the EEC's agricultural policies Greece was forced to limit its agricultural exports while opening its doors to agricultural imports from other EEC countries.

### Recurring upheavals

The bourgeoisie knew that prospects for the Greek economy in the EEC were not good. But it pushed through membership in the EEC mainly for political reasons. The Greek capitalists hoped that membership in the EEC would help to strengthen the institutions of the Greek state by linking it more clearly to the more stable regimes in Western Europe. The rulers hoped in this way to put an end to the recurring political upheavals that have threatened the very existence of capitalist rule on a number of occasions in recent decades.

Among the upheavals were the militant and massive mobilizations between 1961 and 1963 to bring down the right-wing Caramanlis government, and the mobilizations protesting the overthrow of George Papandreou's liberal bourgeois government in 1965. These mass protests reached such a scope that a CIA-inspired military coup was carried out in April 1967.

There were also massive challenges to the military regime in November 1973, leading to the fall of the junta in 1974, and more recently there were demonstrations of nearly half a million people against Greece's reintegration into the NATO military command in 1980.

When the CIA-backed military junta fell in 1974, the rightist New Democracy had a clear field to reestablish a bourgeois capitalist regime because the workers movement was completely disorganized after seven years of military rule. Because of the lack of viable opposition, the New Democracy won 54 percent of the vote in the November 1974 elections.

Since then, however, its political position has steadily eroded. Faced with the ever-harsher austerity programs of the right-wing government, the reintegration of Greece into NATO's military wing, and the increasingly abusive presence of U.S. military forces in the country, Greek working people began looking for an alternative.

### PASOK's program

The PASOK was established in 1974. It is a capitalist party that uses radical populist rhetoric. Taking advantage of the deep anti-impe-





Defeat of New Democracy sparked massive celebrations.

rialist sentiments of the population, PASOK built a base of support by presenting itself as the movement carrying on the traditions of the national resistance to the Nazi occupation in the 1940s and of the anti-dictatorial struggle against the CIA-backed military regime.

Greece itself is an imperialist country, but it is a weak one that has always been subjected to the pressures and intervention of stronger imperialist powers. PASOK views Greece as a semicolonial country. As a result, PASOK generally identifies itself with the anti-imperialist movements of the oppressed nations. The organization has established ties with Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi and the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as with African liberation movements. PASOK has also developed a close relationship with the European social democracy.

PASOK's progressive stance against membership in NATO and U.S. domination is very popular in Greece, especially because of the memory of U.S. support to the hated dictatorship of 1967-74.

But PASOK couches its attacks on NATO in terms of opposition to "foreign domination" in general. Its reactionary bourgeois nationalist ideology is reflected in chauvinist attacks on Turkey, which ruled Greece until the 1820s, and which continues to have territorial disputes with Greece. Thus, PASOK complains that Washington provides more military aid to Turkey than to Greece, and Papandreu calls for an increase in the arms budget to "counter the great danger from Turkey." Papandreu does not even pretend to appeal to the Turkish masses.

Although it presents itself as a "party of the have-nots," PASOK aims its appeals to the

small and medium capitalists as well as to the workers and small farmers. It opposes the idea of the workers and farmers establishing their own government, and will defend capitalist interests in Greece with all its might.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party campaigned around a program that was not substantially different from PASOK's — in fact, it sought an electoral alliance with PASOK, but Papandreu refused. The CP, which has had a base in the industrial working class since the 1940s, saw its vote totals increase slightly, although it fell considerably short of its goal of winning 17 percent of the vote as a "guarantee of real change."

#### Can Papandreu ride the tiger?

Now that Papandreu has won the election, he faces the problem of trying to ride the tiger — the masses of workers and farmers who expect him to carry out his campaign promises. His new government will be under tremendous pressure as a result of the huge pre-election mobilizations and the militancy of the crowds that hailed the fall of the New Democracy government.

The imperialist media, recognizing this pressure, has already addressed Papandreu with a number of scarcely veiled threats. The editors of the *New York Times*, for example, raised the possibility of a military coup. Such a military takeover, they pointed out October 20, would not be in the offing "as long as [Greece's rightist President] Mr. Caramanlis — and [New Democracy chief] Mr. Rallis — remain prominently on the scene."

In an even blunter warning, the British *Guardian* noted, "The armed forces would clearly take the strongest exception to a policy

which left Turkey as the solitary NATO member in the Western Mediterranean and which cut them off from NATO weapon supplies."

Also pressing their demands were the Greek capitalists. On October 20 the Greek Industrialists Association published an open letter to the new government warning against "experiments." "We believe that what is needed is the immediate and clear establishment of the limits of the public sector or state intervention and of entrepreneurial experimentation," the letter said.

The degree to which the working masses in Greece are able to realize their expectations will depend on the extent to which they are able to advance their own independent organization and mobilization. But what they have done so far has clearly upset the imperialist rulers, both in Greece and around the world. □

### U.S. Supreme Court rules against Palestinian

On October 13 the U.S. Supreme Court cleared the way for the extradition to Israel of a young Palestinian when it refused to hear his appeal. Ziad Abu Eain, a twenty-one-year-old from the Israeli-occupied West Bank, has been held in prison in Chicago for more than two years while fighting the extradition.

The Israeli government accuses Abu Eain of having planted a bomb in Tiberias that killed two people in May 1979. If returned to Israel he would face murder charges. The Israeli case against him is based on the twice-recanted "confession" of an alleged accomplice, Jamal Yasin. Yasin's confession was written in Hebrew, a language he neither reads nor understands.

Ziad Abu Eain produced fourteen affidavits placing him in his parents' shop in Ramallah, four hours from Tiberias, at the time of the bombing.

Despite the lack of evidence against Abu Eain, the U.S. government refused to grant him bail during his two-year fight against extradition.

Now that the Supreme Court has refused to hear his appeal, Abu Eain's fate is in the hands of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who has until mid-December to decide whether to grant the Israeli extradition request. Seventeen Arab ambassadors have called upon Haig to refuse the request.

Dr. James Zogby, executive director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), charged that Abu Eain's detention without bail for two years was "evidence that there in fact exists racism in this country against people of Arab [descent]."

Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who is Abu Eain's lawyer, stated that despite the Supreme Court's refusal to hear the appeal, "the struggle will go on. We will make an effort to have Israel withdraw its request [and] an effort to have Secretary Haig deny the request." □

# The CIA's war on Qaddafi

## U.S.-French destabilization campaign

By Steve Bride

[The following article appeared in the October 30 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

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Since 1977, U.S. policy toward the Libyan government has consisted mainly of finding ways to get rid of it.

To this end, Washington has enlisted its own and other intelligence services in a well-organized campaign of unproven charges and outright lies directed against Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi.

Recently, for example, U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig hinted Qaddafi may have been mixed up in the killing of Anwar el-Sadat. To support this claim, Haig offered only the fact that Qaddafi made no pretense of mourning the Egyptian president, who for five years had been his mortal enemy.

In the Libyan view, such wild accusations are part of a pattern: anti-Libya stories appear in the imperialist media, usually alleging Qaddafi sponsors various "terrorist groups"; a series of groundless charges are leveled against the regime; a coup attempt follows.

Twice in the recent past, this view has proven correct.

### Paris to Cairo

Attempts by the imperialist nations to topple Qaddafi began in 1977. Acting through the French intelligence agency, Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE), the CIA established links with a Libyan "government in exile," based in Cairo, Egypt, and led by Omar al-Muhaishi. A former Libyan officer, Muhaishi had already made one attempt to overthrow Qaddafi in 1975.

On authorization from Egyptian President Sadat, the SDECE organized a series of guerrilla raids into Libya from the Egyptian border. These failed dismally, but the ties between Paris and the Cairo exiles remained.

Early in 1980, the SDECE was again given permission by Sadat to conduct border raids, and took steps to strengthen the exile forces.

Using its connections with French journalists, the agency began a six-month campaign in the French media, designed to portray Qaddafi as a "mastermind" of all "terrorist groups."

By July, British intelligence had become involved. They set up a phony "Maltese Liberation Front" that claimed responsibility for several bomb attacks inside Libya.

Meanwhile, Paris had recruited the head of

military security at the garrison of Tobruk, Libya, to lead a coup attempt.

On August 5, 1980, the British Broadcasting Corporation announced a military uprising had occurred at Tobruk. The French news service, Agence France-Press, reported Qaddafi "may have died in a shooting incident" as he flew to inspect troops there.

Both reports, it turned out, were false. Libyan authorities had gotten wind of the operation and foiled it. Paris dismissed the SDECE officer who had directed the plot.

Four months later, Libya was to deal a second blow to the French government of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, this time in the neighboring country of Chad.

### Another defeat

On December 17, 1980, in a front-page editorial, the Paris daily *Le Monde* announced "A major setback for Paris." The occasion for this was the defeat two days earlier of the rebel forces of Hissène Habré by units of the government of Chad, a former French colony.

The Habré rebellion had been a French operation, aimed at unseating the government of President Goukouni Oueddei, whose Frolinat guerrillas had battled the French since the mid-1960s.

At first, it appeared Paris might succeed: by May 1980, Habré held important sections of the Chadian capital of Ndjamena.

Then, in June, the government of Chad signed a military assistance pact with Qaddafi.

Sometime later, at Chad's request, 2,000 Libyan troops entered the country and helped crush the French-backed rebellion.

In his first news conference as Secretary of State, Alexander Haig called the French defeat in Chad "a grave turn of events." Later, the new Reagan administration denounced "Libya's policy of international terrorism and subversion," and declared "the ultimate objective" of U.S. policy would be to change that. A secret interagency study was begun on what was termed "the Libya problem."

### Washington takes over

Like most other Reagan Administration programs, U.S. efforts to end the Qaddafi regime were begun by Jimmy Carter.

The White House recently revealed to the *New York Times* that in 1980, Carter and Giscard d'Estaing hatched a plan with Sadat for covert military operations against Libya. The plan, U.S. officials said, was shelved after France's voters threw out Giscard in May 1981.

With Giscard beaten at the polls and in Chad, Washington embarked more-or-less on its own on the campaign that led to the second plan to overthrow Qaddafi outright.

The pattern, by now familiar to Libyans, began May 6.

On that day, the State Department ordered the Libyan diplomatic mission closed on grounds of "misconduct, including support for international terrorism." Washington, as usual, supplied no particulars.

That same month, the first report was leaked that an attempt on Qaddafi was in the works. The operation, an anonymous State Department source told the *New York Daily News*, would be such that the U.S. could deny involvement.

Meanwhile, Libyan exiles — now led in Cairo by Abdel-Moneim Houni and in the Su-



dan by Mohammad Mugarieff — began claiming credit for acts of sabotage inside Libya. They also claimed to have renewed contact with Washington.

By June 2, the *New York Times* reported, the State Department was openly saying it "would be willing now to encourage actions against the Qaddafi regime."

"A major goal of American policy," added the July 14 *Wall Street Journal*, "is to encourage opponents of Col. Khadafy within Libya and outside to mobilize against him."

By then, the State Department was telling U.S. oil companies to get their people out of Libya: "The companies won't get another warning," said one U.S. official to the *Journal*. "We're playing confrontation politics, and we want them out, whether there is a coup in the works or not."

On August 19, Washington got the confrontation it wanted, shooting down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra.

### The plan

It is widely recognized that the Gulf of Sidra incident was a deliberate U.S. provocation. A week before the event, *Newsweek* had reported that "After months of debating how to neutralize Muammar Qaddafi," Reagan had decided on a "direct challenge" in the form of naval maneuvers in the gulf. U.S. officials were also reported to be "eager" to see how Qaddafi would react to Egyptian troop maneuvers on the Libyan border, scheduled for the same time.

The "months of debate" on "the Libya problem" produced one other thing: a plan by the CIA to overthrow Qaddafi.

The plan, approved by CIA Director William Casey and the White House, consisted of three phases:

- A "disinformation" program in the media to stir up sentiment against Qaddafi.
- Revival of the Libyan "government in exile."
- Sabotage operations inside Libya — again, carried out by the exiles.

The CIA goal, sources told *Newsweek*, was Qaddafi's "ultimate" removal from power.

The cost of the plan in covert American aid, however, was enough that the CIA had to obtain approval from Congress. Former Deputy Director Max Hugel presented the scheme to the House Select Committee on Intelligence.

Hugel's presentation apparently left the committee with the impression that Qaddafi would be assassinated. They fired off a letter to Reagan asking what, exactly, was going on. Details of the plan began to leak out; the White House refused comment on the matter. And that is where things stand today.

It is uncertain if this plan has been abandoned. If it has, it is certain there will be others.

### Why Qaddafi?

Washington's argument for removing Qaddafi boils down to three points:

- Libya is the third-largest exporter of oil to

the United States, and the highest-priced of the OPEC nations. By demanding a higher price for extracting crude oil from Libyan soil, Qaddafi cuts into the profits of U.S. oil monopolies.

- Qaddafi is a "Soviet satellite." This is the standard communist-baiting term Washington uses to describe countries it doesn't agree with and to justify intervening in their internal affairs. This is especially true of countries that exercise their sovereign right to establish friendly relations with the USSR as Libya has done.

- Qaddafi supports terrorism. An example of this argument is found in the Spring 1981 issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine. There, John Cooley of the Carnegie Endowment lists the supposed beneficiaries of Qaddafi's support: the Moro National Liberation Front in the Philippines; the Irish Republican Army; "Basque, Corsican, and other separatists throughout Europe; the Leftists in the Lebanese civil war; . . . liberation movements in Angola and Mozambique; the most radical, black factions in Zimbabwe and South Africa. . . ."

## General strike in Colombia

### Workers demand end to repression and austerity

#### By Ernest Harsch

In opposition to the desperate social and economic conditions facing Colombia's working people and to the repressive policies of the Colombian government, tens of thousands of workers throughout that Latin American country laid down their tools October 21 in a twenty-four hour general strike.

The strike was called by the 500,000-member Trade Union Confederation of Colombian Workers (CSTC), together with a number of independent unions and provincial federations belonging to two of the country's three other major labor federations.

One of the central demands of the strike was the lifting of the state of siege that has been in effect in Colombia almost continuously for the past thirty years. Under it, the police have wide powers to break up strikes and demonstrations and detain political activists or trade unionists without charge. Its provisions for incommunicado detention facilitates the use of torture against political prisoners.

The strikers also demanded the release of all political prisoners, an end to widespread layoffs in the textile and other industries, wage increases of up to 50 percent, an end to the government's austerity policies and cuts in social services, and price controls on food and other day-to-day necessities.

The regime of President Julio César Turbay Ayala, fearful of a repetition of the massive September 1977 "citizen's national general strike," responded to the strike call in characteristic fashion — with widespread repression.

The strike was declared illegal and troops

At various times, the Palestine Liberation Organization and El Salvador's rebels have been added to the roster.

For the record, no one knows exactly whom Qaddafi has helped and in what manner. But this is really beside the point.

If one opposes all these struggles — as Washington does — then there is good reason not to like Qaddafi. Politically, at least, he supports them.

But anyone even remotely familiar with these liberation struggles knows they amount to a good deal more than the work of small terrorist bands. They involve millions of people who have been fighting for their freedom for some time.

Which gets to Washington's real reasons for wanting rid of Qaddafi. As one diplomat who has served in Libya put it, Qaddafi "sees his role as supporting what he believes to be progressive movements against oppressive governments."

As the Reagan administration sees it, there are too many people like this in the world already. □

were moved into the streets of Bogotá, placing the capital under military occupation.

In the days preceding the strike, agents of the Military Intelligence Service fanned out throughout the country to pick up strike organizers and union and political leaders. Some 1,000 were arrested in Bogotá, Medellín, Cali, Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Cartagena, Neiva, and other cities.

In Bogotá, the military police also raided the offices of the Communist Party of Colombia, which is in the leadership of the CSTC.

Those arrested include Faustino Galindo García, a leader of the CSTC and a Communist Party member of the Bogotá City Council, Abel Rodríguez and Edgar Dusan of the Colombian Teachers Federation, about twenty leaders of the public employee's union, and numerous student leaders.

Also detained were more than a dozen activists of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR — Revolutionary Workers Party), the Colombian section of the Fourth International. They included Armando Novoa, a PSR leader in Bogotá; Luis Cometa, a leader of the Federation of Petroleum Workers in Neiva; and César Flores, a leader of a barrio-dwellers movement in Cartagena. Novoa was later released, but the others are being held incommunicado. Under Colombia law they can be detained without charge for up to 100 days.

Messages of protest against the jailings of the PSR, Communist Party, and trade-union leaders should be sent to Julio César Turbay Ayala, Presidente de la República, Bogotá, Colombia. □

# Interview with revolutionary leader

*'Peace initiative is based on confidence in our military potential'*

[Enrique Guatemala is a member of the Council of the joint Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador. He is presently chief representative of the FDR and FMLN in Mexico.

[The following interview with Guatemala was obtained in Mexico City by Matilde Zimmermann on October 11. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*Question. A few days ago Commander Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction presented to the United Nations a series of proposals for peace in El Salvador. What do the FMLN and FDR expect to be the result of these proposals?*

*Answer.* Well, we have been putting forward this idea of a political solution ever since the general offensive of last January. This is because we realize there is a worldwide clamor for an end to the bloodshed in El Salvador. So, in line with our philosophy that the reason we are making war is to achieve peace, we have made a series of proposals that began back in late 1980.

And every one of them has been turned down, both by the junta and by the United States government.

The most recent of these attempts was the proposal put forward by the Second International through the vice-president of the German Social Democratic Party, Mr. Wischnewski.

We have even suggested dates, topics, and places for these conversations. But they could never take place, because the junta and the United States always refused to begin a dialogue with us and instead counterposed the idea of elections.

When Duarte went to Washington and made his speech at the United Nations, in which he claimed to be willing to begin a dialogue, we thought it would be a good time to make a concrete proposal that would show the world who was really interested in a political resolution of the situation in El Salvador.

So we talked to Commander Daniel Ortega about the possibility of the Nicaraguan delegation making such a proposal to the UN in the name of the FMLN and FDR.

We suggested that conversations should take place between representatives chosen by the FMLN and FDR and representatives chosen by the junta. We suggested that these talks take place in the presence of representatives of oth-

er countries. We suggested that the context of the discussions be an attempt to find an overall solution to the crisis in El Salvador.

And we also said that a way should be found to keep the Salvadoran people informed about what was happening in the talks.

And finally, we said that, once the two sides got together, talks should begin without any preconditions on either side.

And, as everyone knows, within a matter of hours both the junta and the U.S. government had turned down our proposal.

We think this shows what the real situation is in El Salvador. It shows who is interested in a political solution and who is bent upon military measures. This fact will have to be acknowledged, both in international forums and by different governments around the world.

The intransigence of the junta and the U.S. government once again legitimizes our right to go ahead with the war and take the military initiative. After all, they have closed the door — as they have for the last fifty years — on our participation in the democratic process.

We think that the junta and the U.S. government are making a big mistake if they think we are putting forward these proposals from a position of either political or military weakness. The fact is that right now the relationship of forces on an international scale is completely in favor of our proposal for a political solution. And inside the country our military advances and the continual defeats the army has suffered are the best proof that our peace initiative is based on confidence in our military potential and confidence in the support of the Salvadoran people.

The lesson we draw from the current situation, which really represents a new stage in terms of the international framework, is that we should move ahead with the war and be prepared to continue it until the end.

We repeat that we are in favor of attempting a political solution, because we know the people of the world want peace. But at the same time we insist that we are not going to be denied the victory that represents the interests of the masses. This of course means a deepening of the revolution in all aspects.

*Q. The State Department's response to your peace initiative has of course been to point to the elections supposedly scheduled for 1982 in El Salvador. The Reagan administration insists that democratic elections can be held and represent the only possible resolution of the crisis. What is your answer to that?*

A. The problem in El Salvador is not that we need to change the people in the govern-

ment; it is not a problem for elections. The problem is the exhaustion of the old model of development the United States imposed on the former regimes in El Salvador.

There is no solution possible to the economic, political, and social crisis in El Salvador without breaking with the archaic forms of land tenure, breaking with an economy based on oligarchical rule, and breaking with dependency on the United States.

We have never rejected elections out of hand. But we think that elections can only be valid when they are a real expression of popular will. And it is clear that the conditions do not exist in El Salvador today in which elections could really reflect the will of the people. If someone comes out against the government right now, he is signing his own death warrant.

It is true that some parties have announced that they will participate in the elections. But a look at them shows once again that these elections are not going to do anything but legitimize an oligarchy kept in power by military force.

Look at the candidacy of Major Roberto D'Aubuisson, for example. Everyone knows he is the head of the death squads, the paramilitary organizations of the ultraright.

We repeat that we are not against elections per se. We are against elections that are nothing more than a maneuver to resolve differences within the junta, and within the army, and between the junta and the army.

*Q. Can you give us an idea of the current military situation inside the country? The newspapers in Nicaragua, for example, are talking about a major government military counteroffensive in the north, the largest of the year.*

A. During the whole time from January 10 [when the FMLN announced its general offensive] to the present, one of the main things the junta has tried to do is to deal us a strategic military defeat. They want to significantly reduce or wipe out our forces in the zones we control.

One after another, these government offensives have failed. And while they have suffered defeat after defeat, our forces have been growing in terms of the regular military units we have in the countryside.

The fact that the junta has had to consider the city of San Salvador a war zone is one of the best proofs of our military successes.

Our military progress is also shown in the expansion of the areas controlled by our forces. These are not just areas we control in a military sense. They are liberated zones, where we have political as well as military

control.

There a structure of popular power has begun to be set up, with the organizations we call democratic revolutionary town councils. These bodies of popular power organize production, they administer justice. They have come to play an important military role as well.

On top of this there was our most recent offensive of July 19 to late August, when we showed our ability to take the strategic towns like Armbala, which is the nerve center of the eastern part of the country from the army's point of view.

In these areas the population has been incorporated into the struggle in a massive way, not only into the military units but also into the work of food distribution, administration, and production. We are already beginning to get the first results of production organized in these zones. And we are beginning to see the results of the literacy campaign going on, in which an effort is being made to teach the whole population of these rural areas to read and write.

Besides this, just last week we accomplished something that is extremely important from a military standpoint. This is the establishment of a single command for our northeastern front and our southeastern front. This means that we do not just have a logistical corridor, a communications line between the two fronts, but that the whole area has been converted into a single area of control. And this would never have been possible if our military forces had not grown in strength.

There is the fact that the junta cannot do anything to stop the constant acts of sabotage against the electrical system, that it cannot do anything to stop the galloping economic crisis. This too is a sign of our strength.

It is our opinion that in the military sense the junta right now is in a defensive position. We think the counteroffensives they try to launch are a political trick to try to project to the world the idea that they actually control these different regions.

It is important to point out that in this last campaign of July and August we saw for the

first time the surrender of elements of the National Guard, who are considered the basic shock troops of the junta. This is an unmistakable sign of the demoralization that is occurring within the army.

On top of this there has been the string of resounding defeats suffered by the famous Atlacatl Brigade, which is a helicopter-borne unit of troops trained by the Green Berets. Every place it has gone to try to wipe out our forces, it has failed.

I just want to end by pointing to two facts that we consider very important.

The first is the extent of popular participation in liberated zones like Morazán — which is where Radio Venceremos is.

The second, which has become a political symbol for us, is our ability to hold onto the Guazapa Volcano. This is a volcano located thirty-five kilometers from San Salvador. The guerrilla camps can be seen from any downtown hotel in the capital. This is living proof of the army's and the junta's inability to wipe us out. □

## International solidarity conference backs Salvadoran freedom struggle

MEXICO CITY — An overflow crowd of more than 300 delegates and observers from twenty-five countries gathered here October 10-11 for the First International Conference in Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution. Initiated by the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, the meeting brought together representatives of solidarity committees from Asia, Europe, and all over the Western Hemisphere.

The conference agreed to support and build coordinated demonstrations in European cities on November 27 — the first anniversary of the assassination of six Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) leaders in El Salvador — an international march in Mexico City January 22, and an International Forum on Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution in Mexico City in February, 1982.

One of the most enthusiastically received speakers at the opening session of the conference was Tom Hartley, a representative of the Irish republican movement. Hartley said those fighting for freedom in Ireland felt "a deep identification with El Salvador, a people whose suffering we understand all too well."

Heidi Tarver, coordinator of the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), also addressed the conference. In introducing her, the chair pointed out that she had been democratically

elected at a preliminary meeting of the various national delegations to speak on behalf of all the committees at the opening session, "because of the special importance of the movement she represents."

Marisol Galindo, a leader of the FDR and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), addressed the conference twice. In the opening session she explained the international context of the most recent peace initiatives of the FMLN and FDR, and on the second day of the conference she reported on the current situation inside the country.

Conference delegates discussed and approved, with some modifications, three fundamental documents. The general political resolution presented was an updated version of a statement adopted by the First National Forum in Solidarity with the Salvadoran Revolution that took place in Mexico City in June.

The resolution points to the FMLN and FDR as "the sole true representatives of the Salvadoran nation," and said the recent recognition of the FMLN and FDR by the governments of Mexico and France gave a new impetus to the international movement against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The action proposal included, in addition to the November 27 and January 22 demonstrations and the February forum, plans for ongoing campaigns against U.S. intervention, economic solidarity with the FDR and

FMLN, and closer international collaboration.

A separate document outlined a campaign in support of the hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans who have been forced to take refuge in other countries.

There was a full and democratic discussion of all the documents. These plenary discussions gave solidarity activists a chance to not only report on activities in their own countries, but also to exchange opinions on some of the political questions facing the movement. They discussed the danger to peace posed by President Reagan's aggressive actions, not only in Central America but in Africa, Europe, and Asia; the role of the Christian Democracy on a world scale; the need to combat imperialist propaganda; and how to reach out to working-class allies of the solidarity movement.

The delegate from the solidarity movement in Spain pointed out in one of the sessions that this meeting in Mexico had given a big boost to international coordination among various committees in Europe. Conference participants in general seemed to share his opinion that the gathering, and the opportunity to meet with activists from other countries and with leading representatives of the FDR and FMLN, marked an important step forward for the solidarity movement.

— Matilde Zimmermann

# PRT presidential campaign

*'For a party of workers and struggle'*

By Matilde Zimmermann

MEXICO CITY — Television viewers here were introduced to a new type of election campaign the evening of October 11. It was the first of a series of scheduled broadcasts by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International.

The program used film of workers demonstrations and El Salvador support marches to show the PRT as a party of action. It was a clear statement of support for trade-union democracy, for peasants' struggle for land, and against repression.

PRT leader Pedro Peñaloza explained the need for a workers government in Mexico, which he said was the only kind of government that could consistently stand up to imperialism. "Don't vote for the parties of the bosses," he said. "We must vote for a party of workers and struggle, for government that really represents our interests."

## Television time and censorship

The PRT has for the first time won official ballot status, and will participate as a registered party in the presidential elections scheduled for July 1982. This status gives it the right to present fifteen-minute programs twice a month from now until the elections. Each will be shown on four different television channels and broadcast over four radio stations. The PRT has offered some of its time to the El Salvador solidarity movement to use to build support for the Salvadoran revolution.

But Mexican "democracy" has its limits. The PRT fought for more than three years before it was finally registered as an official party. And on the very day of the first television program, five minutes were cut by government censors. The suppressed segment would have shown PRT presidential candidate Rosario Ibarra de Piedra interviewing relatives of two political prisoners who have "disappeared" in police custody.

The PRT announced the candidacy of Ibarra de Piedra at a rally of 1,400 in Mexico City last April 5. The candidate is a leader of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) and



PRT presidential candidate, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, submitting a list of "disappeared" and political prisoners to President López Portillo.

the most prominent figure in the struggle for democratic rights in Mexico. She was one of the speakers at a rally of 60,000 that took place October 2 in Mexico City to commemorate the assassination of 300 student protesters in 1968

## Class independence and internationalism

Among the central themes of the election campaign are working-class political independence, internationalism, and unity in action. For the activists of the PRT, these are more than just electoral slogans. In recent months, the PRT has been involved in supporting a strike of metalworkers at Laminadora Mexicana de Metales and a fight for union democracy at Goodyear Oxo; building an international conference in solidarity with El Salvador; campaigning against the expulsion of Guatemalan peasant refugees from southern Mexico; and building October 2 and other demonstrations against repression.

In addition to Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, and Miguel de la Madrid, the candidate of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), two other candidates have been announced. One is from the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), and the other is Heriberto Castillo, the leader of the Mexican Workers Party (PMT) and a prominent figure in the workers movement.

Although the PMT does not have official ballot status, the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) does. The PCM, PMT, and three

smaller parties have announced they are fusing into a single party, which they say will be "the only party of the left."

Leaders of the PRT have proposed to the Castillo campaign and the new party that discussion be held to see if a united election campaign is possible. But these initiatives have not been answered.

## Ibarra de Piedra confronts president

Both the PRT and Rosario Ibarra de Piedra as an individual have demonstrated that they are not afraid to speak up for the oppressed, not intimidated by the power of the ruling PRI. Nowhere was this clearer than at President López Portillo's annual speech on the state of the republic on September 1.

Because of its official status, the PRT had the right to send representatives to the speech and reception, although this status did not prevent the police from following and harassing them.

Ibarra de Piedra and several leaders of the PRT left for the Legislative Palace from a sit-in that the FNCR had been holding outside a church as a three-day protest against government repression.

At the reception, Ibarra de Piedra went up to López Portillo and said, "Mr. President, I didn't come to congratulate you. I came to demand an answer. I have the tremendous responsibility of representing 500 Mexican women, and we want you to answer us. We want you to deal with the problem of our 'disappeared' relatives."

"You must be Mrs. Rosario Ibarra de Piedra," said the president. To her demand for a meeting to discuss the problem of the "disappeared," he would only say, "we'll see," over and over.

## For a workers and peasants government

*Bandera Socialista*, the newspaper of the PRT, published an interview with Ibarra de Piedra in its October 12 issue. The candidate was asked what kind of campaign she thought was needed for the 1982 Mexican elections.

"The first thing that has to be made clear is that no candidate, even a candidate of the revolutionary left, is going to be able to solve the most pressing and serious problems. Anyone who says he or she can is just trying to trick the working masses.

"We have to make clear that only a government of the workers, the poor peasants, the oppressed sectors, can lay the basis for eliminating once and for all the causes of unemployment, poverty, ignorance, disease, and so on.

"We have to make people understand that in

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order to achieve this kind of government we have to build the kind of political movement that is strong enough to do away with the current government. We have to call on people to fight against the politics of austerity, low wages, inflation, and attacks on democratic

rights — in other words against the politics of repression.

"Through constant struggles big and small, every day we must be building the kind of political force that can take on the PRI and its government." □

## Mexican PRT urges electoral agreement with new party

[The following statement was issued by the Political Bureau of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Mexican section of the Fourth International, on August 28. We have taken the text from the August 31 issue of the PRT's weekly newspaper, *Bandera Socialista*. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

As the 1982 elections approach, regroupments, preparations, and definitions are under way among the social classes and their political parties. These elections will have a special importance owing to the presidential succession.

We are beginning to see the usual clashes among the various groups of capitalists, the factions of the ruling party, and the collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy. From the supposedly apolitical opinions of "private enterprise," to the changes in the leadership of the Congress of Labor,<sup>1</sup> all are seeking to affect the political orientation of the new team, headed by the new president of the republic, that will administer the Mexican government.

On the other hand, there is a new situation of upturn among the workers and peasants and the mass movement as a whole. Resistance by the workers movement to the austerity policy and the attacks on trade-union and political rights has increased in recent years.

In the struggle against capitalist austerity, the workers have also had to direct their fire against the *charros* of the trade-union bureaucracy, who collaborate with the López Portillo government in applying its policy. Thus a struggle for trade-union democracy and independence has been put on the agenda. This means restoring the union organizations so as to uphold the class interests of the workers.

The most important expression of such mobilizations has been that carried on by the National Coordinating Committee of Education Workers (CNTE). Similar struggles are taking place in the countryside against the regime's antipeasant policies, and in the cities against

repression and evictions [of shantytown dwellers].

Key forms of national centralization have arisen in the latter two fields of struggle: the National "Ayala Plan" Coordinating Committee (CNPA)<sup>2</sup> and the National Coordinating Committee of the Urban People's Movement (CNMUP). Facing common problems that flow from the regime's repressive policy, these mass movements, along with others, have united around the National Front Against Repression (FNCR). In this way they have linked up with the movement to defend the victims of the repression that was carried out against the armed groups that arose during the past decade. Thus the masses' strong sentiment for unity has been channeled into the search for more effective means of opposing official policies.

These sectors make up the most developed and advanced expression of the mass movement today. Discussions are also taking place among them on what approach to take during the electoral period. They are aware that this is a field of action that belongs to the bourgeoisie, and that the Political Reform has been aimed at fostering the illusions that parliamentary participation is the way to meet the needs of the masses.

Thus some sectors of these movements doubt that it is worthwhile to have a direct, nonabstentionist participation in the electoral process — a participation that would not serve the regime's aims of restoring its own social support. A basic part of the blame for such doubts lies with the irresponsible policy, contrary to the interests of the masses, that has been carried out by the Left Coalition<sup>3</sup> in the Chamber of Deputies.

2. The CNPA is a coalition of a number of independent peasant organizations that have arisen in recent years outside the framework of the PRI-controlled National Confederation of Peasants (CNC). The "Ayala Plan" was the program for radical agrarian reform put forward by revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata in 1911.

3. Under the López Portillo regime's Political Reform, the Communist Party (PCM) was legalized in 1978 and allocated some seats in the Chamber of Deputies. At the same time, three small centrist groups joined the PCM in a bloc known as the Left Coalition. The PCM's parliamentary delegation includes some representatives from these groups and functions in the name of the Left Coalition.

As an alternative, we of the Revolutionary Workers Party have proposed an orientation that aims to use participation in the elections to strengthen and press forward the development of the mass movement and its forms of struggle and organization. The PRT has proposed a campaign of struggle and class independence — headed by the candidacy of FNCR leader Rosario Ibarra de Piedra — which could reach sectors of the masses that have not yet mobilized. Such a campaign could offer them a perspective of struggle and organization independent of the government and of the bosses' parties.

Outside of and parallel to this process comes last week's announcement of the fusion into a single party of the four organizations that made up the Left Coalition — the Communist Party (PCM), Mexican People's Party (PPM), Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), and Movement for Socialist Action and Unity (MAUS) — along with the Mexican Workers Party (PMT). While the most advanced sectors of the mass movement have sought forms for unity in action to confront the official policy, these parties are moving toward fusion in order to guarantee themselves greater weight in the elections.

Their move is due especially to the antidemocratic decision to deny legal registration to the PMT. That decision once again denied electoral participation to a party that since its formation has been designed precisely for that form of political action alone. This led the PMT to decide to form a single party with other currents. For years, the PMT has shared the same basic orientation as these currents regarding the forms of struggle (as the PMT's leaders have themselves recognized). It is precisely the PMT's electoral needs that have now led it to acknowledge such a basic agreement on orientation.

The new party seeks to take advantage of the sentiment for unity that is developing in wide sectors of the working-class population and in the mass movement. While the parties that agreed to fuse have not devoted their main political activity to the mass movement, they can still foster sentiment for unity among certain social layers. This in turn can favor the emergence of a unified electoral alternative among the various components of the left and have an important impact on working people.

Therefore, although the PRT does not share the perspective of a unified reformist party of the kind that the PMT and the Left Coalition aim to form, we do consider it necessary to seek an agreement among all the social and political forces of the movement — and with the new party as well — in order to form a united electoral front to fight the bosses' parties, especially the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), in the 1982 elections. If achieved, such a united, independent, and mass-based electoral front would help to give voice to the struggles of the various layers of working people, extensively publicize their demands, and stimulate mobilizations and democratic organization among the proletariat, the peasantry,

1. The Congress of Labor is the umbrella organization of Mexican trade unions. It includes the Mexican Workers Confederation (CTM), whose bureaucracy is linked to the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), as well as some independent union federations.

and other oppressed sectors.

We are proposing such united electoral action for 1982 despite the divisive statements by [PMT leader] Heberto Castillo. When he announced the fusion of the five parties, Castillo also attacked the PRT and depreciated the possibility of any agreement with us. Such sectarian attacks on the PRT should be disavowed by the five-party coordinating committee. They will not keep us from struggling for an electoral agreement with the new party in the spirit of the interests of the mass movement.

We reaffirm our proposal for unity to the compañeros and organizations of the mass movement that have already supported the plan

for a united class-struggle alternative headed by the candidacy of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra. Should such an electoral agreement take shape, it is clear that the possibilities will be greater for a campaign of struggle against the bourgeois parties, the government, and the bosses.

For all these reasons, the Political Bureau of the PRT has decided:

1. To immediately request the opening of discussions with the coordinating committee of the five parties in the fusion process, with the aim of reaching a united electoral agreement.

2. To propose to the new party a plan for a united electoral campaign of struggle — with

candidates from the mass movement, and with an anticapitalist platform that rejects all class collaboration and advances the political independence of the workers. We have proposed this to other political and social organizations, and some of them have already accepted.

3. To support the new party's right to legal registration in the face of the official attempts to deny this.

4. To participate in the public discussion forum on the various electoral alternatives that will be held September 5 and 6, and to encourage other political and social organizations to participate in it as well. □

## Grenada

# Farm workers win strike victory

## Revolution advances in countryside

By Ernest Harsch

"We are going to take action when action is due, regardless of where. People must respect the working, producing class in this country."

Fitzroy Bain, president of the Agricultural and General Workers Union (AGWU), drew cheers and loud applause from the gathering of 400 workers as he explained why his union was leading several strikes against private estate owners. He was speaking before a Workers' Council meeting held in the southern parish of St. David's on September 24.

The strikes, the growing strength of the AGWU, the adoption of a new land reform law, and steps to give workers a share of the profits on privately-owned estates all point to important advances of the revolution in Grenada's countryside. Two-and-a-half years after the overthrow of the repressive Eric Gairy regime by the revolutionary New Jewel Movement (NJM), the rural population of that Caribbean country of 120,000 people is becoming better organized and more mobilized than ever before.

### Strikers get wide backing

The strikes at the Bagatelle and Lesterville estates, which began September 21, were the first major ones by agricultural workers since the beginning of the revolution.

They were launched by the AGWU after two weeks of fruitless negotiations with the management of the estates, which are owned by L. L. Ramdhanny, one of the largest capitalists in Grenada. Ramdhanny had refused to pay the workers retroactive public holiday pay.

Although the strike focused on the issue of holiday pay (as well as pay for the days the workers were out on strike), the workers on Ramdhanny's estates also had many other grievances.



Larry Johnson Socialist Voice

Grenadian agricultural workers are organizing to fight for their rights.

According to a front-page article on the strike in the September 26 *Free West Indian*, a weekly newspaper published in St. George's, "Ramdhanny has a notorious record with workers. They complain of late hours of work, drop in wages for pension-qualifying workers, and poor worker-management relations because of management's attitude towards the workers."

Ramdhanny has been a strong opponent of granting maternity pay to women workers, es-

pecially unmarried ones, despite legislation passed by the People's Revolutionary Government making paid maternity leave compulsory.

In addition, the *Free West Indian* reported, "AGWU officials say that Ramdhanny has given orders to shoot on [the] spot any workers who trespass his estates and had ordered more cartridges for his watchmen."

Ramdhanny tried to resist the demands of the strikers, but he faced a workforce that was well-organized. The workers of the two estates, moreover, had important backing: from workers in the rest of Grenada. AGWU leaders spoke at public rallies, at which they explained the issues behind the strikes.

On September 30, the strikers marched through the streets of Grenville, the second largest city in Grenada. They passed in front of Ramdhanny's business offices calling on him to meet their demands. AGWU President Bain reminded Ramdhanny that the revolution in Grenada was for working people.

Less than forty-eight hours later, on October 2, Ramdhanny gave in. He signed an agreement with the AGWU promising to grant the strikers' demands.

This victory came in addition to another recent one at the La Pastora estate, in which the owner agreed to the workers' demands after a one-day strike.

### A powerful union

These strikes not only signaled the growing mobilization of Grenada's rural workforce, but also the emergence of the AGWU as a major force in the revolution.

A few months after the March 1979 insurrection that toppled Gairy, the Agricultural Workers Council was established. It was an informal body headed by NJM leader Caldwell



Taylor, now Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations. Then, on November 27, 1979, the AGWU was officially launched.

This was an important breakthrough, because it was precisely among the agricultural workers that Gairy claimed to have drawn most of his support.

Since its formation, the AGWU has won every union recognition poll organized on agricultural estates. With a total membership of 2,000, it now represents workers on some seventy estates, including all of those larger than 100 acres.

The AGWU has won important wage increases for agricultural and road workers.

#### Controls on large landowners

In the midst of the farm workers' strikes, the government announced a new land reform measure, called the Land Development and Utilization Law, aimed against those large landholders who are refusing to put their land into cultivation.

This is part of the Grenadian government's drive to increase agricultural production, both to enable Grenada to feed itself and to provide jobs for the island's unemployed youth.

The new law applies only to farms of more than 100 acres (considered large for a small island like Grenada). It makes the owner responsible for ensuring that the land is utilized adequately. If the landlord fails to do so, the Ministry of Agriculture has the right to lease the land, or any part of it, at an annual rent equivalent to 1 percent of the unimproved value of the land.

In addition, to prevent the breakup of large holdings into small and unproductive plots, the owners of these estates are also forbidden to sell or lease any part of their land without the permission of a special government commission.

Another measure — which is already stirring opposition from the large farm owners — is the government's aim to extend its profit-

sharing program to private estates.

The program, in which one-third of a farm's profits are shared among the workers, is already in effect on the thirty-three government-owned farms in Grenada. Workers at several of these estates recently participated in profit-sharing ceremonies. The program as a whole is being supervised by the AGWU.

During the course of the Bagatelle and Les-terre strikes, the demand to extend this program to the private estates was frequently raised.

As one striker exclaimed, "Since workers are solely responsible for all profits made on the estates, they should be entitled to all rights that management enjoy. Without we, the workers, Ramdhany cannot get rich."

The same point was echoed by AGWU leader Bain, at a meeting of Bagatelle workers. "Without the workers there can be no profit for the owners," he said. "It is you who produce the wealth." □

## Caribbean journalists defend Grenada

### Answer counterrevolutionary propaganda campaign

[The following article appeared in the October 3 issue of the *Free West Indian*, published weekly in St. George's, Grenada.]

\* \* \*

The co-ordinated media attacks against the Grenada Revolution have finally provoked response from the working journalists themselves.

In an unprecedented move, journalists from all the media houses in Trinidad met last Tuesday to discuss the appearance of joint identical editorials published in last Sunday's editions of both daily newspapers, the *Trinidad Guardian* and the *Express*.

The editorial, which also appeared in the *Sunday Sun* of Barbados, the *Gleaner* of Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean said: "Today all major newspapers, radio and television stations in the English-speaking Caribbean (with the exception of Guyana, which has not been invited for obvious reasons) join in a common expression of condemnation of the behaviour of the People's Revolutionary Government."

The journalists decided that the editorials, which called on the PRG to "hold elections," "stop human rights abuse" and "free Grenada," originated from the Caribbean Publishers and Broadcasters Association (CPBA), an offshoot of the CIA-founded Inter-American Press Association (IAPA).

The Trinidad meeting, held at a Port of Spain restaurant, the first independent collective meeting of journalists there in over five years, was chaired by *Express* reporter Jeff Hackett.

It attracted representatives from the *Express*

and its sister paper the *Sun*; the *Trinidad Guardian* and its sister *Evening News*; NBS radio 610; Trinidad and Tobago Television (TTT); the *Trinidad and Tobago Review*; the *Bomb*, *Challenge*, and *Catholic News*.

The journalists appointed a seven-man steering committee to prepare resolutions on the editorials' appearance and to investigate further the reports of alleged abuse of press freedom and human rights in Grenada.

A report and pictures of the meeting were published in the *Express*, but the *Guardian* refused to publish those submitted by its own staff members.

This has added fuel to the fires of journalistic discontent in Trinidad, and increased the feeling that news is being controlled by the directors and editors who are linked with CPBA.

CPBA is an association of the region's wealthy press barons, who have open ties with the United States International Communications Agency (USICA), which acts as CIA propaganda conduit.

In May this year, at a USICA-sponsored conference in Washington, CPBA editors were briefed on "how to handle Grenada" in the news, while being wined and dined at U.S. State Department expense.

Directly after this, the clearly organised propaganda onslaught against Grenada multiplied, mainly in CPBA-owned newspapers.

The Media Workers Association of Free Grenada (MWAFFG) commented that "this new wave of co-ordinated press attacks takes place in the context of the Vieques military manoeuvres, which revealed clear U.S. intentions to invade Grenada. It is not the first, and it won't be the last tactical offensive that U.S. impe-

rialism will mount through its operatives in the region."

MWAFFG further observed that "the capitalist media owners and managers of the CPBA have a notorious record for economically exploiting and stifling the views of democratic and progressive media workers in their employ, and are hardly a credible body to level judgements on human rights and press freedom."

In a telegram of solidarity with their colleagues in Trinidad, MWAFFG, which represents approximately 90 per cent of the practising journalists in Grenada, stated: "As journalists and media workers freely practising our profession in Grenada, we condemn these latest co-ordinated Caribbean newspaper attacks as blatantly false and dishonest. They represent the narrow views and interests of the media monopolists in the region, who abandon all pretenses of objectivity when it comes to reporting on the Grenada Revolution."

A similar statement came from the Press Association of Jamaica (PAJ), which protested the attempts by CPBA media magnates to poison the mind's of the region's people. □

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# Hot reception for George Bush

*Protest in streets and in Chamber of Deputies*

By Nelson González

A full week before Vice-President George Bush's arrival in the Dominican Republic on October 12, graffiti began appearing on the walls of buildings in the capital city of Santo Domingo denouncing Bush as "an imperialist hawk."

On October 6 the students from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo organized several marches through the streets of the capital.

The next day more than thirty student, professional, and trade-union organizations announced plans to organize protest activities during Bush's three-day stay.

On October 12, in what was described as a virtual "militarization" of the capital, thousands of soldiers armed with M-16s, together with special counterinsurgency police units, were dispatched to patrol the major streets of the capital. Police broke into houses and arrested about twenty "suspicious" persons.

The Autonomous University of Santo Domingo was ordered closed for the duration of Bush's visit.

Groups of three to four soldiers patrolled the poorer sections of the city, breaking up any groups of individuals in the streets and picking up stray tires and other material that potential demonstrators could use to erect barricades.

Upon Bush's arrival dozens of security agents surrounded Las Américas Airport. All along the travel route from the airport to the American embassy where Bush was to stay, soldiers armed with automatic weapons lined the streets.

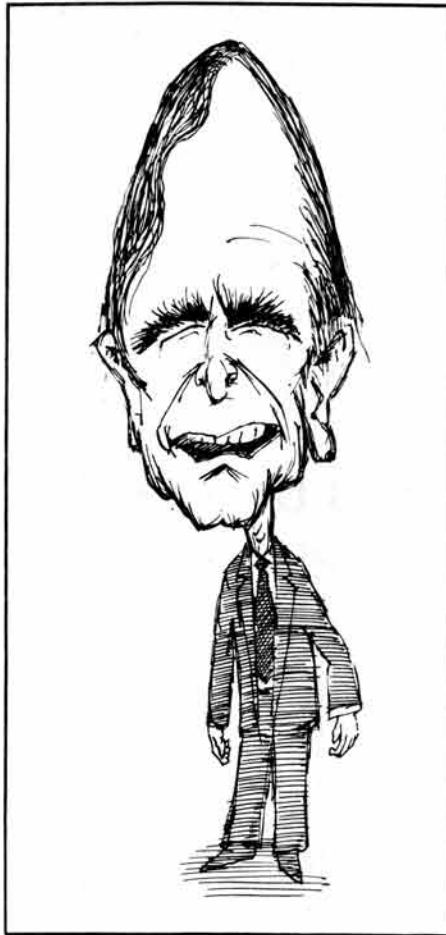
Despite this massive intimidation, demonstrations took place anyway.

Though the soldiers and special counterinsurgency units were able to block marches through the streets of the capital, groups of youth organized lightning demonstrations in different parts of the city, defending themselves with rocks, and burning tires for cover. Some twenty youths were arrested and one was wounded.

Bush's reception on the governmental level also reflected the increasing tension in the Dominican Republic due to pressing economic problems.

## Blow to sugar industry

Even though Bush's opening remarks to the Dominican National Assembly were laced with anticommunist rhetoric, lauding Dominican democracy and attacking Cuban and Soviet "expansionism," the purpose of Bush's "good will" visit was to let it be known that the Dominican Republic should expect reduced levels of aid and increased exploitation.



BUSH

Ivan Militant

Up to now the Dominican Republic has received the highest levels of U.S. military and economic aid in the Caribbean.

However, legislation already passed by the U.S. Senate and currently pending before the House of Representatives would raise the tariff on sugar imports. This would result in a \$25 million loss to the Dominican sugar industry, while at the same time hurting consumers in the United States. The only beneficiary would be U.S. agribusiness.

The Dominican Republic exports 98 percent of its sugar to the United States. This accounts for 50 percent of its foreign exchange. Given the \$2 billion Dominican foreign debt, this loss on top of already low sugar prices on the world market would be a serious economic blow.

In addition, the sugar industry directly and indirectly employs nearly 600,000 Dominicans. With unemployment levels officially estimated at 30 percent, any further economic

dislocation of this industry would be explosive.

The October 13 *New York Times* described the reaction of the Dominican government to Bush's visit, noting that "the presidents of both the Dominican Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, instead of delivering the predictable flowery introductions, made impassioned speeches on the dangers of measures now before the United States Congress. . . . 'Every hard-won advance we have made toward the exercise of democracy in the last 15 years,' said Senator Helvio A. Rodríguez, president of the Senate, 'would be seriously menaced by a misfortune in our economy such as the one now predicted, and the economy will not survive the eventual bankruptcy of the sugar industry.'

"Economic anarchy represents a political danger," said Hatuey Decamps, president of the Chamber of Deputies."

In a direct response to the Reagan Administration's counterrevolutionary policy in Central America and the Caribbean, Decamps pointed out that, "The peoples of the Caribbean don't aspire to the role of the great powers or to divide the world into zones of influence. The military presence of one or another great power, transforming the Caribbean into a battlefield, is a phenomenon we question, because we've suffered the fruits of such situations." Decamps was undoubtedly referring to the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic by 42,000 U. S. Marines.

## 1982 presidential election

Bush's visit comes at a time when the key political forces on the island are jockeying for position in the upcoming presidential elections in 1982.

One of the early casualties in this jockeying is the current president of the Dominican Republic, Antonio Guzmán.

Guzmán suffered a severe blow when he tried to break a strike by 3,000 doctors earlier this year. The sixty-six-day strike resulted in a spectacular defeat for the regime, which was forced to grant a 40 percent wage hike.

Widespread discontent with Guzmán's anti-labor stance, coupled with the dismal economic situation, had led Guzmán's own Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) to openly disavow him even before his defeat in the doctors' strike. "This is not a government of the party," said PRD General Secretary José Francisco Peña Gómez in a speech last year.

In September, when Guzmán criticized the recent French-Mexican declaration recognizing the opposition forces in El Salvador, Gómez declared his "total disapproval" of Guzmán's position.

In casting off Guzmán, Peña Gómez and the rest of the political hacks of the PRD are trying to placate the radicalizing Dominican masses. Going into the 1982 elections, the PRD knows full well that Bush's visit and U.S. imperialism's stance toward Latin America will only deepen the discontent of the Dominican masses. □

# The crisis of world capitalism—II

## *Fidel Castro on the criminal policies of U.S. imperialism*

[The following is the second half of a speech given by Cuban President Fidel Castro on September 15 in Havana to the sixty-eighth conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The text is taken from the September 27 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.

[The first half of the speech appeared in the October 26 issue of *Inter-continental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The United Nations have established the pressing need for the return of the territories occupied by Israel as a result of the war waged against the Arab countries and the establishment of a state in the Middle East where the millions of Palestinians, deprived of their homeland, can reunite their scattered nation. The Zionist government not only scorns these decisions but also defies the international community with its increasingly aggressive actions, tolerated and sponsored by Washington while pretending to seek peace and threatening to discontinue its arms supplies. But this hypocritical gesture is short-lived, and Reagan's government sends F-15 and F-16 planes and receives Begin at the White House to discuss the terms of a strategic agreement recently drawn up between Israel and the United States.

The United States seemed committed to a halfhearted compromise handled by four other countries — France, England, Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany — to find a peaceful settlement to the independence of Namibia. Nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that after Under Secretary Crocker's visit to South Africa and Reagan and Botha's meeting, South Africa feels assured of being counted upon by the United States as a strategic factor in the aggressive alliance it is trying to impose on all the world.

The littoral countries of the Indian Ocean have strived for years to have that area declared a zone of peace and for a pledge on the part of the various military fleets to withdraw therefrom. The Soviet Union has shown its willingness to do so. However, the Reagan administration has concentrated there an enormous naval might which dovetails with its military plans in the region in connivance with South Africa, plans it is trying to extend to Latin American countries, forcing them to join a South Atlantic alliance complementary to NATO. Brazil's refusal is indicative of the new times the U.S. imperialists are facing.

As part of its aggressive global policy, the new U.S. administration has promoted Sadat to the rank of gendarme of the Middle East and fosters an anti-Arab and anti-Palestinian policy through its growing relations with Israel; it divides and weakens the Arab world by pitting its most reactionary allies in the region against the progressive countries; it supports and nurtures counterrevolution in Afghanistan and blockades all attempts at negotiations and settlements between the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan; it provokes Democratic Korea; it establishes closer and broader links with China in the economic, political and military spheres, as part of a blatant and dangerous strategy aimed against the USSR. It likewise escalates its subversive activities within the socialist community.

The most dangerous and disturbing factor in its policy is its presumptuousness and total lack of interest in negotiating on disarmament, the arms race, détente and peace; its aggressive, offensive and arrogant language, unheard even during the worst times of cold war; the preposterous attempt to exert pressure on, threaten or blackmail the Soviet Union.

As one more step in its maniac and wild arms race, the U.S. Government declared, four days ago, that it is considering the possibility of turning the country's electroatomic waste into plutonium, for its nuclear weapons plans.

Yankee imperialism openly claims to be a self-appointed world gen-

darme and proscribes all social change anywhere in the world, stating its readiness to intervene. For the present U.S. administration, a revolution taking place anywhere in the world is merely "Soviet expansionism." Nevertheless, the terrifying economic crisis the world is undergoing nowadays will unavoidably trigger off revolutions and deep social change in one country or another. Revolutions have existed ever since the history of man began and are as difficult to prevent as the delivery of a pregnant whale.

The warmongering policy and the philosophy of the new Yankee administration are already accountable for five bloody war actions, almost all of them dangerous, all abhorrent:

- first, its interventionist and genocidal actions in El Salvador, by supplying arms and advising a terrorist government that has assassinated over 20,000 sons and daughters of that heroic and noble people;
- second, the bombing by the Israeli Zionist government of Iraq's nuclear research center, an unprecedented event in peacetime, which could

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### **The Reagan administration is already covered with the blood of peoples from three different continents . . .**

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have brought about a catastrophe and sets a nefarious and unpunished example on the international scene;

- third, the brutal Zionist bombings of Lebanon, which have taken hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian lives, and caused mutilations, wounds and untold suffering to thousands of people;
- fourth, the provocation against Libya in the Gulf of Sidra and the downing of two Libyan planes patrolling their home coasts;
- fifth, South Africa's criminal invasion and bombings of Angola, that have taken hundreds of lives and caused considerable destruction.

These acts have been perpetrated by the United States, or in complicity with the United States, or covered up by the United States, which opposed all appropriate actions and strong condemnation of the aggressors at the United Nations. Thus, the Reagan administration is already covered with the blood not only of thousands of slaughtered Salvadorans but of hundreds of assassinated Angolans and hundreds of massacred Lebanese and Palestinians. Blood of peoples from three different continents.

The aggression against Angola, perpetrated by South Africa's racists and fascists, in full agreement with the U.S. Government, which sponsored and whitewashed the invasion, and prevented, through its contemptible veto, the punishment and condemnation of the aggressors, has recently been a source of particular indignation.

What does this close alliance between imperialism and the execrable apartheid regime mean? Common political ideas and common economic interests.

South Africa, with less than 7% of the overall population of Africa, possesses one-third of the continent's Gross National Product. Within its territory, including Namibia, there are 55 different materials. It accounts for 60% of the world gold production, 30% of chrome production, 25% of manganese production, 16% of uranium production, 14% of diamond production. All in all, it controls 45% of African mining. The most significant economic relations between capitalist Europe and an African country are with South Africa. The big South African racist capitalists share profits with 630 British, 494 American, 132 West German and 85 French transnationals located in that country. Fifty percent of South African investments belong to foreign capital which controls

87% of the productive capacity in the private sector. These very same transnationals made possible South Africa's access to nuclear technology.

As Chester Crocker, U.S. under secretary of State, recently declared, U.S. investments in South Africa amount to \$3,000 million, its annual trade to \$6,000 million and the bank credits granted to \$3,000 million.

What kind of exploitation underlies the wealth shared by Western transnationals?

In South Africa, the white population amounts to 4.5 million; the black population, to 19 million.

Land distribution: whites, 87%; blacks, 13%.

National income distribution: whites, 75%; blacks, less than 20%.

Average income ratio: whites, 14; blacks, 1.

Number of doctors per capita: whites, one per 400; blacks, one per 44,000.

Infant mortality rate: whites, 27 per 1,000; blacks 200-400 per 1,000.

Yearly education expenditures per child: whites, \$696; blacks, \$5.

In speaking of international politics, we cannot silence what is happening in Northern Ireland; I feel it is my duty to refer to this problem. In my opinion, the Irish patriots are writing one of the most heroic chapters in the history of mankind. They have earned worldwide respect and admiration, and likewise deserve the fullest support. Ten of them have already died in the most moving gesture of sacrifice, selflessness and

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### **What destabilizes Central America is not Cuba's alleged subversive action. It is Yankee imperialism that imposed in the past atrocious governments and merciless exploitation . . .**

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courage one could ever imagine. Mankind should feel ashamed that this terrible crime should be committed before its very eyes. These young fighters do not ask for independence nor make impossible demands to put an end to their strike; they ask only for something as simple as the recognition of what they actually are: political prisoners. The men for whom we ask the solidarity of this Conference are neither Marxist-Leninist nor communist; they are militant Catholic. How can such a cold and dramatic holocaust be tolerated in the very heart of the Western world?

We can't become inured to crime be it in Ireland, El Salvador, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, Lebanon, or elsewhere.

The stubbornness, intransigence, cruelty and insensitivity of the British Government before the international community concerning the problem of the Irish patriots and their hunger strike till death remind us of Torquemada and the atrocities committed by the Inquisition during the Middle Ages.

According to the legend, in its early days, Rome was once besieged. Two young Roman soldiers had been taken prisoner. When, in an attempt to break their will, the besiegers threatened to burn them alive they spontaneously put their hands in the flames to show their contempt. It is said that their gesture impressed the enemy so much that the siege of Rome was lifted.

Let tyrants tremble before men capable of dying for their ideals after 60 days of hunger strike! What were Christ's three days on Calvary, an age-old symbol of human sacrifice, compared to that example?

It is high time for the world community to put an end to this repulsive atrocity through its denunciation and pressure.

The most respected leaders of Latin America, the European Social Democratic parties and the most sensible analysts of the United States all agree that the origin of the revolutionary political upheaval in Central America — which culminated with the democratic victory in Nicaragua and is turning El Salvador into a seedbed of heroic rebellions — is not to be found in any external influence, but rather in the implacable brutality of the social and political regimes endured by most of Central America.

But the government in Washington charges Cuba with the responsibility for Central American unrest. Fifty years ago, when the Cuban Revolution could not even be envisaged, the people of El Salvador had

already tried to shake their decaying regime to its very roots in an attempt which ended in the massacre of almost 30,000 Salvadoran patriots by dictator Maximiliano Martínez. Sandino fought the Yankee marines to defend his homeland; years later, Somoza's tyranny murdered thousands of Nicaraguans, but those exemplary peoples did not yield — and our Revolution had not yet emerged in America.

What destabilizes Central America is not Cuba's alleged subversive action. It is Yankee imperialism that imposed in the past atrocious governments and merciless exploitation systems in the region; that currently rejects all possibilities of political agreement in El Salvador; that daily supplies the repressive forces of that country with new armaments; that seeks to hypocritically cover up the genocidal barbarity of its accomplices; that threatens with direct or interposed military intervention through similarly reactionary, homicidal regimes at its service in the area, and is to be held responsible for the absence of peace in Central America.

Imperialism constantly seeks to justify each of the recent steps in El Salvador through a number of lies and charges against Cuba, systematically reiterated by its unscrupulous spokesmen, whose cynicism would make Goebbels himself envious. It is a lie — as we have already stated, and I repeat this here with full moral authority — that there are Cuban military advisors in El Salvador. It is a lie that part of the weapons supplied to us by the Soviet Union for our defense is being redistributed in Central America. It is a lie that Cuba is supplying weapons and ammunition to Salvadoran patriots; the channels for it do not exist, and the Salvadoran patriots have been fighting for many months with their own resources and with the weapons they wrest from the enemy. Lies, lies, and nothing but lies! We have defied the U.S. Government to present even the slightest evidence to confirm its statements, but it has been unable to utter a single word!

To refute these falsehoods does not imply a commitment on our part. Neither does it entail passing moral judgement on the charges against us, nor renouncing the sacred duty to assist, in any way possible, a sister people being massacred and exterminated! It would not be immoral or censurable to provide weapons to help a people whose sons and daughters — including old people, women and children — are being brutally annihilated, if it were within our possibilities. This question is put forth in terms of the actual inexistence of said possibilities. Why, then, does the genocidal Government of the United States tell all these lies? To deceive U.S. public opinion; to deceive the U.S. congress and the Senate, where not few show scruples regarding their country's policy in El Salvador; to cynically deceive world opinion and send enormous amounts of sophisticated weapons and military advisors to the murderers.

The Governments of Mexico and France took a courageous and humanitarian initiative: they recognized the representativity of the patriots struggling for the physical survival of their people and their homeland to seek a negotiated and political settlement to this bloody drama. That is not interventionism; it is a cry for justice, congruent with the purest principles of international law and with the interests of nations and peoples of the world in the quest for peaceful solutions to the hotbeds of tension that poison the international arena. Interventionism is arming to the teeth and sending military advisers to a bloody gang that has committed more than 20,000 crimes in only 18 months in order to crush a rebellion that is the exclusive result of decades of ruthless exploitation, abuse and crimes.

Weapons may well kill the hungry and exploited people of El Salvador, but they will not kill hunger, illiteracy, squalor and injustice rampant in that country. Nor will they be able to kill the just and millenary right of the peoples to rebel against tyranny.

The noble initiative taken by Mexico and France provoked the wrath of the imperialist interventionists. In a grotesque hullabaloo orchestrated under U.S. orders to charge these two prestigious countries with interventionism, a handful of governments in this hemisphere posing as democrats, shamelessly joined bloody repressive and fascist tyrannies whose most recent credentials are an endless list of coups d'état, tortures, assassinations and disappearances. This attitude reveals from head to toe some of those Pharisees — veritable whitewashed sepulchres — who, invoking "democracy" and even Christ's very name, support one of the most monstrous crimes being committed on our continent during this century.

The quest is being sponsored by Mexico and France for a negotiated and political settlement to the bloody drama of El Salvador is the same as the one promoted by such prestigious governments as those of Canada, Nicaragua, Panama, the Scandinavian countries, a great many states of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, the Socialist International, and all the progressive forces of the world. And let no one harbor illusions that the Salvadoran Revolution is weak. The patriotic movement of that country is and will be increasingly stronger and invincible, and it cannot be crushed with weapons. This parliamentary Conference should gain awareness regarding this problem and take a stand. Let the sovereignty of El Salvador and the right of its heroic people to life and justice be respected!

Similar Yankee threats and dangers of aggression loom before the heroic sister peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada. They need maximum support and international solidarity.

Our sympathy, our support and our encouragement are also needed by the sister people of Panama in their struggle for the enforcement of the Canal Treaties; the people of Puerto Rico, subjected to the infamous Yankee colonialism, and the people of Guatemala, struggling against the cruel tyranny imposed by U.S. intervention against Arbenz in 1954, whose bitter fruits have since then been 70,000 assassinated patriots.

I have left for the end those matters concerning our homeland.

The Yankee imperialists have stepped up their criminal economic blockade against our country; they have intensified their activities of espionage and subversion; they brazenly speak of broadcasting official U.S. Government radio programs to promote destabilization and counterrevolution in Cuba. The CIA has been relieved of all restrictions. And the government of that country has answered none of our numerous public challenges to clarify whether that sinister institution will once again have a free hand to organize attempts on the lives of the leaders of the Revolution and use plagues against our plants, our animals and our population. We are being threatened with naval blockade and direct aggression.

Recently, we expressed our conviction that imperialism was using biological weapons against our homeland. It is not a groundless accusation. In less than three years five serious epidemics have plagued our animals, our plants and — what is even worse — our population: African swine fever, tobacco blue mold, sugarcane rust, hemorrhagic dengue and, lastly, hemorrhagic conjunctivitis, which have caused considerable material and human damage. And in each case they have appeared without any logical or natural explanation.

The United States — as everyone knows — has developed a whole arsenal of sophisticated weapons of this kind, and methods for their use.

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### **Weapons may well kill the hungry and exploited people of El Salvador, but they will not kill hunger, illiteracy, squalor and injustice rampant in that country . . .**

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According to imperialist conceptions, these weapons can be used in times of peace.

Hemorrhagic dengue has cost us 156 lives, including those of 99 children. The epidemic appeared abruptly in our country, at a time when no other outbreaks had been reported elsewhere. It is the dengue type 2 virus.

A serious and well-documented study conducted by a group of Cuban technicians and scientists supervised by highly trained foreign specialists reached the conclusion that this virus was deliberately introduced in Cuba.

According to the analyses made and the examination of all available information, when the epidemic broke out in Cuba, in no African or Southeast Asian country with which we have relations had there been any epidemic outbreak of dengue type 2 virus. It has been proven that no incoming Cuban or foreigner from that or any other region had been affected by the disease caused by this virus.

The epidemiological situation in Central America and the Caribbean at that time was the following:



Lebanese village after Israeli bombing.

In Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Columbia, as well as on the islands of the Caribbean basin (Haiti, Puerto Rico, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Anguilla) there was an outbreak of dengue type 1 virus.

In the islands of Dominica, Curaçao, Saint Barthélemy in the Lesser Antilles, as well as in El Salvador, Honduras and Puerto Rico there was an outbreak of dengue type 4 virus.

It became clear, therefore, that after 1978 no case of dengue type 2 virus had been reported in any Latin American country or in any island of the Caribbean basin. The dengue fever which appeared on the islands neighboring Cuba about the same time in which the epidemic started in our country was provoked by viruses types 1 and 4. And the dengue type 2 virus was precisely one of the viruses most assiduously studied by the U.S. Centers devoted to the development of biological weapons.

This aggression could seem absurd, but it is not if we consider the background of criminal activities against Cuba by U. S. governments, many of which are now known and no longer questioned, since they have been investigated and revealed by the U.S. Senate itself.

I am forced to mention here some of the ones I already pointed out during our denunciation last July 26.

On November 18 and 20 and on December 2, 9, 18 and 19, 1969, the 91st Congress of the United States held hearings to analyze supposed plans concerning the use of biological weapons against Cuba. The following — eloquent — dialogue took place during that session:

Mr. Fraser: It has been said the United States was prepared to use biological agents with regard to the invasion of Cuba. Can you tell us whether that is true?

Mr. Pickering: I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. Fraser: Has anyone here any information on that question? (No response)

Mr. Pickering: I have seen the discussion of this subject in the press.

Mr. McCarthy: I would say the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is familiar with the incidents alluded to and there are people in the Government who know what the record is, present and past. I know the information is available in your records.

The 1975 report by the Senate Select Committee investigating the activities of the CIA reads as follows:

In November 1962 the proposal for a major new covert action program to overthrow Castro was developed. The President's Assistant, Richard Goodwin, and General Edward Lansdale, who was experienced in counter-insurgency operations, played major staff roles in creating this program, which was named Operation MONGOOSE.

In late 1961 or early, 1962, William Harvey was put in charge of the CIA's Task Force W, the CIA unit for MONGOOSE operations. Task Force W operated under guidance from the Special Group (Augmented) and employed a total of approximately 400 people at CIA headquarters and its Miami Station. McCone and Harvey were the principal CIA participants in Operation MONGOOSE. . . .

On January 19, 1962, a meeting of principal MONGOOSE participants was held in Attorney General Kennedy's office. Notes taken at the meeting by George McManus, Helms's Executive Assistant, contain the following passages:

"Conclusion Overthrow of Castro is Possible.

"... a solution to the Cuban problem today carried top priority in U.S. Govt. No time, money, effort — or manpower is to be spared."

"On January 18, 1962," the report goes on to say,

Lansdale assigned 32 planning tasks to the agencies participating in MONGOOSE. In a memorandum to the working group members, Lansdale emphasized that "it is our job to put the American genius to work on this project, quickly and effectively. This demands a change from the business as usual and a hard facing of the fact that we are in a combat situation — where we have been given full command."

The 32 tasks comprised a variety of activities, ranging from intelligence collection to planning for "use of U.S. military force to support the Cuban popular movement" and developing an "operational schedule for sabotage actions inside Cuba."

On January 19, 1962, Lansdale added an additional task to those assigned on January 18. "Task 33" involved a plan to "incapacitate" Cuban sugar workers during the harvest by the use of chemical warfare means. Lansdale testified that the plan involved using nonlethal chemicals to sicken Cubans temporarily and keep them away from the fields for a 24-48 hour period "without ill effects." The task was initially approved for planning purposes with the notation that it would require "policy determination" before final approval.

The SGA approved Lansdale's 33 tasks for planning purposes on January 30, 1962. . . .

General Lansdale's Program Review for the Cuba Project of February 20, 1962, included his 'Basic Action Plan.' Phase IV of that plan had as one of its components:

"Attack on the cadres of the regime, including key leaders. . . . This should be a 'Special Target' operation. CIA defector operations are vital here. Gangster elements might provide the best recruitment potential for actions against police G-2 officials. Bloc technicians should be added to the list of targets. CW (Chemical Warfare) agents should be fully considered."

The report states further on that:

Nevertheless, under the program, agent teams were dispatched into Cuba. A Lansdale memorandum of March 13, 1962, to the Special Group Augmented advised that:

"(1) Two teams of agents dispatched April 1 through 15, 1962; (2) Two teams of agents dispatched April 16 through 30, 1962; (3) Two teams dispatched to Cuba May 1 through 15, 1962; (4) Four teams of agents dispatched to Cuba May 16

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## **The Yankee imperialists have stepped up their criminal economic blockade against our country; they have intensified their activities of espionage and subversion. The CIA has been relieved of all restrictions . . .**

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through 31; (5) Ten to fifteen teams of agents dispatched to Cuba June 1 through 30, 1962."

In addition to the agent infiltrations, the MONGOOSE program also continued to include stepped up sabotage proposals. The unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Matahambre Mine was approved on August 30, 1962, and on August 31, 1962 memorandum from Lansdale to the SGA selected sabotage targets as "the Matahambre Mine and various refineries, nickel plants. . . ." The same memorandum suggested: "encouraging destruction of crops by fire, chemicals, and weeds, hampering of harvest by work slowdown, destruction of bags, cartons, and other shipping containers."

The hair-raising facts I have just mentioned are no invention of mine; these are disclosures made by illustrious members of the U.S. Senate.

On the first day of this month of September 1981, the *Miami Herald*, a U.S. paper, published an article stating among other things the following:

WASHINGTON — The pompous statements by Fidel Castro that the "harmful plagues" that are destroying crops and animals in Cuba and the dengue fever epidemic that has brought about the death of over 100 people on the island are the doings of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) does not seem inconceivable for the authors of a new book that shall be put out this autumn.

William W. Turner, former agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigations



Part of demonstration of half million workers in Washington, D.C., September 19. "The people of the United States themselves will soon react, as the drastic measures against the poorest strata of U.S. society begin to take effect."

(FBI), and journalist Warren Hinckle, state that the United States used biological warfare against Cuba during the Nixon administration.

According to them, Nixon's "tricks" included the introduction of African swine fever to destroy Cuba's swine population, and atmospheric modifications to bring about instant floods to destroy crops.

The authors argue that the CIA has committed the United States to a secret, undeclared and illegal war against Cuba for more than 20 years. The so-called Cuba project is the largest and least known operated by the CIA outside the legal limits of its statutes, they say.

Biological warfare, murders and forgeries were elements tried by the CIA with varying degrees of success, according to Turner and Hinckle.

The history of the Cuba project is the history of an important U.S. war not declared by Congress, not acknowledged by Washington and not reported in the press.

With respect to this same subject of how African swine fever was first introduced in Cuba in 1971, a very revealing UPI cable dated in Washington, on January 9, 1977, reads as follows:

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) refused to comment today on the information that it might have been implicated in a premeditated outbreak of African swine fever in Cuba in 1971, which provoked the sacrifice of 500,000 pigs.

*Newsday*, a Long Island (New York) newspaper, said today that "at least with the tacit support of the CIA, agents related to anti-Castro terrorists introduced the African swine fever virus in Cuba in 1971."

Six weeks later an outbreak of the disease forced Cuban sanitary authorities to sacrifice 500,000 pigs in order to avoid an animal epidemic of national proportions.

As opposed to swine influenza, African swine fever does not affect human beings, but it is highly contagious and mortal in the case of pigs.

An unidentified source of the CIA revealed to *Newsday* that at the beginning of 1971 he was given a container with virus at Fort Gulick, a U.S. army base situated in the Panama Canal Zone also used by the CIA, and that the container was then taken by a fishing boat to underground agents in Cuba.

It was the first time the disease appeared in the western hemisphere.

A CIA spokesman said no comments would be made on the information published by *Newsday*.

It is known, through their own admission, that when the African swine fever broke out in Cuba, the CIA and the U.S. army were experimenting with poisons, deadly toxins, products to destroy crops and other techniques of bacteriological warfare.

The epidemic this cable refers to struck our country precisely at the date mentioned, and during Richard Nixon's administration.

Now, when our struggle against the dangerous dengue epidemic had not yet ended, another epidemic, hemorrhagic conjunctivitis, was mysteriously and unaccountably introduced, appearing suddenly in the capital of the Republic. We hope none of those present becomes infected by the disease.

We have solid reasons, distinguished parliamentarians, to think the worst of imperialism and its institutions of terror and crime. Twenty years of bitter experiences have not elapsed in vain.

We do not fear imperialist threats. It will perhaps be possible to know when to start a conflict against us; what no one can tell is when or how it will end.

The U.S. system is not fascist; but I am deeply convinced that the group which constitutes the main core of the current U.S. administration is fascist; its thinking is fascist; its arrogant rejection of every human rights policy is fascist; its foreign policy is fascist; its contempt for world peace is fascist; its intransigent refusal to seek and find formulas for honorable coexistence among states is fascist; its haughtiness, its conceit, its arms race, its quest for military superiority at all costs, its attachment to violence and domination, its methods of blackmail and terror; its alliance with Pinochet and the most brutal regimes of this hemisphere whose methods of repression, terror, torture and disappearances have taken the lives of tens of thousands of people, without their relatives even knowing where their bodies lie; its shameless alliance with South Africa and apartheid are clearly fascist. It is threatening language and its lies are fascist.

Never will I say that the people of the United States are fascist, nor would I ever say so of their legislative institutions, their press, their many creative social organizations, nor of so much that is left of their noble democratic traditions and their attachment to freedom. Our hopes are founded on the certainty that fascism can succeed neither in the United States nor in the world, although it is true that, at present, a fascist leadership has established itself in the United States on the basis of a structure of an imperialist bourgeois democracy. And this is extremely dangerous.

But in the past, fascism was not defeated through laments, sugarcoated words, or concessions. It was defeated through struggle. To become aware of realities, to detect them in time, to resolutely denounce and fight that insane policy is one of the ways to prevent the holocaust. Fascism must be shown that today's world cannot be intimidated by threats or terror, that such a policy cannot be imposed on it; that there will be no Munichs or dishonorable concessions; that opposition will be resolute and that the peoples will resist — if need be till death — their criminal presumptions.

World opinion is already reacting, and the people of the United States themselves will soon react, as the drastic measures against the poorest strata of U.S. society begin to take effect, the budget deficit increases; inflation, recession and unemployment worsen; and international repulse and the people's resistance grow in the face of an irresponsible and adventurist policy which can only lead the empire to ruin and doom.

We, men, leaders, no matter what honor and merits we believe ourselves worthy of, are transient. Only one thing has lasted to this day; mankind, and the values it has created in the course of millennia. We do not exaggerate when we say that everything we hold dear; everything we have struggled for; everything those who preceded us dreamed of and which we dream of now; the past, the present and the future are in danger. We are spectators of a unique moment in history. Many may ask themselves if we are living the end of a stage or a final stage. Will mankind survive, we could all ask ourselves.

For the first time in human society, man is confronted by these dramatic concerns. We must face these real dangers serenely and courage-

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ously. We cannot afford to be pessimistic, for then the battle for peace would be lost beforehand. We cannot be cowardly, for then dignity as well as peace would be lost beforehand. We can and should preserve peace without yielding an inch, backed by the mobilization of the peoples, including the U.S. people, and by the immense power of opinion and of universal consciousness, as shown during Vietnam's heroic struggle; by the current balance of forces between socialism and imperialism, which the latter vainly seeks to tilt in its favor; by the peoples' capacity and decision to struggle so as to resist any imperialist aggression; by international solidarity which can be expressed in a thousand different ways.

We trust even the imperialists' spirit of self-preservation, who know that if nuclear war breaks out, they too will unavoidably be turned to ashes.

We will save peace if its enemies know that we are prepared to die for it rather than yield to blackmail and fear!

Adventurers, maniacs and lunatics cannot decide the fate of mankind!

We entertain the hope that the world will survive, that conscious men, just criteria, thoughtful, intelligent and courageous decisions will prevail, so that all nations and peoples, present and future generations, may live in peace, security and justice!

Mankind should last, and if we are determined, conscious and brave, it will last.

(OVATION)

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# Castro's specter at Cancún

*Reagan bars Cuban leader, but not his ideas*

By Will Reissner

After two days of deliberations in Cancún, Mexico, the twenty-two nation summit meeting on world economic problems ended October 23 without reaching concrete agreement on a single subject. The most that delegates could agree on was to hold further talks sometime in the future, with time, place, and format left in limbo.

Mexican President José López Portillo, who hosted the gathering, tried to portray the meeting in the best possible light, arguing that it had been "a forum for creating awareness and expressing political good will and not for reaching concrete agreements."

The Reagan administration had opposed the Mexican initiative of convening the conference, preferring not to discuss the dire problems facing the underdeveloped countries. Reagan himself initially refused to attend, and finally agreed to come only on the condition that Cuban President Fidel Castro be barred from the meeting.

While in Mexico, the U.S. president twice insulted his hosts and showed his contempt for the peoples of the poorer countries, first by remarking that being late was a custom in Latin America, and then by himself arriving late to the conference's first formal session.

## An ongoing political debate

Reagan's refusal to attend the conference if Fidel Castro was present showed that the meeting in Cancún was another skirmish in the ongoing political debate over how to solve the staggering economic problems of the underdeveloped and semicolonial world.

The urgency of this question is underscored by a study prepared by the World Bank. In 1950, according to the bank, per-capita income in the industrialized capitalist countries was ten times higher than in the underdeveloped countries. By 1965 that ratio had risen to fifteen to one, and the World Bank projects that it will rise to thirty to one by the end of the century.

Since Castro became chairman of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries in 1979, he has become the most forceful and articulate representative of the demands of the oppressed nations in world forums. Castro has repeatedly presented their case for restructuring international economic relations — for example, in his speech to the sixth summit of the Nonaligned Movement in Havana in September 1979, his October 1979 speech to the United Nations, his April 1981 address to the second congress of the Association of Third World Economists, and most recently on September 15 at the opening session of the sixty-eighth

conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

Castro has proposed the establishment of a \$300 billion fund to finance investments in the underdeveloped countries, with the fund to be raised through annual donations of \$25 billion from the advanced capitalist countries.

He also called for measures to end the unequal terms of trade between the oppressed nations and the advanced capitalist states, where in prices for the exports of the poorer countries rise much more slowly than the prices of the manufactured goods they must import from the imperialist countries.

He called for measures to erase the crushing debt burden that is suffocating the economies of the semicolonial world, and advocated the reorganization of international financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in order to give the poorer countries more weight in decision-making. At present those institutions are totally dominated by the imperialist countries.

Despite the Reagan administration's reluctance to deal face-to-face with Castro's proposals, the U.S. government now feels it must present its own position more forcefully. This has been done recently by U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig in his address to the United Nations on September 21, where he declared that "a massive increase in the transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries is simply unrealistic."

Reagan also spoke on this theme at last month's meeting of the International Monetary Fund, and again in an October 15 speech to the World Affairs Council.

In these speeches the U.S. administration has had to try to counter Castro's charges that the imperialist countries are responsible for the poverty of the underdeveloped countries and that they must therefore provide the funds to solve the pressing problems.

## Who is responsible?

In his speech to the Congress of Third World Economists, Castro noted that in the so-called North-South talks, "for us, 'the North' is fully identified with the former colonizing countries that, generally speaking, are now neocolonizing and imperialist and still dominate the economies of many states in Africa, Asia and Latin America — the symbolic South, of course."

The Cuban leader added that "the socialist countries do not have transnational enterprises, nor do they own mines, oil deposits or factories beyond their borders. Not one single socialist country exploits a worker or a peasant in another country."

Reagan acknowledged this charge in his October 15 speech. "There is a propaganda cam-

paign in wide circulation," he stated, "that would have the world believe that the capitalist U.S. is the cause of world hunger and poverty."

Taking exception to that characterization, Reagan argued that capitalism is not the problem, but is rather the solution. Reagan called on the underdeveloped countries to improve "the climate for private investment," to cut taxes and public spending, to develop new energy sources "through greater private investment," to improve "the climate for private capital flows, particularly private investment," and to "foster private sector debt and equity financing of investments in the developing countries."

Reagan maintains that since private loans and private investment provide "almost 70 percent of total financial flows to developing countries," it is therefore "impractical, not to mention foolish, to attack these flows for ideological reasons."

## Record of imperialist exploitation

But far from fostering economic growth in the underdeveloped countries, private investment actually ends up restricting growth. Between 1970 and 1978, imperialist corporations invested \$42.2 billion in semicolonial countries. But during the same period, those corporations took out \$100.2 billion in profits, meaning that for every new dollar invested, approximately \$2.40 was sent home as repatriated profits.

The record of U.S. corporations is even worse. For every new dollar they invested in underdeveloped countries in that period, U.S. corporations took out \$4.50 in profits.

In an attempt to counter the growing influence of Cuba in the Nonaligned Movement, Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, wrote letters to representatives of forty governments in mid-October demanding that they explain to her satisfaction why they endorsed a September 28 communiqué by the Nonaligned Movement that criticized U.S. foreign policy.

There have also been threats in the U.S. Congress to deny economic aid to any country that signed the communiqué.

Despite the Reagan administration's attempts to counter Cuban positions, however, the pressure for a change in the international economic system continues to grow.

Although in Cancún Reagan was able to prevent the meeting from taking any positions favoring the interests of the oppressed nations, the battle is certain to continue, fueled by the desperate economic straits and staggering debt burden of the underdeveloped world. □

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