

# INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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## Central America

# No Letup in U.S. Threats Despite Worldwide Protests



November 21 demonstration in New York.

Lou Howort/Militant

Exclusive Interview With Tim Hector

**Antiguan Socialist Leader on  
Fight Against U.S. Domination**

**Speech by Bernadette  
Devlin McAliskey**

**'Freedom Only Comes  
If You Take It'**

## U.S. terror team targets Libya

By Robert Mance

The Reagan administration, which has made no secret of its intention of overthrowing the Libyan government of Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, has been carrying out a months-long propaganda effort designed to portray the victim as the criminal.

The latest installment of this campaign is the unsubstantiated charge that Qaddafi is plotting to assassinate Reagan and other top American officials.

In a prominent article in its November 30 issue, *Newsweek* reported that "senior American officials" are now claiming that Qaddafi is not only planning to kill Reagan, but "has expanded his hit list to include Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger — and that he has equipped special assassination squads with bazookas, grenade launchers and even portable SAM-7 missiles capable of bringing down the President's plane."

The evidence for such serious charges? *Newsweek* offered none. It even had to admit that "no suspected hit teams have been spotted entering the United States."

Nor was there any "hard evidence," *Newsweek* acknowledged, to back up suggestions by U.S. officials that Qaddafi was behind the November 12 attempted assassination of American Chargé d'Affaires Christian Chapman in Paris.

At that time, Chapman charged that his attacker was "a Middle Eastern type." Haig quickly pointed a finger at the Libyans, despite his own admission that there was nothing linking Qaddafi to the shooting.

The credibility of Washington's claims about the existence of Libyan "hit teams" was further undermined by a report in the November 28 *New York Times*, which noted that there was "no conclusive evidence" of the presence of such teams anywhere in Western Europe.

If there is no factual basis for these claims, then why is the White House making them? Only to provide some kind of justification for its aggressive moves against Libya.

It would be politically difficult for Washington to unleash its forces against Qaddafi on the grounds of his aid to the Nicaraguan government, his opposition to the Camp David accords, or his support to numerous anti-imperialist struggles. So instead the White House tries to portray him as a dangerous "terrorist."

In a news conference in Paris November 14, Libyan representative Said Hafiana said that the Libyan government "rejects all the propaganda of the American administration according to which we have a plan targeting American diplomats. The United States is in the process of creating conditions for making interna-

tional public opinion accept direct military intervention against Libya."

The November 30 *Newsweek* provided some new details on the kind of action the Reagan administration is trying to prepare. It reported that Washington has "begun putting final touches" on plans to tighten a political, economic and possibly military vise around Kaddafi."

Among the options that Reagan will soon decide on, according to *Newsweek*, are:

- A direct U.S. military attack on Libya, including possible B-52 bombing raids against Libyan bases.

- New "aggressive maneuvers" by the U.S. Sixth Fleet in the Gulf of Sidra, where U.S. jets shot down two Libyan planes in August. These new maneuvers could come as early as February.

- The imposition of a total U.S. economic embargo against Libya, including a pullout by the American oil companies operating there. Exxon has already announced its withdrawal from Libya, and Mobil is considering doing likewise.

- The promotion of a coup against Qaddafi,

or support for an assassination attempt against him by Libyan exiles.

On this last option, *Time* magazine revealed a week earlier that top U.S. officials had met with "a high-ranking French official" last February to discuss an assassination plan against Qaddafi. Present at the meeting were National Security Adviser Richard Allen, Nicholas Veliotes of the State Department, and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker.

"According to *Time's* sources," the magazine reported, "the French official proposed that the killing be done by a group of Libyan exiles, trained and controlled by the French."

However, *Time* went on, when French President Giscard d'Estaing was defeated in the elections by Socialist Party leader François Mitterrand, this particular venture was abruptly halted.

But the Reagan administration itself has not given up on the idea. According to *Newsweek*, U.S. officials "openly admit that they would be delighted if someone else killed Kaddafi — and at least one Administration insider has been in direct contact with Libyan exiles in Western Europe who are determined to oust Kaddafi."

By hurling their charges of "terrorism" against the Libyan government, Reagan and Haig clearly hope to divert attention from how well that term fits their own actions. □

## Strike ban threatened in Poland

By Ernest Harsch

As part of its continuing provocations against the Polish workers movement, the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, the Communist Party) is once again threatening to outlaw strikes and other protest actions.

During a November 27-28 meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, party First Secretary Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is also the country's prime minister, announced that the Political Bureau was seeking the adoption of legislation banning strikes. The committee's final resolution, while not specifically mentioning a strike ban, nevertheless called on the Sejm (parliament) to take "extraordinary measures" to end labor unrest.

The Political Bureau's report accused the workers of engaging in "strike terror" that was "systematically" weakening the country.

If adopted, a ban on strikes would mark the most serious attack on workers rights in the past year and a half. The right to strike was one of the key conquests of the massive occupation strikes of August 1980, and the Solidarity union movement has made it clear that it will resist any attempt to take that right away.

Marek Brunne, Solidarity's national spokesperson, called the threat of a strike ban "politically erroneous and morally tactless." He also noted that the adoption of a ban would test the authorities' ability to enforce it, stating that "the

first uncontrolled strike called in its wake would put a question mark over the whole venture."

### Provocation after provocation

Jaruzelski's most recent move is the latest of a whole series of provocations. They stem from the privileged bureaucrats' fear of the power of the workers movement and their desperation over their own diminishing authority.

Editors of regional Solidarity bulletins have been charged with violating the censorship laws. Union members distributing political literature have been physically attacked by the police.

In a report to the PUWP Central Committee, one party official revealed that the general prosecutor was investigating 370 cases of "anti-state" offenses, and that "active control" was being exercised over thirty-five organizations deemed to be against the government.

In two separate incidents on November 26, police detained Solidarity activists who were plastering up posters. In Plock, northwest of Warsaw, the unionists were soon released. But in Chorzow, a big industrial center in the South, some twenty-five Solidarity members were beaten and clubbed by the police. The local Solidarity chapter threatened to go on strike in response.

Several days earlier, on November 22, the security police raided the Warsaw home of one

of Poland's most prominent political activists, Jacek Kuron, where several dozen people were discussing the formation of a new political discussion group. Among those present were Zbigniew Bujak, the chairman of Solidarity's Warsaw region; Janusz Onyszkiewicz, a member of the union's national leadership; and prominent political figures like Adam Michnik and Jan Litynski.

After a five-hour search, the police seized the manifesto of the group and ordered Kuron to appear at police headquarters for questioning.

Undaunted by the police raid, the members of the group then moved their meeting to Solidarity's regional headquarters. Kuron later appealed to the Polish people to demand democratic elections.

#### Students and farmers protest

Nor have others been intimidated by the government's threats.

Tens of thousands of students in more than seventy universities and other institutions of higher learning have gone on strike to demand educational reform. The student sit-ins began in late October in Radom to protest the undemocratic reelection of a rector at an engineering school.

On November 24, about 1,700 oil workers in Krosno in southeastern Poland went on strike to back their demands for the establishment of workers control over industry.

In several provincial towns, farmers have been conducting sit-ins to press their demands for greater assistance to Poland's 3 million individual farmers and for constitutional guarantees of their land ownership rights.

In an open letter explaining the grievances of the farmers, Jan Kulaj, the chairman of the independent farmers organization Rural Solidarity, stressed, "Today, the interests of the farmers are the interests of the nation." He pointed out that the best way to increase food production was to provide farmers with more fertilizer and farming equipment.

#### 'Impose discipline'

Although Poland's serious economic crisis and food shortages are rooted in the government's years of economic mismanagement, one of the constant themes of the authorities' anti-Solidarity campaign has been to blame the union for these problems. That is one of the arguments used to try to justify the moves toward banning strikes.

But the Polish authorities are not alone in invoking this spurious charge. Increasingly, the imperialist governments, banks, and news media are echoing this same line.

Even as the recent PUWP Central Committee meeting was under way, the editors of the *New York Times* declared their backing for the Polish government's efforts to strengthen its position against the workers.

In a November 28 editorial, the *Times* urged the Polish authorities to "impose discipline" and carry out "planned austerity."

Taking the same line that they use with American workers, the editors of the *Times* in-

sisted, "One day Poland will have to return to the real economic world and live more or less within its means." "Sacrifices will have to be organized," they stressed.

The editorial hailed the government's request to join the International Monetary Fund, stating that such a move "can become a useful first step in the reconstruction of a more effective Polish government."

But the Polish workers have repeatedly shown that they do not want a government that

is "more effective" in denying them their rights. What they want — and what the Western bankers and businessmen fear as much as the bureaucrats in Warsaw and Moscow — is to have a government that truly represents the interests of working people.

That is what lies behind the increasingly common demands in Poland today for democratic elections, and end to the PUWP's monopoly on political power, and the establishment of a "self-governing republic." □

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# No letup in U.S. threats

Haig says 'hours are growing short' for Nicaragua

By Fred Murphy

As protests continue throughout the world, Washington's threats to take military action against Nicaragua, Cuba, Grenada, or the rebels in El Salvador remain in force.

U.S. warnings and verbal attacks have focused most sharply on Nicaragua in recent days.

"The Reagan administration is approaching a crucial decision on whether to take action against Nicaragua to prevent that country from becoming 'another Cuba,'" the *Washington Post* reported November 22, citing "senior officials in several government agencies."

"You will find there will be actions by the United States that will speak for themselves before long," said one official quoted by the *Post*. "Things have got to be confronted in a variety of ways."

The day after this article appeared, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger announced that the U.S. Caribbean Command, based at Key West, Florida, was being reorganized and would take on expanded responsibilities, not only in the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, but also on the Pacific Coast of Central America, which includes El Salvador and Nicaragua.

"This realignment of command gives clear responsibility for offshore Central America — both for support of an invading force or evacuation of American citizens in emergencies," a navy spokesperson told the *Miami Herald*.

## Naval blockade

The Reagan administration's belligerent stance was further underscored in nationally broadcast interviews with Secretary of State Alexander Haig and White House counselor Edwin Meese November 22.

Haig declared on ABC television that "the hours are growing rather short" for Nicaragua. He again refused, just as he had done in congressional testimony November 12, to rule out U.S. military action against Nicaragua. Haig stated that "it serves no constructive purpose to draw fences around the limits of American policy when nations are proceeding to push against our fundamental values."

Meese said on CBS television that a naval blockade of Nicaragua was not ruled out. Another option, he said, "involves putting pressure on Nicaragua by other nations in the area."

Likewise, Haig appealed to "neighboring states" and "the forces of freedom in Nicaragua" to respond to the "huge military structure" he claimed is being created in Nicaragua with arms sent from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe "directly through Cuba."

The revolutionary government's prepara-

tions to defend Nicaragua against military attack have become the main theme in Washington's frame-up.

Reagan, Haig and company are well aware that U.S. working people oppose their support for the brutal dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala and would not approve military action against Nicaragua. Undersecretary of State James Buckley acknowledged this problem in remarks to reporters on November 17.

"You have some pretty horrible and cruel things happening [in Central America] that we don't want to associate ourselves with in any way," Buckley said, according to the November 18 *Los Angeles Times*. "But if Nicaragua were to be converted to some sort of an extension of Soviet power, it may change the perception of the American people."

Buckley's suggestion was taken to heart by the big-business news media. Within days, a whole series of reports and editorials appeared on this theme.

On November 25, the editors of the *Washington Post* alleged that Nicaragua was carrying out "an immense Soviet-Cuban-aided military buildup." The same day, an editorial in the *New York Times* claimed that while Nicaragua's "economy is chaotic and the people's needs are enormous . . . the junta sinks millions into provocative hardware, including Soviet tanks."

Also on November 25, the *Miami Herald* carried a banner headline raising the question, "Nicaragua to Get Cuba's Old Jets?" An article datelined Washington began, "The Soviet Union recently sent 17 improved MIG21 jet fighters to Cuba, which may foreshadow transfer of some older MIGs from Cuba to Nicaragua, U.S. intelligence sources said Tuesday."

Sandinista leaders have frequently affirmed Nicaragua's sovereign right to defend itself and to obtain arms for that purpose from whatever source possible.

Nicaragua has "not spent a single centavo" on arms, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega declared last June, for example. "We have obtained arms from those who have made their own sovereign decisions to support our process. We do not have to render accounts to anyone; we do not have to ask permission from anyone."

Washington's accusations are also designed to divert attention from the big military buildup it has fostered in Honduras, which borders Nicaragua on the north and whose government harbors hundreds of Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries in military camps.

At least forty U.S. military advisors are stationed in Honduras. During the current fiscal

year, that country will receive \$10 million worth of U.S. arms aid. Some 7,000 tons of weapons, vehicles, radar, and other sophisticated hardware have already been delivered. Earlier this year, Honduras received sixteen British Scorpion tanks. It also has the best air force in Central America, including six Israeli-modified French Super-Mystère jet fighters.

Honduran military officers have often made clear their hostility to the Nicaraguan revolution. And U.S. officers have visited the country and pledged Washington's backing in the event of a war with Nicaragua.

The Honduran military has recently staged several provocations along the border, including the machine-gunning of Nicaraguan customs posts. Attacks by Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen and other armed counterrevolutionaries from southern Honduras have also mounted.

## U.S. diplomatic offensive

In addition to deceiving working people in the United States, Washington hopes that its lies about the "military buildup" in Nicaragua will undermine the revolutionary government's diplomatic ties with other Latin American regimes. The charge about Soviet MIGs was first raised publicly by Secretary of State Haig while he was on his way to Mexico November 23 for meetings with President José López Portillo and Foreign Minister Jorge Castañeda.

After Haig returned to Washington, a State Department representative told the press that the Mexican government had decided — as the *New York Times* explained it November 26 — to "raise with the Nicaraguan Government the concerns it shared with the United States over Nicaraguan political developments."

However, a dispatch from Mexico City in the November 27 *Washington Post* said top officials there were "surprised" by the State Department's "self-serving" interpretation of Mexico's position. According to the *Post* dispatch, "Mexico has 'no intention to make unilateral representation to Managua about its domestic policies' but wants to promote a dialogue between Managua and Washington, one high Mexican official said."

Nicaragua's foreign minister, Fr. Miguel D'Escoto, visited Mexico two days after Haig and met with López Portillo and Castañeda. D'Escoto told the FSLN daily *Barricada* afterwards that neither official had expressed any "concern" over the course of the revolution. Rather, D'Escoto said, López Portillo had reiterated "his support and solidarity for the people of Nicaragua, their government, and their revolution."

The Mexican president also repeated to Haig his public warning that any U.S. military intervention against Nicaragua or Cuba would be a "gigantic historical error."

## International support for FMLN

Washington also finds itself at odds with the Mexican government over El Salvador. The Reagan administration's aim is to militarily

crush the workers and peasants and destroy their organizations, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). U.S. military missions have been sent to Argentina, Chile, and other countries to build support for direct intervention to achieve this aim.

But Mexico, along with France and other U.S. allies in Europe, has recognized the FMLN and FDR as a "representative political force" and called for negotiations to settle the conflict in El Salvador. A Mexican resolution is now being circulated at the United Nations that calls on "the Salvadoran parties involved to arrive at a negotiated political solution in order to establish, in an atmosphere free from intimidation and terror, a democratically elected government."

The resolution, which also condemns violence by "governmental paramilitary organizations and other armed groups," has gained the support of the governments of France, Greece, Denmark, the Netherlands, Ireland, Sweden, Algeria, and Yugoslavia.

#### 'Strategic axis' in the Caribbean

While the most recent U.S. attacks have focused on Nicaragua, the Cuban revolution remains a special target of the warmakers. In a November 28 speech, Haig denounced the Cuban government's aid to anti-imperialist struggles, accusing it of having "40,000 to 50,000 mercenaries deployed abroad." He said Cuba's internationalist fighters in Angola and Ethiopia represented a "threat to peace and stability" and charged that Cuba was carrying out "subversion, propaganda and interventionism" in Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.

The stepped-up naval operations of the U.S. Caribbean Command underscore the threat to Cuba, and to Grenada as well. A further ominous move in the Caribbean was reported by the Mexico City daily *Excelsior* November 21. The governments of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Barbados, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent have established a "political-military alliance to form a strategic axis in the Caribbean basin that could insure open sea routes . . . and also reinforce the blockade and isolation of Cuba and Grenada."

According to *Excelsior*, this alliance is "under the tutelage of the United States — and, indirectly, of Great Britain." Trinidad-Tobago and Dominica may also join the alliance.

Part of this plan involves establishing a regional coast guard. *Excelsior* reported that this project "was born in 1979 when the prime minister of Barbados, Tom Adams, discussed it with Great Britain's foreign minister, James Callaghan. After the triumph of the Grenadian revolution in March of that year, the coast guard was planned with a minimum of 120 men."

#### 'New Jewel' warns of U.S. moves

On November 14, the Grenadian weekly *New Jewel* called attention to "another practice invasion" of the island staged by U.S. troops in

exercises off Puerto Rico. The first of these occurred in August under the code name "Amber and the Amberines," a clear reference to Grenada and its sister islands in the Grenadines, Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

According to the *New Jewel*, the November exercise involved "thousands of troops, and dozens of American warships and planes." Like the August operation, this one was carried out on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, comparable in size to Grenada.

Referring to the current U.S. maneuvers in the Caribbean, which are scheduled to last until December 7, the *New Jewel* declared:

All this is further demonstration of the increased desperation of Reagan and U.S. imperialism to stop the forward march going on in countries like Grenada, Cuba, Nicaragua, as well as in El Salvador,

### Sound familiar?

Washington's vociferous complaints about Nicaragua's preparations to defend itself against aggression are especially ominous when compared with similar U.S. propaganda in the past. In May 1954, the State Department accused the Arbenz regime in Guatemala of having received 2,000 tons of weapons from the Soviet Union. This charge was the centerpiece of a campaign to line up other Latin American governments against Arbenz, who had asserted independence from Washington and nationalized some land holdings belonging to the United Fruit Company.

In *Guatemala — Another Vietnam?*, Thomas and Marjorie Melville point out that the State Department "failed to mention that the shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain was precipitated because the United States had since 1948 maintained an effective embargo on arms to Guatemala from all nations in the US sphere of influence, and later it was openly supplying arms in 1953 and 1954 to the Governments of Honduras and Nicaragua, as well as to Guatemalan exiles in these countries and in El Salvador for the express purpose of overthrowing the Arbenz government."

One month after the arms charge was launched, Guatemala was invaded from Honduras by the CIA-organized exile force. Arbenz was overthrown and a reign of terror imposed on the Guatemalan workers and peasants.

Just before Cuba was invaded at the Bay of Pigs (Playa Girón) in April 1961, charges like those being raised against Nicaragua today were launched against the Cuban revolution. The State Department had accused the Castro government of receiving some 30,000 tons of arms "poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba in an ever-rising flood."

The leopard has not changed its spots.

where the masses are not giving up one inch in their struggle.

As for us in Grenada, US imperialism, and particularly the Reagan administration, have a special grudge against us. They have tried in several, diverse ways to sabotage us economically, politically, diplomatically; they have tried propaganda, destabilization, lies, rumors, counter revolutionary assassination, murder — every possible thing.

And on each occasion, they have failed. In the one year that the Reagan administration has been in power in the US, they have tried many times and have not been able to succeed.

And as far as they are concerned, the only thing left for them to do is to turn back the Grenada Revolution by force.

#### Reagan 'has no right to threaten peace'

Washington's military plans have been met with protests in many parts of the world. One of the largest of these took place in Paris on November 28, where at least 15,000 persons marched in solidarity with El Salvador.

Hours before Haig arrived in Mexico City November 23, thousands of persons picketed the U.S. embassy there.

Emergency marches and picket lines held in more than thirty U.S. cities November 21 involved several thousand persons.

Trade-union representatives from across Canada gathered in Montreal November 27-29 for an El Salvador solidarity conference called by the labor federations of Quebec.

Former Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez said in Caracas November 8 that the Reagan administration "has no right to threaten world peace." Referring to reports of U.S. plans against Cuba, Pérez added that "we do not accept unilateral intervention by a strong country in the life of another."

Likewise, former Costa Rican president José Figueres declared November 28 that a U.S. military attack on Nicaragua would set U.S.-Latin American relations back 100 years. "I do not understand what would be achieved," Figueres said. "I can only say it would be catastrophic."

Hence it is evident that the Reagan administration has not succeeded either internationally or at home in creating an atmosphere favorable to military aggression in Central America or the Caribbean.

#### Bishops oppose Reagan's policy

Additional evidence of this failure was provided November 19, when the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, meeting in Washington, adopted a resolution stating that "we continue to oppose U.S. military assistance to El Salvador." The bishops also warned against any U.S. policy "designed to isolate Nicaragua," and urged the administration to grant asylum to Salvadoran refugees.

Such a position by the top officials of the U.S. Catholic church shows the potential for drawing broad forces into antiwar protest activity in the United States and internationally. Further mobilizations can force the warmakers to think twice before implementing their plans and raise the political price they will have to pay if they go ahead. □

# 100,000 workers march on Ottawa

*Trade unions protest Trudeau's policies*

By Suzanne Haig

[The following article appeared in the December 4 issue of the U.S. socialist weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

OTTAWA, Ontario — The largest demonstration in Canada's history took place here November 21, as some 100,000 trade unionists from both Quebec and English Canada braved snow and bitter cold to protest the economic policies of the Trudeau government.

Weather conditions were so bad that a bus carrying members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees overturned near Quebec City, killing two women.

The demonstration was initiated by the nearly three-million-member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) to protest high interest rates for bank loans. It was also organized by the three major Quebec labor federations: the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ), the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), and the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ). The New Democratic Party (NDP — Canada's labor party), and women's, farmers, senior citizens, and native organizations helped build the ac-

tion.

High interest rates, supposedly instituted to reduce inflation, have boosted it to 13 percent annually.

Between 40,000 and 100,000 homeowners risk losing their homes before Christmas, according to a government study, because mortgage payments are too high to pay. Farmers are also losing their farms, and tenants are being hit by enormous increases in rent and face zero vacancy rates by 1983.

### Québécois and English Canadians together

High prices have brought sales of cars, homes, and appliances way down, resulting in massive layoffs.

"The only beneficiaries of these interest rates," CLC head Dennis McDermott pointed out at the rally, "are the banks themselves, as seen by their soaring profit rates."

The November 21 action was historic not just because of its immense size. For the first time, unionists from both Quebec and English Canada were protesting together in nearly equal numbers. Louis Laberge, president of the FTQ, and Dennis McDermott of the English Canadian CLC were co-chairs of the rally,

and speakers came from both nationalities.

Québécois unionists massed separately across the river from Ottawa, in Hull, which is in Quebec, and marched across the Interprovincial Bridge to Ottawa, which is in the province of Ontario.

This symbolized the fact that Quebec constitutes an oppressed nation within Canada. Forced against their will into confederation with the other provinces, the Québécois are held hostage to the federal government's discriminatory and repressive policies toward them.

Currently, Prime Minister Trudeau is attempting to pass a new constitution and so-called charter of rights, whose main purpose is to drive back the rising Québécois liberation movement and strip Quebec of many of its hard-won rights.

The gigantic Quebec contingent was clearly the most militant and spirited. Auto workers, steelworkers, public employees, rail workers, and many others carried signs reading, "Y'a toujours une maudite limite!" (We've damn well had enough); "Le chômage ça profite aux boss!" (Unemployment profits the boss); and "Cont' le vol organisé des banques!" (Against



Scene in front of Parliament Hill, Ottawa. Sign at left reads, "No to cuts in federal and provincial public services while they subsidize the companies with our money."

the organized robbery of the banks).

### 'Solidarity Forever'

As people marched across the bridge into Ottawa, they banged sticks against the railings and chanted in rhythm, "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat!" (It is only the beginning, continue the struggle). The chant comes from the May 1968 revolt in France.

As they crossed into Ottawa, passing English Canadian workers who lined the streets to greet them, the Québécois burst into the labor song, "Solidarity Forever" — in French. English Canadians cheered and clasped hands with them. Then the contingents merged and marched through the streets to Parliament Hill, seat of the federal government, for the rally.

Best symbolizing the growing unity was the singing of "Solidarity Forever" by the giant crowd: half in English, half in French. As one English Canadian worker wearing a Quebec button put it, "Just because I don't speak French, doesn't mean I don't support them."

From English Canada came a broad representation of the labor movement. Steelworkers from United Steelworkers of America District 6 in Ontario adjourned their convention in Niagara Falls to attend; and Dave Patterson, the recently elected, militant District 6 director, marched with the steel contingent.

### New Democratic Party

Many members of Parliament from the New Democratic Party marched. There were NDP contingents from several areas and many workers carried NDP banners and wore NDP buttons. Steelworkers stood in front of the Parliament building shouting, "NDP, NDP, NDP."

Workers on strike for four months against Stelco in Montreal, Hamilton, and Edmonton marched behind their banner. This strike is one of the most important in Canada. Its results will be a pacesetter for many workers. At the march, strikers passed out a union leaflet in French and English asking for support and explaining the strike issues.

Some 1,400 of 2,400 workers from Admiral in Toronto, who have recently been laid off, also marched, carrying a coffin for Trudeau.

Though the heavily industrialized provinces of Ontario and Quebec were the most represented, people came from all over Canada.

In addition, there were several contingents of students, representatives from women's groups, and Haitians from Montreal.

### Trudeau's antiworker policies

Québécois speakers in particular referred to the anti-working-class character of the Trudeau government policies. CEQ President Robert Gaulin attacked the Trudeau government as "guilty of treason." It has "betrayed the people of Quebec and Canada to the benefit of the corporations and banks. . . . It is making the rich, richer and the poor, poorer.

Louis Laberge said this demonstration was only the beginning and called for more protests "as long as it takes to overthrow these policies.

"This is not a one-shot deal," he said, "but the beginning of the fight."

The economic attacks are causing English Canadian and Quebec unionists to think through what strategy is necessary to win their rights.

Jean-Pierre Marcellin, president of an International Association of Machinists local in Montreal, put it this way in an interview with the *Militant* on the way to Ottawa:

## Iran: Reza Baraheni still in jail

### No charges after 47 days' confinement

Dr. Reza Baraheni, a prominent Iranian anti-shah writer and poet, is being held by authorities, Iran's prosecutor-general acknowledged on November 23. Baraheni had been seized on a Tehran street on October 12.

The official contacted Sanaz Baraheni, the imprisoned poet's wife, and reported that Baraheni is well and will be able to receive visitors soon. The prosecutor-general refused, however, to disclose where Baraheni is imprisoned.

On November 28, Baraheni himself was allowed to contact his wife by telephone, although he was not permitted to tell her where he is. He stated that after forty-seven days in custody there were still no charges against him.

In 1973 Baraheni was imprisoned for three months by the shah's secret police, SAVAK, and spent twenty days in SAVAK torture

chambers. His experiences there were recounted in *The Crowned Cannibals*, a book published while Baraheni was in exile in the United States prior to the overthrow of the shah's regime.

"Workers in Canada are facing a direct attack — not only on their standard of living, but also on all their hopes and aspirations. . . . The capitalists are very conscious. That's why they are creating a state of crisis — to put workers on the defensive, not the offensive. Workers are currently fighting as individuals, but I think more and more as the crisis deepens, they will try to organize themselves. This [today's action] is one of the first stages." □

During his exile, Baraheni was honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), an organization that defended and publicized the cases of political prisoners held by the shah's police.

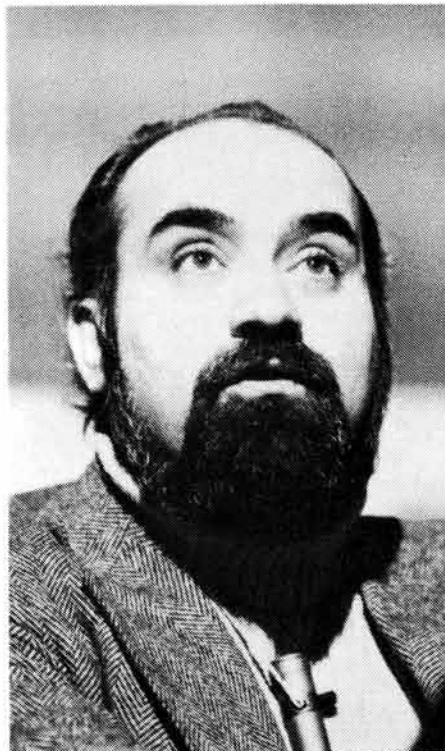
Many intellectuals and writers in Iran have protested Baraheni's arrest. Cyrus Tahbaz, a prominent writer and translator, wrote to Prime Minister Hossein Mossavi calling for Baraheni's release. Other well-known writers, such as Mahmoud Enayat and Shams al-Ahmad, have also protested Baraheni's imprisonment. Al-Ahmad, whose brother was murdered by the shah's regime, is the former editor of the Tehran daily *Ettela'at*.

Supporters of the Iranian revolution throughout the world are being urged to send telegrams on Baraheni's behalf to President Hojatolislam Ali Khamenei, Tehran, Iran; or to Prime Minister Hossein Mossavi, Majlis Building, Tehran, Iran.

One such telegram was sent by Andrew Pulley, the 1980 presidential candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and Malik Miah, chairperson of the SWP 1980 campaign committee. Their message to President Khamenei stated:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution, I call on you to release recently arrested anti-shah, anti-imperialist fighter, Reza Baraheni. A victim of torture by the shah's regime, Baraheni was an active fighter against the shah's dictatorship while in exile in the United States."

Copies of messages should be sent to the newspaper *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, Tehran, Iran.



REZA BARAHENI

Lou Howort/Militant

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# 'Freedom only comes if you take it'

Speech by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

[The following is an edited transcript of a speech given by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey in New York, November 21, at a rally for Irish political prisoners sponsored by the New York H-Block/Armagh Committee.]

\* \* \*

Although I have spoken about the situation in Ireland for the better part of eleven years now, it's really difficult for me to deal with and come to terms with the present situation.

I think many people in Ireland find it difficult to speak in a rational and unemotional sense about the past year. We find it difficult to cope with the personal emotions that arise out of the hunger strike.

For me, that's odd. I can talk quite objectively about the assassination attempt on my own life.<sup>1</sup> That does not cause me any problems at all. But I find it difficult to be unemotional and objective about the death of the ten prisoners.

I have a series of memories, like still-life photographs, of each hunger striker. I remember the night we waited for the news of Bobby Sands's death. And with that news came the wave of bitterness.

I find that bitterness hard to handle. For some eleven years I have successfully fought against — and intend to continue to fight against — bitterness. I think personal bitterness destroys nobody but yourself. It can play no part in a progressive struggle because it de-

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## I find it difficult to be unemotional and objective about the death of the ten prisoners . . .

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stroys us with hatred. Hatred destroys those who hate, not the object of that hatred.

For me and for many people in Ireland it has never been an uphill struggle to forgive. It has not been hard to forgive the British, because we did not expect anything from the oppressor but oppression.

We don't find it hard to forgive the Ulster loyalists, because they are victims of oppression, of division, of racism, of prejudice.

The people I find it hardest to forgive are my own people. And I suppose that goes right

1. On January 16, 1981, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her husband Michael McAliskey were shot and seriously wounded by Unionist gunmen who broke into their home near Coalisland.



Lou Howort/Militant  
BERNADETTE DEVLIN McALISKEY

back to Wolfe Tone.<sup>2</sup> I find it very hard to forgive the merchant classes!

I remember as we waited for the impending death of Bobby Sands. In the very small town of Coalisland — I know there are people here from County Tyrone who know Coalisland and its surrounding areas very well — even in that small town, the people stood in the streets praying. Not all of them were very religious. But in the last analysis, having tried everything else, we stood in that street in the rain and prayed, even myself.

There were some in that town, people who consider themselves good Catholics, good Christians, who counseled against praying with us. Indeed, one Catholic priest in the neighborhood warned people in the church to be careful of whom they stood with, whom they prayed with, lest their prayers be construed as political support for terrorism.

To me that came as the last vestige of be-

2. Wolfe Tone was an eighteenth-century Irish republican. A Protestant, Tone was a founder of the Society of United Irishmen in 1791. Tone attempted to secure the help of revolutionary France in the struggle against British rule. In 1796 a French expedition of 14,000 men accompanied Wolfe Tone to Ireland, but the flotilla was dispersed in a storm. In the insurrection of 1798, Tone was captured by the British and sentenced to death. On the morning of his scheduled execution, he slit his throat with a penknife and died seven days later. Tone believed that the struggle for Irish freedom had to be based on the "men of no property."

trayal. The church itself was saying it was unwise and unrespectable to pray. They have been trying to get me to pray for ten years, and then on the one day I did pray, it was the wrong time, the wrong place, and with the wrong people.

I find it difficult to forgive them for that!

I have the memory of when Francis Hughes died, of his father being thrown to the ground by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, whose fear and hatred of Francis Hughes extended beyond his death.

There was something frightening about the fact that an armed police force was afraid of the corpse of a dead man. They were so frightened that they wanted to take the body from his family and put it in a police van; and they threatened to take it to a hillside and burn it.

I remember each prisoner in his own right. Raymond McCreesh, a young man from South Armagh, gentle, quiet. His brother is a priest and I suppose he found it hard to handle the situation too, for he was almost betrayed by his own in his hour of greatest need.

The McCreeshes were quiet people, born out of the fiber of republicanism with a small "r."

And Patsy O'Hara, a young man from Derry City, whose first run-in with the security forces was when he was shot at the age of fourteen for being a youth on the streets of Derry.

Memories of each man, down to Tom McElwee, carried to his grave on the shoulders of his eight sisters. I think I remember that particularly vividly, because it showed the strength we women have in the struggle, the strength that we find in the dignity with which those eight young women carried their brother to his grave.

Tom McElwee was eighteen years old when he went to prison. He was twenty-three when he died. And from the age of eighteen he never had clothes on his back. He spent five years naked, on the blanket. From the age of eighteen he had never read a newspaper, had never read a book, had rarely seen the sun.

All of them died as young people. Yet they seemed to be asking for so little. Some people were confused about that in Ireland because they asked the wrong questions.

They asked, why would people so young die for so little? Why did Bobby Sands die? He died for clothes, for association, for the right to receive and send letters, to have communication with his family.

Would they not have been wiser to have bowed their heads and agreed to wear the prisoner's uniform, and accept that they were criminals? Wouldn't it have been easier to ac-



cept that and, as they say in Ireland, quietly do their time and get it over with?

But that was the question!

Those who were *not* confused asked a different question: What kind of government, what type of society forces young men to their death rather than let them wear their own clothes, write to their families, associate with their fellow prisoners? What drove the British government to those lengths?

Why did Bobby Sands, as the first hunger striker to die, become a symbol throughout the world? What made people take sides on this issue so hard, so fast, and so uncompromisingly?

Clothes, work, and association were only trappings. They were only symbols of what Bobby Sands and the other nine prisoners were actually trying to say. They were only symbols of what the prisoners of Northern Ireland were saying.

The prisoners were trying to say: "We are not the *cause* of this problem. We are its *results*. And in our own way, whether you agree with it or not, we are an attempt to end the problem."

A government has the power, an army has the power — right or wrong — to make the laws, to enforce the laws, to build the prisons, and to put young people in them.

But there was never a government elected, there was never an army formed, that could separate the human being from the human being's right to dignity, from the human being's right to be a human being.

That's what Bobby Sands and the other prisoners were trying to say. You can take a man's liberty. You can imprison his body. But you cannot imprison his mind or his spirit. There is no law that is stronger than life, and no law that is stronger than the desire to be free.

That's why our prisoners died. And that is why the oppressed throughout the world stood with us — whether they were Black, red, yellow, white; whether they were Americans, Iranians, Europeans, or Africans.

That is also why the oppressors of the world stood against us. And the weakling-hearted liberals, in the absence of a fence to sit on, spent the entire time trying to build one.

The prisoners stood as the symbol of the op-

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## What kind of government forces young men to their death rather than let them wear their own clothes? . . .

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pressed, in all their nakedness and vulnerability, in their lack of means of self-defense. They stood with the oppressed and they proved we cannot be defeated.

Bobby Sands was not defeated. The hunger strike was not defeated. At the end of the day, what Bobby Sands did for all of us — for a whole generation in Ireland and far beyond it — was to take away the most basic human fear



Hunger striker Tom McElwee's eight sisters — Kathleen, Mary, Bernadette, Annie, Enda, Nora, Pauline, and Majella — carried his coffin to grave site. An Phoblacht

of all. They took away the fear of death for a whole generation of Irish people.

Many people — the armies of the world — have no fear of *killing*. That's what armies are trained for. The British army is not afraid to kill children, to shoot down people in the streets, to kill people in a war. The American government is not afraid of plunging us all into a nuclear war.

But now, because of the prisoners, we have a weapon that cannot be defeated: We are no longer afraid to die.

So how are they going to stop us? With what can they threaten us? They have tried internment. They have tried imprisonment. They have tried everything.

We have been given the hope that, not in some future lifetime — not in passing on the torch of freedom to my children and yours — but in the lifetime of this present generation, we will see freedom in Ireland. We will see it because we have been left the responsibility to see it.

Freedom is no longer a dream. It is no longer something that we can simply sing about, not something we can say is a nice goal that we don't have to work for now.

Because we don't have freedom, it is difficult for some of us to understand what freedom is. There's a lesson that I have come to accept, that anyone who fights for freedom comes to accept. Freedom is not a gift that anyone is going to win *for* me, on my behalf, and give to me. Not the IRA, not the INLA,<sup>3</sup> not the People's Democracy. No organization is going to free Ireland and give it to us as a present.

3. IRA — Irish Republican Army. INLA — Irish National Liberation Army.

Freedom only comes if you take it for yourself. We have got to do it together. Everybody has a part to play, every idea has its part to play.

How are we going to take our freedom? How do we win it? That is an important question.

We hear a great deal about violence. I have never really understood the whole question about whether violence is morally acceptable. I understand the political question, the tactical question of violence, the tactics of armed struggle, the arguments for and against.

But I am not prepared to indulge in a moral debate over the use of violence with people who believe in the Eleventh Commandment.

The Fifth Commandment says "Thou shalt not kill." The Eleventh Commandment adds "unless thou hast first won an election." After that, it seems you are allowed to kill whomever you damn well please.

You win the election, put uniforms on people's backs, and you send them out to kill somebody else. You sit in government and plot and turn people's minds toward going to war, preferably in someone else's country.

Then you turn around and tell people who don't have work, who don't have freedom, who don't have rights, that they are not allowed to use violence.

I do not accept that argument. Don't tell me that it is immoral and unjustifiable for the oppressed to use arms against the violence of the oppressor. That is simply not a viable proposition.

Perhaps we could bring about progress, bring about liberty through peace if we are left to it. But the choice is not up to us. The choice is up to the British. If they will stop violently

persecuting the people of Ireland, then there will be no more violence.

The question of whether to use the normal democratic channels — mass movements, mass protests, and elections — is not a choice for the oppressed to make. That question must be decided by all those weakling-hearted liberals who claim to set so much store by democracy, because we have learned a number of lessons in the course of the hunger strike.

Since 1973 I, along with many others, have consistently argued that the reason we were being pushed back, the reason we lost political status for the prisoners in 1976, the reason for the mounting and rampant repression was that we were not building unified mass actions and mass involvement by the people.

In 1979 that argument was essentially won. We started effectively putting the mass movement together again in the streets. We argued for the tactical use of elections, and won the argument for putting Bobby Sands forward as a candidate in the elections.

Peacefully, democratically, using the ballot box, we elected Bobby Sands to Parliament.

So what did all the people who tell us to use democratic channels do? What did all the people who say they are not opposed to our goals, but only to our methods, do? Did they say that supporters of Bobby Sands have peacefully, democratically won the election through the ballot box and should therefore get what they want?

No! They said "there is something wrong with the rules of democracy because those we oppose have just won." And they changed the rules of the damn deal!

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## The oppressed throughout the world stood with us . . .

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And even with those changed rules, we went out again and we elected Owen Carron to Parliament, running on behalf of the prisoners. What did they say then? "Let's pretend Owen Carron does not exist."

The prime minister of the so-called Republic of Ireland says that he is prepared to meet with any democratically elected representative — except Owen Carron. Why? Because, he says, Owen Carron wants to overthrow the state. I thought you were *entitled* to overthrow the state if you did it through the ballot box.

We got 100,000 people to the demonstration at the British embassy in Dublin. Did those who believe in the voice of the majority say that's an awful lot of people?

We changed the nature of government in the south of Ireland. We have created that dread phrase on the international stock exchanges — political instability — through the ballot box in the south of Ireland.

We put the Fianna Fáil party out of office, and we left a situation whereby the balance of power in parliament in the south of Ireland is held by one man who is in his grave — hunger striker Kieran Doherty — and one man who is



An Phobacht

Dublin march to British embassy, July 18. Demonstrators were later viciously attacked by riot police. Twenty demonstrators were charged under the Offences Against the State Act and will be tried in the juryless Special Court. They face sentences of two to seven years if convicted.

in Long Kesh prison — Paddy Agnew.<sup>4</sup>

So let those people who tell us — and I believe it — that the way forward is through the involvement of the mass of the people in a democratic movement; let them decide whether *they* believe this or not. But don't tell us that we have to do it through the ballot box and then change the rules and expect us to say, okay, we're beaten. If we cannot do it one way, they leave us no choice but to do it the other!

They must understand that the choice they leave us is not the choice between violence and nonviolence. It is the choice of whether we are prepared to go on letting them kill us or not, letting them kill our bodies, our minds, our spirits. That is a choice we cannot be expected to accept.

Many people ask me why there is so much reluctance by any government in the world to take up the cause of the Irish people. I believe it is because we play a crucial political role that spans the whole spectrum of world politics.

4. Kieran Doherty and Patrick Agnew, both imprisoned members of the IRA, were elected to the Irish Dail, or parliament, in the June 11, 1981, general election. They were among nine republican prisoners who stood for election with the support of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee. Doherty was in the fourth week of his hunger strike during the voting. He died August 2, after a hunger strike of seventy-three days.

We are a gateway between the struggles of what is called the Third World and the internal struggles of Western capitalism. We are a people whose strongest links are and always have been with the culturally, socially, politically, and nationally oppressed of the world.

And that is why it has now come to the point that the Irish-American community is just about ready to forgive me for something I did eleven years ago, when I was right and they were wrong.

When I came here eleven years ago, it was fair enough that I was young, articulate, female, and Irish, but people found it hard to accept then that I was radical, a leftist, and I had too damn much to say about Black people.

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## We are part of the struggle between those who produce the wealth of the world and those who benefit from that wealth . . .

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But eleven years ago the very people in this country who had no problem understanding exactly what I was saying were the people who were Black, who were Puerto Rican, who were Chicano, and who were oppressed.

And today, after a decade of struggle we see

that the brotherhood and sisterhood of the Irish people lies with the people who are suffering today in South Africa, in Poland, in Iran, in El Salvador.

Because of the position we in Ireland occupy, we are also an integral part of that struggle which recognizes the basic power of organized labor. We are part of that struggle that is an internal part of Western Europe and America: the struggle between those who produce the wealth of the world and those who benefit from that wealth and use it to persecute those who produce it.

That is why the American government, above all others, wants to avoid the question of Ireland. That is why the American media talk rubbish, reporting that a Protestant soldier was killed yesterday. How do they know where, if anywhere, he worshipped? He was not killed because of the church he did or did not go to on a Sunday. He was killed because of the uniform he wore on his back, because he was a British soldier.

If the media posed it in those terms it might just make it meaningful and understandable — not glorious or wonderful — but understandable to too many people.

Much as we need financial support from people in this country, much as we need solidarity and sympathy, people in the United States who are sympathetic to and contribute to our cause must understand one principle. *They* can be both for and against oppression if they wish. But they needn't expect *us* to pander to or make concessions to that contradiction.

Sooner or later they have to pick their side. It is totally understandable that people start off being against their own oppression because it hurts them. We all start out being first against the oppression that has oppressed us.

But if we are to develop toward progress, if

we are ever to learn and acquire the means of ending the oppression that hurts us, then we must someday also take a stand against the oppression that just by coincidence we may benefit from.

That has got to be understood in this country more than anywhere else. Whatever we may say about the reality of it, the dream that drove and drew so many to this country was the belief that it was the home of the brave and the land of the free. It is the melting pot for so many people who fled oppression from all over the world.

Each of us in our own way — unconsciously and not through our own making — is a part of the oppression of somebody else whose forefathers fled to this country.

We have got to get it together and we have got to recognize the crucial role Ireland plays in the struggle for justice in the world. We have got to recognize the crucial role that could be played here on this continent by a solidarity movement that supports the people of Ireland not simply because they are Irish, but because the symptoms and ingredients that make up oppression in Ireland reach out and touch the hearts of all who are oppressed and for whatever reason. The support for our prisoners showed this is so.

I once spoke at an antiracist meeting in Boston. It was my privilege to speak alongside speakers from the American Indian movement, from Soweto, from the Black movement, the Chicano movement, and from Eastern Europe. As I listened to each of them speak, it struck me that in no part of this world has any tool of oppression been used against any section of the population that has not at some time been used against us, because we are the oldest colony in the world. Whether it was starvation, genocide, religious prejudice, racism — all were

practiced on the Irish and perfected on someone else.

That is why we occupy a crucial role. That is why in the United States we must break out of the mold of confining support for, interest in, and education on the question of Ireland to those whose ancestors came from Ireland.

Let's take the Irish question into the peace movement in America, into the humanitarian movement, the liberal movement, the Black movement, the Puerto Rican movement, into the whole melting pot of American society.

Let's forget who did what to whom in the 1940s, who took the wrong side on what question, or who started out as a racist in the 1950s.

Let's accept that we all start somewhere and we learn as we struggle. It's time to put all that learning together and build a movement in this country that will defend not only the rights of political prisoners in Ireland, but will demand *international* recognition of the concept of the political prisoner. Certainly Gary Tyler<sup>5</sup> is a political prisoner in this country. And if the vast majority of prisoners in most countries are not conscious political prisoners, they are at least political victims.

Let's build a movement on principle. Let's build a movement that is against repression in principle, that is for human rights in principle — and since this is the most powerful nation in the world, a movement that is based on the most powerful section of American society, its united working people.

Let's build such a movement here that fights repression in Ireland, in America, and everywhere else.

Then see if at the end of the day we haven't built a movement that can end not only British oppression in Ireland, but oppression all over the world. □

5. Gary Tyler is a young Black who was framed up for murder in Louisiana in 1975.

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# The fight against U.S. domination

Interview with ACLM leader Tim Hector

[The following is an interview with Tim Hector, the chairperson of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM). It was obtained by Baxter Smith in St. John's, Antigua, on October 26, several days before Antigua gained its independence from Britain.]

\* \* \*

*Question. What is the attitude of the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement toward Antiguan independence?*

*Answer.* Basically, we see independence for Antigua as a formality. It ends 449 years of British rule. But if you examine the island's economy, you realize that for a long time Antigua has not really been a British colony.

With the collapse of the whole sugar industry in Antigua, Britain's economic interest in Antigua disappeared. It was then that American imperialism replaced the British.

Of thirty-two luxury hotels, twenty-eight are owned by Americans. If you check our import patterns, you find a growing dependence on American imports, imports of consumer goods, of food. Our food import bill in 1979 was \$42 million, higher than our oil import bill.

Or you could look at the fact that there are two U.S. bases in Antigua. Or you could look at how much of the commercial activity of Antigua is controlled by American businesses. American enterprises control 80 percent to 90 percent of the manufacturing sector. Some 60 percent of the gross domestic product comes from tourism, and that tourist industry is controlled by North American capital. Banking is in the hands of North American multinationals, or a big British one like Barclays Bank.

So in a very real sense, with independence Antigua ceases to be a formal British colony and becomes what the economy shows it is — an American colony. That is how we see independence.

But still, since the ACLM was founded in 1968, it has called for independence. It challenged the whole concept of associated statehood, which was virtually the same as the status of Puerto Rico with regard to the United States.

*Q. What was the background to the formation of the ACLM?*

A. We have always made it very clear that we are revolutionaries, that we are in the socialist and Marxist current.

We were founded in 1968 as a result of recognizing that the mass movement was going to be betrayed. Let me go back over that.

The sugar industry began collapsing in the



TIM HECTOR

late 1950s. Then in the 1960s the government turned to tourism. With the Cuban revolution, the tourism that had gone to Cuba was diverted to other islands. The tourist industry began expanding in this period at a high rate.

So people who had worked as wage slaves on the plantations now looked to tourism. A new working class was created, of younger people, who joined the tourist industry.

By 1967 they began to resent the racism of the new American owners. The workers began to resist.

The government was in collusion with American capital. The Antigua Labour Party had grown out of the single trade union that was on the island. The old leaders, like V. C. Bird, were the ones who had led the anticolonial movement from the 1940s. But they became ossified and turned into the opposite. They joined American capital. So the workers began to resist it.

In November 1967 I joined the new mass movement led by the Antigua Workers Union. Since a second union was created, what in fact happened was that the workers not only transferred their trade union loyalties, but their pol-

itical loyalties, their need for a new leadership, a new political dynamic. Out of that grew the new party, the Progressive Labour Movement (PLM).

But the government refused to recognize the new union, in spite of the fact that the majority of workers had joined it. This meant a confrontation.

For seventeen days, people attended meetings, at the rate of two a night. A tremendous campaign of mobilization started. We published a weekly, called the *Trumpet*. I was the editor. I mention this only to show you how the climate in Antigua had changed. I quoted Lenin and Trotsky openly in the *Trumpet*, at the height of the crisis.

Meetings were being held. Small strikes were being called, to test strength and to win recognition for the union.

The context of these events was quite different. As you will recall, the May-June events in France took place in 1968. The people inside America were themselves complaining to the American government. The cold war had lost intensity. People saw with clarity the nature of American imperialism abroad in Vietnam, its cold, calculated nature.

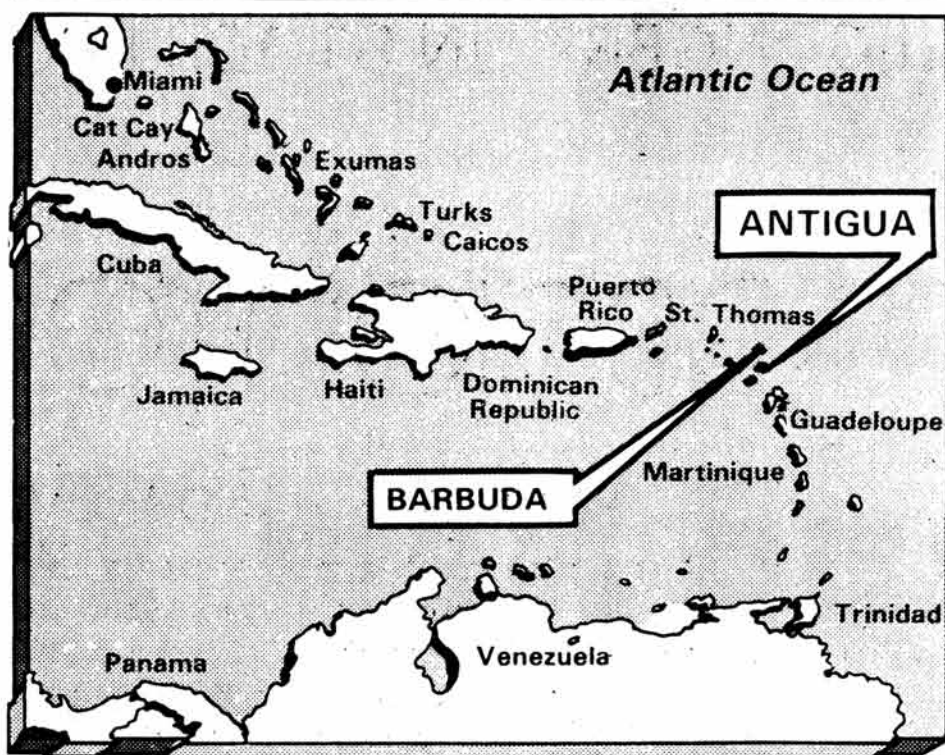
So with the absence of cold war tension, it was possible for us to move without the cold war intervening and creating a barrier to consciousness of the working people.

On February 12, 1968, we organized a mass demonstration. It put 22,000 people in the road, out of a population at that time of 60,000 to 65,000. And that is the police estimate. This movement was for the recognition of the new union, basically.

But because the government would not respond to the demonstration, a general strike was called on March 19. And the entire economy responded to this call — bank workers, the civil service, workers in the field and factory. It was total. There was not only intense organization, but an intense commitment of the masses of people to change. They recognized the need for change. They were calling for bringing the economy under local control, taking control of the commanding heights of the economy.

Naturally, the police and army were called out. The people resisted the police and army in the streets. During the night they were in control, and a number of public buildings were bombed.

On March 21, after forty-eight hours of street battles, the mass movement called on the government of V. C. Bird to resign. But when the government presented its resignation, the leader of the mass movement, George Walter,



refused the resignation. So you had a strange situation: a government collapsing and the revolution, instead of taking power, made unnecessary concessions. They accepted that the government simply call four by-elections. And subsequently the movement won all four of the new seats in the parliament.

As I said, I was the editor of the weekly of the mass movement, organized out of the trade union. And out of this tremendous activity a new political party was created, the PLM, of which I became chairman. We put forward a policy statement written essentially by me and a group of left people who were around me. The party accepted this policy statement, which called for independence, the reorganization of land, and so on.

The British government then intervened quite intensely. It convinced the leaders that I and the others were communists, and told them that if they came to power the British government would not come forward with aid. The strategy was to isolate the left.

After the British government made this offer to the new leaders, attacks began against the left. It was not fought out ideologically — all sorts of petty disputes were brought up.

In 1971 there was a change in government. George Walter became premier. We took no part in that government. We operated on the basis of being critical, without being aggressive.

Then no sooner had the new government come to power than it began to be repressive. It banned the pamphlets that we were then publishing. It made it a requirement that in order to publish we had to put down \$10,000 cash. We also had to pay a license fee of \$600. In a small

country like Antigua, that is virtually impossible.

So our publicity was cut off, which was our main means of communication with the masses. Picketing by workers was prohibited. And eventually strikes were outlawed. The entire mass movement was restricted even more than before.

But we intensified our agitation and we were involved in several major battles during that period.

By 1976, the new government no longer commanded popular support. Yet at the same time we were not strong enough on our own, we did not have enough popular support, to contest those elections. So the old right returned. V. C. Bird again became premier.

At the end of his five years in office, George Walter was charged in court and sentenced to prison for corruption, even on appeal.

The last elections, in 1980, were the first that we contested. But people who were expecting that the ACLM should have won were surprised that we didn't, even though we had played a major role in exposing the shipment of arms to South Africa by an American corporation through the Antigua government.\* They failed to realize that the working class was still broken up between the two parties. That meant that supporters of one were so afraid of the other that they wouldn't listen to the issues. It was

\*In 1978, the ACLM played a major role in helping to expose the illegal shipment by the U.S. Space Research Corporation of long-range artillery shells to South Africa, via Antigua. Officials of the company were later found guilty in a U.S. court of violating American law and the United Nations arms embargo against South Africa.

just a matter of keeping the other party out. So that any movement towards a third party, the ACLM, was not then possible.

But since then the PLM has completely declined. It is in no way distinguishable from the ruling party. It has no different philosophy, and it has a crisis in its own leadership. So the party has been discredited.

I think we are now in a position where we are making inroads in building a mass party for the first time.

*Q. What are the attitudes today of the average Antiguan when they think about the prospect of independence?*

A. I think it is fair to say that it runs the gamut from indifference to apprehension. Antigua has been peculiar in its move to independence in that people are almost apprehensive about independence. And this does not matter to which major party they belong. Except the ACLM — we have no apprehension, and no real enthusiasm.

What is certain is that there is a complete absence of enthusiasm for independence in Antigua, regardless of what the newspapers say about street bands on independence day. That is pure gimmickry. Naturally, if there is music in the streets, people will participate and dance, and those pictures will of course be used.

The opposite is very much the truth. People believe that independence concentrates a lot of power in the government. And within the existing structures, that power can only be used repressively against the population. That is the basis of the apprehension. It is a perception of the government as a continuation of the old colonial order.

*Q. What is the quality of health-care, of housing? What are the conditions that Antiguan live under?*

A. I think the estimates show that out of about 6,000 houses in Antigua, more than three-quarters of them are one-room or two-room houses.

On the question of health, the statistics are appalling. In a population of 70,000, there is one hospital with 216 beds, and only twenty-one doctors on the island. There are none on Barbuda at all. So you have an average of about one doctor to every 4,000 persons. That, of course, is a frightening kind of situation.

So underneath this tourist playground exist the most degrading circumstances in which the people live.

Tourism only operates in Antigua from November until March or April. If a man is only working six months of the year, it is catch-as-catch-can for the rest of the year. You can realize what that does to consciousness.

The sugar industry concentrated workers both in factory and field, and therefore led to a sense of class consciousness, class solidarity. But tourism breaks up that class solidarity, because it distributes the workers in small units,

without any relation to each other.

Nor does the old trade union seek to bring these workers together in a solid branch of hotel workers. It keeps them separate, and deals with them geographically, on the basis of where they live, not in relation to where they work. So you have a fundamental break in the consciousness of people, of themselves and their problems, and of their perception of themselves as a class. That has been a major problem.

Of course, events have served to bring people closer together and to create a sense of awareness. I think that combativity is again rising. I think independence has given a sense of quickening of that combativity of the working class, a feeling of being left out of the development, a feeling of capitalist supremacy, supremacy over all the machinery of the state. And therefore the workers and the common people have to fight back.

Last week, government workers were on strike, in spite of their union. It was a spontaneous strike, a wildcat strike. It was a recognition that the old structure set up to develop the class struggle had become an encumbrance on it. The workers are now seeking to break this encumbrance.

*Q. What lies behind the secession movement in Barbuda?*

A. Well, first of all, I think what we should do is paint a picture of Barbuda.

Barbuda has a small population. It only has a thousand people, on sixty-two square miles. Historically, Barbuda and Antigua were always interlinked. As a matter of fact, geologically they were once one land mass.

Barbuda not only does not have a doctor, but until a few weeks ago it did not have a resident nurse. There is little or no agriculture on Barbuda. It imports all of what it needs. The main factor in the economy of Barbuda is remittances from emigrants abroad.

In Barbuda there is nondevelopment. No development has taken place in Barbuda.

The secessionists attribute this neglect not to colonialism and the colonial power, Britain, but to Antigua, where the central government resides. Now that is a misperception, clearly, of history. And it is that misperception on which the secession movement is based.

But that is not enough of an argument against a situation in which 99.9 percent of the Barbuda population supports secession. We have to look deeper.

The leaders of the secession movement are totally against independence. Strangely enough, they want to go back to being a British colony. And that, of course, would be a retrograde step.

We have to see why this retrogression takes place. The main activity in which Barbudans are involved is fishing. They sell their fish — mainly lobsters and crabs — to a single man in Barbuda: Eric Burton, who is also the lone parliamentary representative of Barbuda, and therefore the leader of the secession movement.

Burton has monopoly control over the fishing industry, and that is not a modern monopoly. Because of the backwardness of the economy, it is a kind of feudal arrangement where the Barbudans depend on him for the means of sustenance. If there is an off-season in fishing, they become dependent on him for their survival.

Burton then in turn sells all these lobsters and fish to companies from the United States, where he collects good prices. So he is a millionaire a couple of times over.

There is a single large hotel on Barbuda. It is owned by an American, William Coby Kelly. He is a lawyer, with a law firm in New York known to represent important clients, both in the mainstream of American capital and outside the mainstream. He privately owns the largest airport in Barbuda, the only airport that has lights for night landing. He, too, supports the secession movement.

And there is a third leader, a native Barbudan. He is McChesney-George. For twenty-five years he was the closest collaborator of the present prime minister, V. C. Bird.

He represented Barbuda at the constitutional conference in 1967, when Antigua got associated statehood, and in that constitution it was agreed that there was no need to separate Barbuda from Antigua. He also agreed that Barbuda was such a fundamental part of the state that the term Antigua would cover Barbuda as well.

Well, it so happens approaches were made by the Mafia after 1967. Both V. C. Bird and McChesney-George agreed that the Mafia would have opportunities for development and involvement in Antigua and Barbuda. The corrupt proceeds from Barbuda would go to McChesney-George and the proceeds from Antigua would go to V. C. Bird.

After the mass movement started in 1968, it seemed the old order was going to collapse. So McChesney-George had to shift, leading to a conflict with Bird. He was dismissed from the cabinet and returned to Barbuda. And there begins the secession movement.

Behind it is Mafia capital. This secessionist movement is not for the development of Barbuda. It is for the development of opportunities for capital.

So they turn the legitimate sentiments of the Barbudan people against their own nondevelopment, against their colonial neglect, into this secession movement.

We acknowledge the legitimate and just basis of the masses' rejection of the existing arrangement in Antigua. We are for autonomy in Barbuda, making Antigua and Barbuda a federated state in which Barbuda would enjoy full state rights.

But not only that. We go further. During the constitutional talks that preceded Antiguan independence, we put forward the proposition that the British government, as reparations for its neglect of Barbuda, give a sum of not less than \$5 million exclusively to the control of the Barbuda council for the development of projects determined by the Barbudans. The Anti-

gian government ignored the idea.

The central government, a backward and reactionary regime, has conceded an enormous amount of power to Barbuda under the pressure of the ACLM, largely on the mainland. It has given them power over their administration, education, culture, and fishing, and has retained control only over the police and land.

However, it is important to note that in retaining power over land, the central government is revealing its hand. Barbuda has a unique land tenure system. No individual in Barbuda can claim any portion of land as his own. The Barbudans believe that land belongs to no one, but belongs to everyone. Each Barbudan is entitled to build a house on a plot of land of a given size. And once the community has agreed on the size of the land, that's it. You cannot sell that land. You cannot use it as capital. It is common social property.

Now that is an astonishing idea for people to have as their fundamental conception in the twentieth century. And they hang tenaciously to that idea.

The government in Antigua, on the other hand, wants the land in Barbuda to become its private property, which it can sell. The Barbudans correctly perceive that what will happen is that real estate sharks in Antigua will buy all the land and then resell it to Americans. They are resisting it. And we are with them in that resistance.

We are convinced that the contradiction between the just demands of the Barbudan people and the relations between the leaders and American capital will sharpen. We are convinced that a new movement and leadership will emerge which will put in proper perspective the claims of Barbuda and keep it an autonomous state within a federal relationship. We think the movement of the masses of people in Barbuda will have a direct effect on the masses of people of Antigua.

*Q. On this subject of land and agriculture, who owns the land and how is agriculture organized in Antigua?*

A. Antigua at one time was completely covered by sugar, except for scattered villages and towns. Out of 33,000 acres of land, there was at one time as much as 31,000 acres under sugar cultivation.

With the collapse of the plantations, the government of Antigua now owns 25,000 acres of land. And 80 percent of this government-owned land is totally uncultivated. At the same time, Antigua has an unemployment figure of 25 percent, mostly among the young or among the women, whose unemployment is invisible because they are involved in domestic work.

You have a real crisis. The majority of farmers are merely part-time farmers. In 1958, there were 5,000 peasant farmers in Antigua. By 1972 the number had declined to 2,000. And by 1975 the number was less than 1,000 people engaged in full-time farming.

Corresponding to that, until 1965, agricul-

ture contributed 46 percent of gross domestic product. In 1980 it contributed 2 percent.

So you see the total decline of agriculture and the dislocation of the agricultural population, because they were kept on uneconomic plants and the two local governments refused to expand existing agricultural units.

As a result, our food import bill is now \$42 million, moving up to \$50 million. There are 100,000 tourists coming to Antigua, so they are importing food for 170,000 people.

We import all our supplies, such as they are, in the noncapital sector, the construction sector, from the United States. We import even chicken. And even if we raise the chicken, we import the feed from the United States.

So you have an economy that is very, very dependent on the United States. This "independence" really masks that dependence. It really creates illusions.

But we have to remember to separate the people of the United States from the government. I think Americans, from my knowledge, are much into the idea of freedom and so forth. The government has to go through elaborate efforts to make them believe that it is democratic and that its pursuits abroad are democratic. That elaborate effort has not allowed the American people to see what its government and its multinationals are doing abroad.

Now the United States government historically learned from Cuba that it can have an independent nation and keep it dependent. They invented a flag, an anthem, a constitution. But after the Cuban war of independence in 1898, the Americans took over. The U.S. ambassador literally ran the country. They allowed a Batista, a Machado, a Grau San Martín, or whoever it was to play their antics on the stage. But in effect Cuba became an American colony, while it preserved the veneer of independence.

So neocolonialism was nothing new. It came at the time of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, symbolized by Cuba and to some extent the rest of the Caribbean. America originated that neocolonialism. And therefore we are suffering from want and hunger now.

Then came the second cold war. The American government said that all change and advocates of change were communists, and therefore agents of Soviet expansionism.

That was despite the fact that the ACLM views the Soviet Union as having a counterrevolutionary leadership, that a counterrevolution took place in the Soviet Union with Stalin's emergence. Throughout the Caribbean, it is well known that the ACLM holds that position.

We also say that the role of the Soviet Union in helping liberation movements in southern Africa, and in Africa in general, is to be commended. We have noticed that the Soviet Union preserves its revolutionary image in terms of its own proletariat. But that contradiction too will sharpen, because in the freed colonies, in Africa and so on, tremendous steps are being taken by a whole series of move-

ments to manage their own affairs, and the Soviet Union has no equivalent structure of popular power as you find in Cuba.

In spite of that position, we have been the victims of the cold war campaign. The American government spends large sums of money in propaganda about the ACLM.

They have actually extended the Voice of America to Antigua, the first extension since 1961. The extension is to direct all the anti-communist propaganda to the population of Antigua and to the population of the rest of the Caribbean. They see rising militancy and they want to check that militancy.

*Q. There are two U.S. military bases on the island. What sort of role do they play?*

A. These are essentially communications bases, and they enjoy a very important role in America's military operations around the world.

Now, at one base there is the second largest electronic dish antenna in the world, second only to the one in California. It has become the major monitoring center for Afghanistan and Iran, picking up communications from satellites in that area. And so they can unscramble

coded messages there. A second electronic dish — there is another in Antigua — monitors the Panama Canal. So in terms of America's strategic operations, they occupy a very crucial role.

*Q. About two-and-a-half years ago in Grenada, the Gairy regime was overthrown by the New Jewel Movement. Since then significant changes have taken place there. How do you view the Grenadian revolution in the context of the Caribbean?*

A. The Grenada revolution is the most significant event to take place in the English-speaking Caribbean — and the second most important event to take place in the Caribbean in general, second only to the Cuban revolution.

The U.S.'s cold war managed to isolate Cuba from the rest of the Caribbean. So it took twenty years before the revolutionary strength that Castro released came to the English-speaking Caribbean.

I think [Grenadian Prime Minister] Maurice Bishop now symbolizes the revolutionary movement in the Caribbean. □

## UN backs Khmer Rouge

*Continues support for butchers of Kampuchea*

By Steve Bride

[The following article appeared in the November 27 issue of the U.S. socialist news-weekly *Militant*.]

\* \* \*

The United Nations has made its annual proposal that the Khmer Rouge be given a second chance to rule Kampuchea.

The UN did this by way of successive votes:

- On September 18, to recognize the deposed Khmer Rouge as Kampuchea's representative in that body; and
- On October 21, to demand the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

It was the third time around in as many years for the two resolutions; both were supported by Washington.

The Khmer Rouge ruled Kampuchea for four years, during which time they plunged the country into famine and slaughtered 3 million of its inhabitants. The carnage was ended only when Vietnamese troops intervened on the side of Kampuchean rebels in January 1979, and sent the Khmer Rouge into exile.

Today, Vietnamese remain in Kampuchea to help defend the new regime from imperialist-backed attacks by the Khmer Rouge who are camped — 30,000 strong — along the Thailand-Kampuchea border.

Progress has been made in the Kampuchean's ability to defend themselves. But it is generally recognized that if the Vietnamese were to leave, the Khmer Rouge — who are

backed by the U.S. and Chinese governments — would be able to launch a more effective military offensive.

The UN resolution on withdrawal was sponsored by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a grouping of the most servile pro-U.S. regimes in the area. It contained several last-minute changes to ensure the widest possible majority.

The most significant of these was to back away from endorsing unity talks between the Khmer Rouge and two other exile factions now going on in Thailand. The Khmer Rouge's UN delegate had claimed the possibility of a united opposition was "intensifying" the pressure on Hanoi to negotiate the Kampuchea matter. But it is well known that the talks are getting nowhere, and few delegates wanted to stake the resolution on their outcome.

The resolution also calls for the continuation of food relief to Kampuchea, especially to the Thailand border area. There, such aid finds its way into the hands of the Khmer Rouge's well-fed guerrillas, and then onto the black market.

The status of any more substantive relief effort remains unclear. All UN aid to Kampuchea was to end in December of this year; but a poor rice harvest due to flooding and drought has forced the UN to reconsider. □

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# 'We continue to struggle'

Letter by families of political prisoners

[In May 1980, during a countrywide wave of mass demonstrations against the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Gen. Chon Too Hwan, the population of Kwangju, in the southwest, rose up and seized control of their city for nearly a week. The rebellion was crushed when the army moved in, massacring hundreds of inhabitants and arresting thousands.

[Many of those arrested were subsequently brought to a trial and sentenced to prison terms. Many have been tortured.

[In September 1981, members of the families of these political prisoners released an open letter to Amnesty International appealing for international support for the prisoners. Below are excerpts from that letter, which are taken from the October 26 issue of *Korea Communiqué*, a bulletin published in Tokyo by the Japan Emergency Christian Conference on Korean Problems.]

\* \* \*

The tragic genocide which occurred in the Republic of Korea in May 1980 resulted in our nation being internationally condemned as a country suppressing human rights. This saddens all democratic Koreans.

*The Kwangju Uprising of May 1980 was not a riot or rebellion manipulated by impure elements. It was a spontaneous resistance by citizens against physical violence, and an attempt to protect freedom and democracy.*

This resistance was inevitable and necessary given the total conditions — political, economic, social and cultural — existing in our society.

*The widespread expectation that the assassination of Park Chung-hee would finally lead to the democratization of our nation was frustrated by the military's involvement in politics.\**

The bloodshed in Kwangju was a tragic loss not only for south Korea but for the whole world. Scenes of paratroopers clubbing old men in their 70's on their heads until they died, or of bayonetting pregnant women displayed a violence which human history will never forgive. As they were being slaughtered so cruelly, the citizens of Kwangju must have wondered whether human beings really have any conscience, dignity or standards at all.

Fifteen months have passed since the Kwangju Uprising, but the facts are still being hidden from sight. Many democratic citizens and students are still on the run, hiding in the darkness of small back rooms. Those who

\*Former dictator Park Chung Hee was assassinated in October 1979. For a brief period the government eased up on its repression, only to crack down once again with the rise to power of Gen. Chon Too Hwan. — IP

were captured now lie groaning in prison under torture and beatings on fabricated charges.

Those actually responsible for the Uprising are: the head of the present power-hungry regime and its cabinet members, and foreign powers, including the United States.

The invasion of Korea by the U.S. began with the uncalled-for landing and occupation by the U.S. Army at the end of World War II, and the U.S. Forces Military Command has been the strongest and ultimate prop holding up through coup d'états a series of extremely anti-democratic right-wing military dictatorships in the south over the more than 30 years since that time.

This occurred first during the occupation period, but continued through the Syngman Rhee regime, the Park Chung-hee regime, and continues today with the Chun Doo-hwan regime.

During the Kwangju Uprising, moreover, the Fourth Regiment of Korean troops, which was under the direct control of U.S. General Wickham, Commander of the U.S. Eighth Army in south Korea [and currently Commander of the U.S.-South Korean Joint Forces Command], was ordered to enter Kwangju and to kill and injure innocent people who were waiting for negotiations to begin.

The song of victory over the citizens of Kwangju was first sung to the world by a spokesperson for the U.S. Defense Department, and the Korean people's desire for democracy and their right to live were defeated

once more by the "support" provided by the U.S.

The role of the U.S. Army in south Korea has changed from that of protecting against a possible attack by north Korea, to that of permanently occupying a land it has invaded. The U.S. Secretary of Defense, Alexander Haig, testified in the U.S. Senate that the U.S. military plans to stay in south Korea indefinitely because of the strategic importance of neighboring Japan.

"Intervention for the sake of security," as it is called, is finally nothing more than protection of the U.S. and Japanese capitalistic profits in south Korea. Our country is being used as the front line of defense of the "Pacific Defense Zone" for these foreign interests.

So many people in Kwangju would never have been killed and injured, and the present regime could never have grabbed power without the manipulation and support of the U.S. which, to our shame, is able to control events in the Republic of Korea.

We, the families of the prisoners taken by the regime during and after the Kwangju Uprising, appeal to Amnesty International because we are unable to suppress our anger at the brutal destruction of human rights, human dignity, and the human conscience that demands justice and truth by the power-grabbing Chun Doo-hwan regime and the U.S. invasion of our small country.

People of conscience and the prisoners' families have been carrying out a continuous rescue movement in spite of spying and harassment by the Chun regime. *We will continue to struggle until south Korea is democratized and all prisoners released.*

We ask you to please show deep concern for all those prisoners who are even now being subjected to torture and other inhuman treatment. □

## Persona non grata

Ex-U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger got less than a warm welcome from students at the University of Brasília on November 18.

According to an Associated Press dispatch from the Brazilian capital, Kissinger "was trapped in a lecture hall for two hours today by 400 students protesting his visit. . . . He was finally rescued by the police and left in a paddy wagon."

Kissinger was to deliver a lecture on U.S. foreign policy. As he was speaking, protesters surrounded the building and barricaded the doors to the hall. Eggs, tomatoes, and other projectiles were thrown at the building, and a U.S. flag was set afire.

One banner read, "The rector didn't have money to hire professors for a translation course, but he spends \$15,000 to bring to the university an imperialist agent who killed more than a million people" — a reference to Kissinger's role during Washington's war against the Vietnamese.

Another banner said, "Money for teachers, not assassins." The protest occurred during a nationwide strike by university professors for higher wages.

After Kissinger made his escape, Brazilian cops dispersed the protesting students.





# Fidel Castro: the world capitalist crisis, the arms race, and the threat to Cuba

[First of two parts]

[The following speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro was given at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana October 24 at the close of the Second Congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The translation is from the November 1 issue of the English-language *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana.]

\* \* \*

First of all, a brief explanation: don't be alarmed if you see me having a little trouble walking, although I do believe I walked pretty straight. What happened was that, while trying to live up to the campaign against sedentary living and obesity (LAUGHTER) I was practicing a sport and suffered a little fracture in my right toe. This is why I was unable to attend the opening of the Congress, nor was I able to be at the reception of the remains of the internationalist martyrs on their arrival in our country. The doctors are to blame because they told me I had to rest, and I said to them that I had to attend the closing of the CDR Congress come what may. (APPLAUSE) They insisted, "You must rest," and I accepted the verdict, if only to be able to show up here at the Congress in shoes rather than in slippers. (LAUGHTER)

My absence from the opening doesn't in any way mean that my affection, recognition and admiration for the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have diminished in the slightest. (APPLAUSE)

Distinguished Guests;  
Dear Comrades of the Party and Government;  
Comrade Delegates to the 2nd Congress of the CDRs:

Although I couldn't be present at the opening, I did read the report, or summary of the report, read by Comrade Armando Acosta very carefully. I believe that the summary reflects very clearly the enormous amount of work done by the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in the last four years and which is in fact the continuation of the work they've been doing for 21 years, ever since they were founded. It also reflects the quality of the work done in every field, and I think it's only fair to acknowledge it.

I noted that the Committees have continued to give top priority to the very important question of revolutionary vigilance. That was, is and must always be the principal task of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution! (APPLAUSE) Not only in the struggle against counter-revolution — which becomes weaker and more bloodless all the time, although it survives — but also against the lumpen and antisocial elements.

I think that the figures on the drop of the number of thefts are significant. The figures I took from the summary show that, compared to 1977, there was a 24-percent drop in 1980 and a 40-percent drop in the first seven months of 1981. This, of course, gives us an idea of the work done by the Committees when they redoubled their revolutionary vigilance, but it also shows that the Ministry of the Interior is working more efficiently. (APPLAUSE) At the same time, it shows that the Mariel "housecleaning" produced excellent results. (APPLAUSE)

Of exceptional importance too are the political and ideological work done by the Committees as educational centers for our masses; their patriotic-military work, their great efforts to achieve an even closer relationship between the people and the armed forces and the Ministry of the Interior, through the strengthening of our defenses, patrolling our coasts and organizing the Territorial Troop Militia; their considerable contribution to education, culture and sports; their contribution to economic and social development by participating in thousands of construction projects, by doing support work for People's Power, by helping out in the public health campaigns and in the census, and so forth. The Committees greatly distinguished themselves in the battle against dengue, for

example, in the sanitation campaign that made possible the victory over that terrible disease, which was without a doubt introduced in our country by the imperialists. We take the opportunity to say that not a single verified case of dengue has been reported by our hospitals in the last ten days. We're winning the battle and we'll carry on with it to the very end, and once we can officially say that the epidemic is over, we will continue the struggle against the vector [mosquito], which could possibly be the vector of other diseases.

The Committees for the Defense of the Revolution have done invaluable work in the field of public health, in the struggle to prevent illnesses, in the antipolio campaigns and in the blood donation drives they sponsor.

It's impossible to describe in a brief time the great contribution that the organization is making in every way to the revolutionary process and to the construction of socialism in our country today.

Today our organization has almost five and a half million members, that is, almost 80 percent of the adult population of Cuba.

The existence of this organization born of the Revolution and the struggle against the enemy at home and abroad has been a source of inspiration to other peoples who have liberated themselves and who want to develop means of defense which are as indispensable as the armed forces.

We can see how this organization has grown both quantitatively and qualitatively, drawing its ranks mostly from the young, and how membership has increased by 400,000 in the last four years. I believe that the report or summary covers everything and reflects the organization's achievements over these last few years very well.

It is my duty to say that our Party, our Revolution and our people are proud and confident of and optimistic about their Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. (APPLAUSE)

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## Our revolution has shown that it can defend itself . . .

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I think the imperialists should learn a lot about what a social force of this kind means. Lenin said that a revolution was valid if it was capable of defending itself. To tell the truth, our Revolution has shown that it can defend itself, (APPLAUSE) and it does so with powerful instruments.

Regardless of what our enemies say, regardless of their hatred and scorn for the Cuban example, I believe that, from a political standpoint, our country, located just a few miles away from the United States, has written one of the most brilliant pages in the history of this century. (APPLAUSE) It has done this only 90 miles from the United States, after almost 23 years of Revolution, 23 years of imperialist harassment and over 20 years of fierce economic blockade, and it has defended itself following Leninist principles; in the first place with its vanguard Party; (APPLAUSE) its mass organizations, (APPLAUSE) that is, its trade unions, CDRs, federation of women, (APPLAUSE) its peasant, student and Pioneer organizations; its glorious Revolutionary Armed Forces; (APPLAUSE) its Ministry of the Interior; (PROLONGED APPLAUSE) and the closest possible relationship between the Party and the masses. (APPLAUSE)

I think we have set a revolutionary example, a useful example for the international movement, since, I repeat, our country has carried forward its Revolution and has known how to defend it in difficult circumstances 90 miles away from the United States. (APPLAUSE) Ours was a coun-

try where imperialism controlled everything, in the economic, political, cultural and ideological spheres. For almost 60 years the imperialists tried to destroy the spirit of our nationhood, and they managed to achieve considerable influence in our country. The Revolution destroyed that influence and went on to create a really new awareness. It not only deepened the people's patriotic and nationalist feelings but also their revolutionary spirit and their socialist, communist and internationalist awareness. (APPLAUSE) This is the great monument the Cuban Revolution has built to liberation, to the peoples' struggle for liberation. And this has to be taken into account now and in the future, in these years and in the years to come, which, unquestionably, will be difficult ones.

I would like to mention something that happened recently and which all of you are familiar with. It shows how revolutionary ideas have taken root among the people. I'm speaking of the organs of People's Power elections.

It's really noteworthy how, after five years of experience, over 97 percent of the electorate voted in the second general elections to renew all the organs of People's Power, (APPLAUSE) even though there's no law that makes voting compulsory nor has the Revolution ever taken the slightest measure against any citizen who doesn't vote. I believe that participation in the election of delegates from each circumscription [district] is a truly popular, democratic form of election on which the power of our state is founded, because these delegates, in turn, elect the delegates to practically all the other organs of People's Power, including the National Assembly, in which over 50 percent of the members are delegates from the grass roots, in keeping with a norm set by the Revolution; they are nominated and elected by the free vote of the population, as you know, without the party intervening at all or making recommendations of any kind so as not to employ its tremendous force in favor of any candidate.

It goes without saying that in every circumscription our citizens choose, in the first place, those whom they think have the most merits to be their candidates. Thus, when a circumscription has six or five or four candidates — like in mine — and you read the biographical material on them, it's not easy to choose who to vote for. And the process transpires without personal ambition playing a part or politicking of any kind, which are so typical of so-called bourgeois representative democracy.

What happens in those "elections" that take place in some countries on this side of the world? In many cases not even as much as 30 percent of the population goes to the polls — and they call that democracy.

That gentleman that Tomás [Borge, leader of the Nicaraguan revolution] mentioned, George Bush, made a tour of several countries in Latin America recently which I'm sure he imagined was a triumphant tour, and he went around saying that there had been no elections in Cuba for the last 22 years.

That gentleman doesn't know about the whole process through which the Constitution was established in our country. He knows nothing about People's Power, set up five years ago through this democratic system, and he doesn't know about the elections that just took place. Either those weren't elections to him or he didn't find out about them, and it's quite possible that he doesn't know about them because they're so ignorant that they don't find out about anything or almost nothing. (APPLAUSE) One is really amazed at the candid way in which they utter a lie of this kind or, to be benevolent, a stupid remark of this kind.

It so happens that in the presidential elections held recently in the United States only 52 percent of the electorate voted. Only 52 percent! Not 60, 70, 80, 90, 95 or 97 percent. And our figure of 97 percent is debatable, because, for example, at my polling station there were four voters missing, but two of them were in military service and voted in their own military circumscription. Another one was abroad, and the fourth was on the list but he did not belong to that circumscription and therefore voted in some other place. When you figure it out, since the four were on the list but didn't vote there, the percentage was 90-something. Actually, 100 percent of the people with a right to vote voted, even those people who were in the hospital. (APPLAUSE)

Mr. Reagan was elected by 26 percent of the electorate in the United States. In other words, 26 percent of the electorate made it possible for that fascistic group to govern the United States, to create the situation

it's creating in the world and perhaps lead the world to nuclear catastrophe. And they call that democracy, while expressing the most absolute, arrogant, limitless scorn for the popular democratic forms that our people have adopted in their own right.

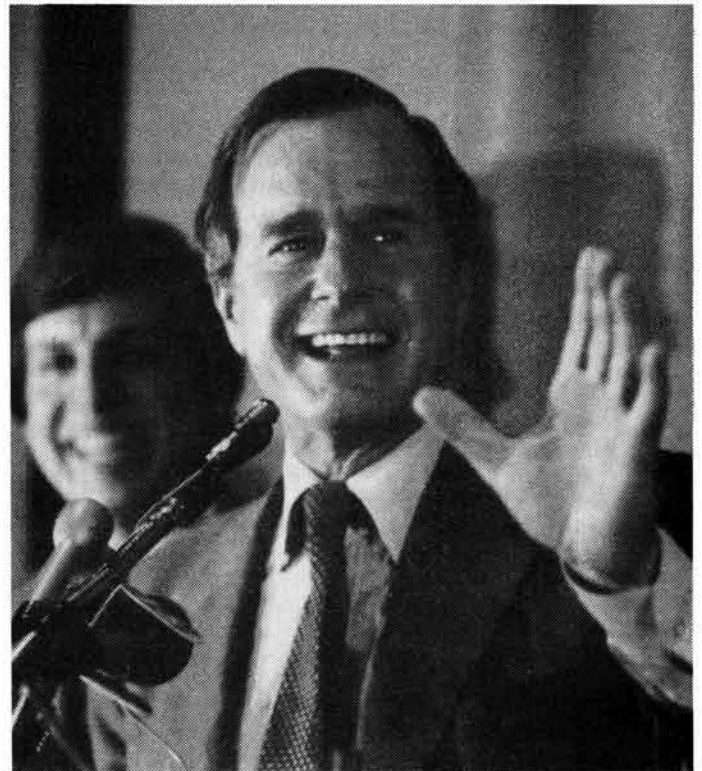
Who says that the bourgeois, imperialist, inefficient and hypocritical formula is the one we must apply in our country?

The political level, civic consciousness, understanding and cooperation shown by our people in the last elections are truly worthy of praise and are a source of satisfaction.

We're not going to copy what others have done — although I believe that it's always advisable to take into account the positive experiences of all other revolutionary countries — nor do we intend to present our recipe, formula or system as the one to be applied in other countries. I do not know how the Nicaraguans will handle this problem. It's their affair and they have enough intelligence, imagination and originality to find the correct formula, the one that is most suited to their country. (APPLAUSE)

Really, this CDR Congress, held at this stage of the Revolution, is taking place at a special moment. We can safely say that the world is going through one of the most difficult stages, I don't know if I should say of the recent period or of all time. This period is different from all others in human history, first of all because of the crucial and vital issue of peace.

In our time, peace has a different meaning from its meaning in any other period in human history, because it is no longer peace as it was in the time of the primitive communities, in which one clan would battle another or one tribe battle another; or in early historical times, when city-states would fight each other and some peoples would fight each other on a very local level. Peace is very different now from what it was in the Middle Ages when feudal lords or incipient states would battle each other; or in the more recent past centuries when empires and kings would fight for five, ten, even 30 years — the history we studied even spoke of 100-year wars; or early this century, or in 1939, when, of course, by that time the consequences of war were increasingly serious and involved the whole world, such as in World War I in 1914, or World War II in 1939, in which much of humanity participated. Those were truly terrible and bloody wars in which many millions of people were killed.



George Bush, uninformed about elections in Cuba.

Today peace means something very different, because the technological development of weaponry means that a war would cause not the death of thousands or hundreds of thousands, or millions or tens of millions or hundreds of millions, war could mean the end of humanity.

There is talk of peace when war could mean the end, when war could mean the last war; but not the last war because people would learn to live in peace, simply because there would be nobody left on earth.

This is the truly dramatic meaning of the war threat today, the true meaning of peace, closely linked to the very survival of humanity.

However, the danger of war continues to increase. Existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons ready for use are enough to destroy humanity ten times over. This made it very important to try to control the production of nuclear weapons, to limit their production in the hope — the hope! — that at a certain stage it would be possible to move towards reducing stockpiles and finally implementing a policy of disarmament.

Lately the climate of peaceful coexistence, advocated by Lenin at the start of the October Revolution, has gradually faded from the international scene. As a result of a unilateral decision by the United States, the SALT-II agreement ground to a halt and in recent years Yankee imperialism has started a policy of rearmament. They began by urging their NATO allies to increase military spending, then they raised the issue of medium-range missiles in Europe, specifically 572 medium-range missiles, and this was followed by an incredible arms race, associated with a belligerent and aggressive policy, all allegedly for reasons of defense and security in the face of supposed Soviet expansionism, all in order to balance their forces with those of the Soviet Union.

Ever since the Soviet Union came into being history shows how it has been attacked: first just after the October Revolution, with intervention in its territory, which lasted years, in the support for counterrevolution, with isolation; then when the country was invaded by the fascist hordes in a war which cost 20 million lives and destroyed most of its wealth. Then after that war, in which the Soviet Union had been an ally of the other countries in the struggle against fascism, it was surrounded by strategic military bases and nuclear weapons everywhere.

History, the historical truth, shows that the Soviet Union has always been in a position of inferiority compared with its enemies and that the policy of the country was always rightfully and legitimately directed towards arming for defense. Who is better aware of this than our people and our Revolution, given our need to devote large human and material resources to the defense of our country?

Actually, what could accurately be described as a nuclear and strategic balance has been achieved in the world. All the rest is lies, myths and fables.

Whenever I have talked with a naive visitor who says the Soviet Union wants to take over the world, I have always said: "Look, the world is a mountain of problems, and you would have to be really crazy to want to take over the world." (APPLAUSE)

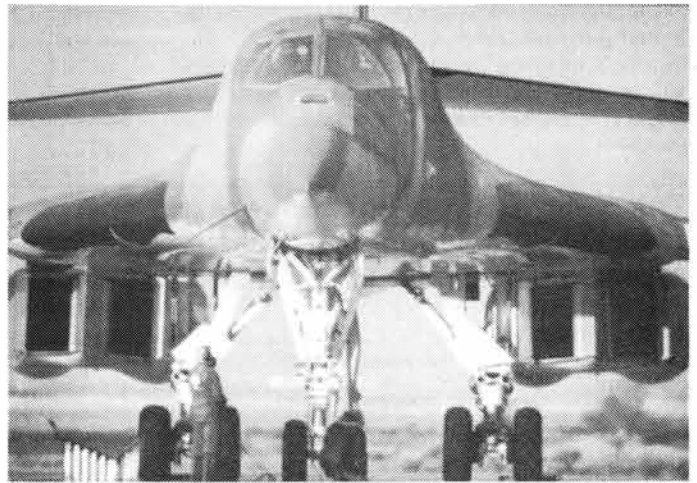
The capitalist powers are the ones that have wanted to take over, that

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## The United States has plunged into the wildest arms race in history . . .

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have actually taken over, that keep trying to take over the world, to take control of the raw materials and natural resources of countries and exploit their peoples. It is inconceivable that a socialist state or system would want to take over the natural resources of other countries and exploit the labor power of other peoples. This is absurd; it runs absolutely counter to the concept and ideals of socialism. It is equally absurd to think that the socialist states are guided by the same motives as the capitalist countries. The socialist states do not have transnational companies or investments in any other countries; all that belongs to capitalism and imperialism. The imperialist countries are the only ones that seek to take over the world for the purpose of economic exploitation. As we have noted on other occasions, if there were no socialist camp, imperialism would have divided up the world again, taking over oil wells, iron mines, mineral resources; they would have occupied everything; there would surely be no OPEC, or any independent oil-producing countries; and the capitalist powers would be doing exactly what they did in past



B-1 bomber prototype.

centuries.

In order to counter alleged Soviet expansionism, the United States has plunged into the wildest arms race in history. Yankee imperialism, plagued by a series of contradictions and problems, is moving towards an increasingly aggressive stance, a stance based on threats and force; more than ever before it has taken on the role of world gendarme. While other imperialist administrations tried to keep up a facade, this one has dropped the mask and openly assumed the role of world gendarme.

Recently the U.S. administration coolly declared Saudi Arabia to be a Yankee protectorate. In the course of debates in Congress on whether or not to sell spy planes to Saudi Arabia, the U.S. Government openly said that what happened in Iran could not happen in Saudi Arabia, that the United States would not sit idly by in the face of any internal change in Saudi Arabia. They simply declared it a protectorate.

The United States thinks any revolutionary social change in any country is Soviet expansionism and declares that it is not willing to tolerate it. Never before has imperialism proclaimed itself world gendarme in such flagrantly cynical terms, ready to prevent, to forbid, even to intervene in any country where there is a revolution. All this goes hand in hand with its policy of rapprochement with the most repressive governments of Latin America and the most reactionary and repressive governments in the rest of the world. It says it will not allow any social and revolutionary change in Central America, the Caribbean, Latin America, Africa, Asia or anywhere else.

It recently lifted all restrictions on military aid to Chile, and military aid to the fascist regime there and all repressive regimes in the hemisphere will be resumed. It has strengthened relations with South Africa and is in fact working closely with the apartheid regime. It has announced a strategic agreement with Israel. It has hastily prepared large-scale military maneuvers in the Near East after the death of Sadat. It is involved in a mad race to build military bases in different parts of the world.

This is the essence of the policy followed by the new administration. It differs from that of previous administrations in that it is more overt and aggressive, more arrogant and belligerent.

From our point of view, imperialism knows that there is a very serious crisis situation in the world and is trying to prepare itself to solve the problems of the world simply through force and as the gendarme state. The arms race has burgeoned as a result. The policy of arms build-up is of course at the expense of the people, and basically at the expense of the poorest sectors in the United States.

Thus, for example, according to information in the U.S. press, more than 400,000 low-income families with children will be completely deprived of the benefits they received from the federal government, and another 250,000 will have to endure reductions in those benefits; 875,000 families will lose the food stamps that had been provided them by the federal government; 1.4 million families will have their amount of food stamps reduced; 22.5 million poor people will no longer be elig-

ible for the scarce and costly medical services that they received through federal programs; one million unemployed civilian workers will lose their right to unemployment benefits; 17.7 million school-age children will no longer be eligible for school lunches, while 270,000 public employees have already lost their jobs because of the end of school lunch programs.

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## **The policy of arms buildup is at the expense of the people, and basically at the expense of the poorest sectors in the United States . . .**

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Meanwhile, the U.S. military budget prepared by the current administration for 1982 will run to 225,700 million dollars. This means devoting 29 percent of the total federal budget to military purposes. The program for new weapons alone will rise to tens of thousands of millions of dollars. To give you a more precise idea, we could point out that the cost of one MX missile is approximately 25 million dollars and according to available information the cost of the whole system is 34,000 million; the cost of a B-1 bomber is 200 million and the cost of every Trident submarine is 1,500 million dollars. A thousand million dollars are currently being spent on experimenting with the Stealth antiradar technology. The cost of less sophisticated weapons such as the XM tank comes to a million dollars each and an F-15 plane costs 18 million dollars.

In 1986 military spending will reach 372,700 million dollars and in that year will be 35.2 percent of the total U.S. budget.

Never in history during peacetime has such an arms race been launched! And if this militarist policy is not fascist, then what is a fascist policy?

These facts must be of serious concern to all of humanity, because they show that imperialism is heading down a dangerous road of force, violence, threats and aggression, not only against the socialist community but against all the peoples of the Third World. Not even during the period of Hitler's Germany — I repeat, not even during the period of Hitler's Germany — was such an arms buildup launched.

And why do they want these arms, not just nuclear arms but conventional ones as well? The enormous cost of the arms race is not only the result of strategic nuclear weapons but also of a considerable increase in conventional weapons: bringing battleships back into active service, building more aircraft carriers, more landing craft. In short, the United States is preparing for a policy of interventionism throughout the world. It is trying to drag its allies into this policy, while they put up ever greater resistance. This resistance is being expressed primarily among the peoples of Europe, where the movement for disarmament and peace is growing, as reflected in larger and more energetic demonstrations related not only to the arms race but to the plan to deploy 572 nuclear missiles in Europe, a truly delicate issue because it seeks simply to break the strategic balance.

And we cannot forget that the presence of 42 medium-range nuclear missiles in Cuba in 1962 almost caused a nuclear war.

The arms race obliges the socialist countries to redouble their efforts on behalf of coexistence and peace; but at the same time it forces them to invest who knows how much in order to counteract the imperialist attempts to establish military superiority. These are the inevitable consequences of such a policy.

So we must be aware that threats to peace in the world and the dangers of war are increasing considerably; not only the dangers of local Yankee intervention but actually the dangers of nuclear war. We must always keep this in mind.

But along with this, the world is going through one of the biggest economic crises of all times, because what is happening in the economy is similar to what is happening to peace. Today the world economy has a completely different meaning than it did in past centuries and epochs, different than it had during the first half of this century. The problems of the world economy are absolutely new and very serious.

First of all, there is an economic crisis in the developed capitalist world which is growing more acute year by year. And it is essential that

all of us, including the CDRs, every citizen of this country, every worker, every peasant, every student, every housewife, deepen our understanding of these aspects of the world economy.

I didn't want to bring in a lot of statistics here, although I was tempted. I said to myself: well, this CDR Congress is not the Congress of Third World Economists, or the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, or the world trade union congress, and although this subject is current and very important I didn't want to come with a large amount of data to illustrate this situation. I talked about it extensively in the Inter-Parliamentary Conference and it was published in the papers. I understand that it is being examined in the study circles of the Party and in my opinion these materials should be studied carefully by all the people. (APPLAUSE)

Capitalist economics has its laws; they were studied in depth by Marx, Engels and Lenin; Lenin was in a position to study and see capitalism in its imperialist phase. The cyclical crises of capitalism are well-known and capitalism has had problems of inflation sometimes, recession other times. Many of you have heard of the Great Depression that began in the United States in 1929 and lasted about ten years. It was a world crisis in which many bankers, entrepreneurs, stockholders, speculators, etc. even committed suicide, there was a wave of suicides, because many of them were suddenly ruined. The Great Depression caused an increase in unemployment in the United States, which at one point reached 12 million people unemployed. That economic crisis during the '30s affected the whole world.

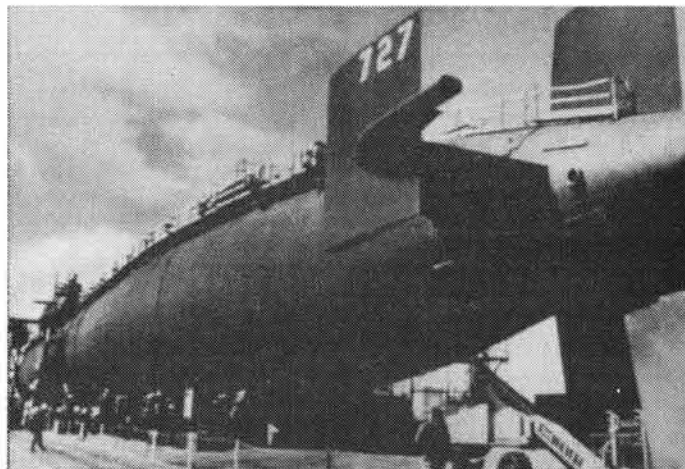
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## **The Yankee imperialists seem to be aware of these problems but can conceive of no other way to solve them than by force, intervention and atom bombs . . .**

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The capitalists, frightened by these crises, which could put an end to the system at some point, managed to devise several mechanisms with which they could confront the crises, thinking about making the system last. But they also intensified colonial exploitation, intensified the exploitation of the Third World countries, and after World War II the capitalist economy experienced a prolonged period of growth in production. But this growth in production was based fundamentally on cheap energy, that is, oil at 14 or 15 dollars a ton. Many European countries even closed down their coal mines and bought only this noble and cheap product called oil. I said that in the past tense because today it is scarcer and more and more difficult and expensive to buy.

The transnationals owned all the oil deposits in the world and of course set their own conditions, their extraordinary profits in the first place, and prices which favored the speedy development of the Western capitalist countries' economy. Thus oil consumption doubled, tripled, quadrupled and quintupled after World War II.



A Trident nuclear submarine under construction.

Another factor through which the wealth of the Western capitalist countries increased, aside from the great accumulation of capital that they had, aside from the fact that they amassed all the gold in the world, aside from the great financial and technological resources they had, another pillar of their economic development was unequal exchange. That is, they have imposed on the Third World countries, the producers of the raw materials, their own terms of trade, as a result of which, for example, whereas 30 years ago in order to buy a truck one needed X number of tons of coffee, or cacao, or iron, or henequen, or cashew nuts, or cotton, or whatever is produced by the Third World, to buy that same truck today one needs three times that quantity. That is, the Third World countries have to pay three times as much for the equipment, machinery and semifinished goods that they import, three times as much as they had to pay 30 years ago for the same product. This is what is known as the deterioration of trade relations and unequal trade. In short, the industrialized capitalist countries sell their products at higher and higher prices and acquire Third World products for less and less.

The developed capitalist countries monopolized practically all world finance after World War II, controlled the international credit agencies and also laid down the conditions with regard to their finance policy on the Third World. More and more, they became the creditors of the Third World and the Third World was left no alternative except to increasingly become the debtor.

On these foundations of domination the capitalist world economy prospered for several decades, until recent years, when for the first time in the history of capitalism an unprecedented type of crisis appeared, inflation combined with recession: that is, uncontrollably rising prices together with a reduced growth rate and even a drop in production. This is the first time the capitalist world has had to confront this problem, and no capitalist theorist, in fact nobody at all, knows how it can be solved. It is also the first time the capitalist economy, which developed by leaps and bounds at the cost of the natural resources of the Third World — not just its own natural resources, I say, but the natural resources of the Third World — has begun to encounter limits to these natural resources and raw materials. For the first time they have been unable to count on a cheap energy source like oil; the oil-producing countries have united, and since oil is such an important raw material, their power was sufficient to allow them to confront the industrialized capitalist countries and establish pricing terms.

So the price of oil multiplied about 15 times. A ton of oil today costs 15 times more than it did in 1970; and as a consequence of this, cheap energy ran out for the industrialized capitalist countries; but unfortunately — and this is the other side of the coin — it also ran out for the underdeveloped countries, which also have to pay 15 times as much for their oil now. Thus the underdeveloped countries which do not produce oil, if they have to pay three times more in coffee or cacao for a truck, have also to pay at least ten or 12 times more coffee or cacao for the oil to meet their development needs.

These are two completely new situations, and, I repeat, no capitalist theorist knows how they will be overcome.

There have been various attempts. For instance, Pinochet's attempt in Chile: he began to apply some of the economic theories of the so-called Chicago school — a formula which consisted of putting hundreds of thousands of Chileans out of work, raising prices to an extraordinary level to combat inflation and opening the country to the transnationals. The measures were so restrictive that they could only be implemented through a fascist system and Chile, which was importing meat from Argentina to the tune of 100 million dollars, after six or seven months was exporting it, by the simple fascist method of taking meat out of the mouths of the Chilean people. Chile's foreign debt has reached 15,000

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### **In the NATO countries alone there are at the present moment 20 million jobless . . .**

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million dollars, unemployment is enormous, and the country's problems remain unresolved, except for the rich and privileged sectors.

Another country to have sought a formula to solve these problems is Britain. The result of its effort to beat inflation and recession is that in-



Chilean dictator Pinochet, a follower of Chicago school.

flation continues, and now, nearly three years after the government of the distinguished Mrs. Thatcher took office, the economy has not revived, and unemployment has risen from 1.3 million to three million.

This crisis also affects the rest of the capitalist world, some countries more than others. In the NATO countries alone there are at the present moment 20 million jobless.

When Mr. Reagan took office as president, his country had an annual inflation rate of around 11 percent and an economy in a state of recession. Like a real sorcerer's apprentice, he is trying to work out how to cope with these phenomena: inflation on the one hand and recession on the other.

In 1932, Roosevelt came up against an economy in recession, but without inflation, and he adopted a series of measures which had been devised by some capitalist theoreticians to bring the country out of the recession. After about ten years the country did come out of the recession, but in circumstances different from today, for there was an unlimited supply of oil and raw materials and thus they managed to overcome the crisis.

Other countries applied more or less similar theories, especially the other Western countries, using the so-called Keynesian notions — but I don't want to use technical terms, since I'm not an economics teacher and this isn't an economics class, but an attempt to explain some of today's problems.

The present U.S. administration abandoned Roosevelt's theories, which were based on those ideas, saying that they were anachronistic, that they were outmoded, that they were nonsense. Now they're inclined towards two schools of thought: one favoring a battle against inflation by reducing the budget, making cuts in social services and limiting cash flow; the other dedicated to a battle against recession, based on lowering taxes, encouraging investment and so on. Mr. Reagan has combined these two theories, these two capitalist economics schools, in the hope — which I think is an illusion — that our sorcerer's apprentice can beat inflation and at the same time stimulate the United States' economic development. This he joins to a gigantic arms expenditure, even though many economists consider that arms spending is inflationary, since you can't eat bombs, or wear them, nor can you eat aircraft carriers, or tanks, or heavy artillery, and since all those millions of workers at the service of weaponry are outside the sphere of production, yet have to consume. According to economic theorists, I repeat, the arms race is in-

flationary.

What Mr. Reagan is trying to do, then, is to beat inflation and stimulate the United States' economic development, that is, to beat the recession too, and at the same time to launch a huge arms race.

Certain scientific institutions have analyzed data that indicate that every 1,000 million dollars invested in military spending leaves about 10,000 workers out of a job; which means that this arms buildup policy

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### **This arms buildup policy leads inevitably to an increase in both inflation and unemployment . . .**

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leads inevitably to an increase in both inflation and unemployment. The United States has about eight million unemployed at present. To carry such a policy forward, it has made merciless budget cuts, merciless cuts in social security, the consequences of which I was talking about before. Add all this to an international economic crisis and a foreign debt which now stands at 500,000 million dollars — 500,000 million dollars! — among the underdeveloped countries, which have increasingly less purchasing power.

The U.S. policy of monetary restrictions has brought in its wake an extraordinary rise in bank credit interest rates, to the point where they have reached 20 percent a year.

What does this mean for the countries of the Third World? It means that any credit they get, and the servicing or reservicing of their foreign debt has to be paid off at extremely high interest rates. And this means that this imperialist policy has severely exacerbated the economic crisis for Third World countries.

There has been discussion of these situations in international forums: in the Non-Aligned Movement, in the United Nations, in all sorts of meetings. You know the efforts Cuba has been making, the proposals Cuba has been making in various international meetings, mostly in the United Nations, towards starting to look for a rational, just solution, and those proposals were reiterated here at the Inter-Parliamentary Conference.



Since Margaret Thatcher took office, unemployment has risen dramatically.

The world economic situation is very grave, both in the developed capitalist world and in the Third World, and the only ones to escape are a small number of countries which have the good fortune to be oil exporters and can sell their oil at a price 15 times higher than it was ten years ago. This crisis also affects the socialist countries indirectly; that is, the capitalist crisis which affects the economy of the entire Third World also has indirect effects on the socialist countries and causes them difficulties too. To this we must add the deplorable situation in Poland, which has forced some socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, to make considerable efforts to help that country. In addition, the climatic conditions this year in the USSR have apparently been unfavorable for the grain crop. But in essence, this crisis has very serious implications for the developed capitalist countries, even more serious implications for the Third World, for the underdeveloped countries, and has indirect effects on the socialist countries' economies.

These and other problems are being discussed, because a statistical and mathematical analysis of the world's natural resources, measured against population growth, and the problems of underdevelopment which affect the greater part of the human race, make the outlook for the next two decades very ominous, an outlook to which there is as yet no adequate response.

There are other problems associated with this policy of the developed

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### **Private enterprise, capitalism, colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism are historically responsible for the tragedy plaguing the underdeveloped countries . . .**

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capitalist countries, the policy of mushrooming industrial development with no other motive than profit, in accordance with the logic of capitalism. These policies are causing very serious problems, for instance, environmental problems, the progressive pollution of the water and air together with the problems of disappearing forests, expanding deserts, contamination of drinking water and uncontrolled population growth. These things are painting a truly bleak picture for the human race, truly difficult, and it is one to which there is as yet no adequate response.

It has been stated, and we ourselves have stated that the solution to these problems is only possible if it is based on strong international cooperation. The socialist countries alone cannot find a solution to these problems, nor can the capitalist countries. That is why we stated at the United Nations that only an extraordinary effort of international cooperation, with the participation of all countries and all peoples, can provide a rational answer, a practical response to the pressing problems facing humanity.

But how can we talk of international cooperation or hope for a solution to these problems if we are once again confronted with the cold war, the arms race and fabulous increases in military spending, which now total over 500,000 million dollars a year? A good part of all the resources dedicated to arms will undoubtedly have to be used to solve the problems of development which affect a great part of the world, problems which must be solved in order that the industrialized capitalist countries can solve their own problems. If the world is really going to confront these problems and solve them, there must be a climate of coexistence, a climate of peace, an enormous cooperative effort.

But there are no signs anywhere of this spirit of cooperation. On the contrary, the future holds the promise of more violence, cold war, arms buildup, etc.

A meeting was just held in Cancún to discuss these problems, in which the Government of Mexico and its President López Portillo made a noble and praiseworthy effort (APPLAUSE) to bring together representatives of industrialized countries, oil producing countries and underdeveloped countries.

Cuba was supposed to participate in this meeting, as was the desire and intention of the Mexican Government. However, as you know, Cuba freed the Mexican Government of all obligation with respect to our presence at that meeting.

For whatever reason — it could have been anything from arrogance,



Cancún Summit: Reagan would not come if Castro was invited.

haughtiness, anger or even fear — the one and only almighty Mr. Reagan said that if Cuba attended, he would not. Everyone could attend. He didn't object to the Soviet Union being invited, the Soviet Union could attend; he didn't object to China's presence, China could attend. But for some strange reason the only one that could by no means be there was Cuba, a country which has consistently, in all international conferences, raised these issues and maintained a policy of firmly defending the interests of the underdeveloped countries as a whole. The imperialist lord and master said that if Cuba participated, he wouldn't go. And if the imperialist lord and master didn't go, if the richest country in the world — the country with the most transnationals, with the most financial and technological resources — didn't attend, the party would be ruined. He threatened to ruin the party.

Logically, we did what we had to do: we told the president of Mexico that we freed his country from all obligation, that we did not want Cuba's presence to serve as pretext for the United States to shirk its responsibilities, and we renounced our participation. Let's say, we freed the Mexican Government of all obligation, because the alternative was to hold the meeting without the United States or not hold it at all. And we wanted the conference to be held and the problems to be discussed. The important thing was not whether or not Cuba participated, but that the problems be discussed and solved.

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### **The imperialist lord and master said that if Cuba participated, he wouldn't go . . .**

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We adopted a similar stand with respect to the upcoming UNCTAD [United Nations Conference on Trade and Development] session, which was to be held in Havana in 1983, in accordance with the wishes and agreement of the majority of the underdeveloped countries. But once again the almighty and one and only Mr. Reagan said that if it were held in Cuba, the Yankee delegation would not attend. This could have resulted in a long, drawn out discussion, but we reached certain agreements with the countries participating in UNCTAD, especially the underdeveloped countries. The United States, determined that UNCTAD not be held in Cuba, adopted a position similar to the one it took during the election of the Security Council. It did everything possible to come up with another Latin American candidate, but failed.

We adopted a position like that of Cancún. We didn't want to appear in the eyes of the peoples as obstructing the UNCTAD session; we didn't want to be responsible for the United States not attending, for holding the meeting in Cuba would serve as a pretext for the United States to refuse to participate. So we agreed to a postponement, we agreed that the next UNCTAD, which will take place in 1986, would be held in Latin America, and Cuba hopes that at that time it will be held here.

Out of respect and consideration for the countries participating in these conferences and discussions, we did not want to become any kind of obstacle to the holding of these meetings. We could not put our national interest, matters of national prestige in the fore, and in both cases we facilitated the holding of these conferences.

But weeks before the Cancún conference, Mr. Reagan had already practically dealt it a death blow in his speeches before the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and in a speech in Philadelphia on October 15, seven days before the conference. And his proposals were the complete opposite of those which the Third World countries are demanding. Even numerous developed capitalist countries, such as France, Japan and others are aware that these crises and these problems must be solved. They have taken a more cooperative attitude, and are more willing to discuss and find solutions. But they come up against the intransigence of Mr. Reagan, who has declared that the best contribution that can be made to the Third World is the prosperity of the United States — a prosperity based on unequal trade, the merciless exploitation of the Third World's natural resources and labor force, on exported inflation, on high interest rates, etc. He maintains that the problems of development must be solved by private enterprises and the transnationals, when private enterprise, capitalism, colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism are historically responsible for the tragedy plaguing the underdeveloped countries. And in these two speeches and other statements made by Yankee spokesmen, the Reagan administration said its final word.

Thus we cannot yet evaluate the results of the recent Cancún conference. Mr. Reagan — as Tomás [Borge] subtly reminded us — took the liberty of arriving 13 minutes after the meeting started; in walked the almighty, the one and only, making all the others wait.

The Mexicans have made great efforts and hoped, at the very least, to create an awareness of the problems facing the world. But with respect to the concrete results of Cancún, the dispatches we have read reflect a great deal of skepticism. It seems that the results to date are limited to vague promises by the United States to participate in global talks on these problems sometime in the future. One must be truly optimistic to find hope in these vague promises by the United States. The fact is that when it is already late to look for urgent solutions, the supposed solutions are delayed endlessly and the world inexorably moves towards extremely difficult and dangerous problems. Of course, it would be very unlikely that the U.S. Government would make any contribution to an international conference like this when it is the major culprit for the colossal arms race being unleashed throughout the world. Thus, I repeat, the Yankees, the Yankee imperialists seem to be aware of these problems but can conceive of no other way to solve them than by force, intervention, and atom bombs.

[To be continued]

# IMG holds congress

## Looks to Labour Party, industrial workers, youth

By Ray Burns

[The following article is taken from the November 18 issue of *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the International Marxist Group.]

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LONDON — Over 500 delegates, observers and guests met from 29 October to 1 November to hear the discussions at the conference of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International).

Interest in the items on the agenda — Poland, Central America and Ireland — was reflected in the attendance of visitors from the New Jewel Movement [of Grenada], the FDR [Revolutionary Democratic Front] of El Salvador and from People's Democracy of Ireland.

The other major discussion, around the significance of the rise of the Bennite current [the left wing led by Tony Benn in the Labour Party], attracted a number of visitors from the Labour Party and the unions.

Opening the conference, a moment's silence was observed for those who had fallen at the hands of the class enemy since the last conference of the IMG, particularly the ten heroic hunger strikers of H-Block murdered by the Thatcher government.

### Against U.S. intervention

Solidarity with the fight against imperialism was a continuous theme in the conference.

The growing threat of direct US intervention in Central America and the Caribbean was the subject of a resolution passed unanimously by delegates, pledging support for the building of an anti-interventionist front both in Britain and internationally.

A standing ovation was given to representatives from the revolutionary movements of the region.

In a stirring speech, Frederick Emmerson brought greetings to the conference from the political committee of the New Jewel Movement. Stressing the tremendous obstacles that had been put in the way of the Grenadan people by the previous dictator Gairy, comrade Emmerson thanked the IMG for bringing their case to the attention of the British labour movement.

Jaime Lopez, British representative of the El Salvadoran FDR, also underlined the role that the British labour movement could play in assisting their struggle against the Duarte regime.

Of key significance to the outcome of both these revolutions is the support of Cuba. Delegates began a discussion which will continue

after the conference, evaluating the Castro leadership team and its relation to building the Fourth International today.

### Significance of Poland

The major event since the last conference of the IMG was undoubtedly the rise of the ten-million-strong workers movement in Poland.

Delegates heard a report by an IMG member who had returned that week from Poland, explaining the roots of the Polish crisis and the birth of Solidarity.

Again delegates decided to continue the discussion on Poland after the conference and pledged full solidarity with their Polish brothers and sisters.

The importance of practical internationalism was underlined by greetings brought by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; the IKB (Dutch section of the Fourth International); and the sister organisations of the IMG: People's Democracy of Ireland and the American Socialist Workers Party.

### Democratic discussion

The session on political perspectives had been preceded by four months of discussion in local IMG branches around documents submitted by the majority of the outgoing Central Committee.

Unlike the Labour Party and the Communist Party, IMG members have equal access to a discussion bulletin, and no bureaucratic bans are put in the way of members organising into "tendencies" to fight for their views.

During the preconference discussion two tendencies, A and B, were formed against the line of the majority of the Central Committee and a third, Tendency C, gave critical support to that line. Equal time was given to tendencies to present their views to the conference on their points of difference.

### Industrial working class

The reporter for the CC Majority stressed the fact that British politics was at a turning point. In order for the IMG to take advantage of these changes and to begin to lay the foundations for building a mass revolutionary party, it had to continue its efforts to implant itself in the core sections of the working class in industry to step up its activist orientation towards developments in the Labour Party, and to continue putting major resources into building Revolution Youth, the youth organisation in solidarity with the IMG.

Particularly important in the latter task would be reaching out to the hundreds of thousands of youth mobilised behind the demands

of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

The importance of *Socialist Challenge* as a paper which supported the objectives of the IMG was stressed time and time again by delegates.

The tasks resolution moved by the CC Majority received 72.5 per cent of the votes of delegates after amendments proposed by Tendency C were accepted, and they dissolved. Tendency A received 8 per cent of votes for their counter line document and Tendency B gained 21 per cent of votes cast for their positions on the Labour Party.

The incoming Central Committee was elected to reflect the views of the organisation and again, unlike the reformist and Stalinist parties, representation of minorities on the leadership was in line with the support they received in the conference. In this way the whole organisation can go forward to test the policies decided by majority vote at the conference.

### Participation in workers' struggles

Progress made in the objectives of building the IMG's presence in industry and among youth since the last conference of the IMG was reflected in the composition of delegates attending the conference.

Of these, 65 per cent were male and 35 per cent of delegates were under 26, with 26 per cent being members of Revolution Youth; 75 per cent were union members, of whom 31 per cent were in industrial unions; 7 per cent were students and 18 per cent on training schemes or unemployed.

The role which the IMG played in promoting industrial struggles was borne out by the greetings from the Laurence Scott [Engineering] strike committee and the £2,000 collection raised after delegates had heard an account from a Longbridge steward of the fight against Michael Edwardes in British Leyland.

Delegates also pledged full support to building the conference of Revolution Youth on December 18-19 after hearing from the National Committee of the 200-strong organisation.

Throughout the conference, delegates confirmed the need for the IMG to strike out boldly in the fight to build the foundations for a mass revolutionary party in Britain. □

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