

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

combined
with **inprecor**

Vol. 20, No. 14

April 19, 1982

USA \$1.25

UK 50p

HANDS OFF ARGENTINA! IMPERIALIST TRADE EMBARGO BACKS UP BRITISH FLEET



British marines on aircraft carrier *Hermes* drill while steaming to South Atlantic.

***Speech by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop
Three Years of the Grenada Revolution***

Hands off Argentina!

By David Frankel

Negotiations over the Malvinas Islands are continuing between Britain and Argentina, but in the meantime the stage has been set for an armed confrontation.

Although the British have not yet carried out a direct military attack on Argentina — the bulk of the British fleet has not arrived in the area — in all other respects British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has moved faster and gone further than Washington did during the Iranian hostage crisis.

Argentine assets in Britain have been frozen, a trade embargo has been clamped on Argentina, and the bulk of the Royal Navy is on its way to Argentine waters.

On April 7, five days after Argentine troops landed on the Malvinas, British Defense Minister John Nott announced that beginning April 12, any Argentine ship within 200 miles of the Malvinas would be sunk. Nott reiterated his threat April 8, saying that "we will shoot first if any Argentine ship comes out. We will sink them."

Meanwhile, reinforcements and supplies are being airlifted to the islands by the Argentine military regime, which has vowed not to back down in face of British threats.

Where do the interests of the contending class forces around the world lie in this dispute?

Solid front of imperialist powers

There is not the slightest doubt about how the imperialist powers view the situation. The Argentine seizure of the Malvinas Islands has resulted in a degree of imperialist unity rarely seen in recent years. (See article on page 316.)

On April 10 the European Economic Community approved a total ban on imports from Argentina — the harshest punitive measure taken by that body in its 25-year history. Australia has also cut off trade with Argentina, and other imperialist countries are likely to follow suit.

While the U.S. government declared itself "neutral" in the conflict, that was after Washington had already voted for a UN resolution calling for the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas Islands and issued a statement of its own to the same effect.

Washington's claim of neutrality is merely a diplomatic fiction to better enable U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig to play a role in putting pressure on Argentina in negotiations. Reporting on Haig's arrival in London on April 8, *New York Times* correspondent R.W. Apple noted:

"The Secretary pleased his British hosts, who had been deeply worried that he might try to persuade them not to demand Argentine withdrawal from the Falklands as a precondition to negotiations. Almost as soon as he

stepped from his Air Force jet, however, he said he sought a solution 'in accordance with United Nations Resolution 502, which calls for a withdrawal of Argentine forces from the islands.'"

At stake for imperialists

Explaining the stance of the imperialist powers, the editors of the London *Daily Telegraph* pointed out April 7 that Thatcher's resort to force "has an inescapable application to much of the present fabric of international relations. . . . The Government's decision to despatch the naval task force in answer to Argentina's aggression can be welcomed purely as a contribution to stopping the deadly drift of inertia which has begun to grip Western nations in the face of all kinds of barbarities. It is not necessary to become resigned to lawlessness."

In other words, if Thatcher is able to get away with her attack on Argentina, she will have made it easier for every imperialist power to intervene in defense of their interests in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Another consideration for the British rulers is oil. Nobody knows for sure how much oil lies in the seabed around the Malvinas, but the potential is huge, and the British want to keep their claim on it.

Such considerations, however, are not being featured in the imperialist media. Instead, we are asked to believe that the British imperialists — who to this day maintain their colonial occupation of Northern Ireland — are acting out of such highminded motives as commitment to the principle of self-determination. Britain, we are told, is ready to go to war over the fate of 1,800 residents of the Malvinas Islands.

As Nott put it April 8, "It does not matter what we want or what the Argentinians want, but what the islanders want."

Thatcher too insisted, "It is the Falkland islanders' wishes that are paramount."

'Be heartless about it'

But the new-found concern among the British rulers about the right to self-determination is already beginning to fray. Every report on the attitude of the islanders stresses their opposition to any military action. *New York Times* correspondent Apple reported from London April 11 that "the Government was disturbed by several reports suggesting that many of the 1,800 Falklanders wanted Britain to refrain from military action or wanted to be withdrawn before any assault on the islands."

One passenger on a flight out of the Malvinas, according to Apple, "said islanders had told him to deliver this message to the British Government: 'For God's sake, cool it.'"

"The majority of the people do not want

Britain to take military action,'" he added.

Summing up the real attitude of the imperialist rulers, the April 10 issue of *The Economist*, one of Britain's most authoritative financial publications, argued:

"In the British, European and American mind there should be stronger causes now for confrontation than the little islands at stake; stronger causes — be heartless about it — than the 1,800 British lives on the islands and than the lives of the men now sailing towards them. Some of those lives may have to be lost; maybe many."

To shrink from this, *The Economist* continued, would "show that today democracies really are less able to defend their interests — even the tiny ones, never mind the bigger ones that matter more — than are authoritarian regimes. And thereby to encourage bigger losses in future than the Falklands today."

Defenders of democracy?

As is indicated in *The Economist*, the British rulers are also portraying themselves as the defenders of democratic values against what Foreign Minister Francis Pym called a "morally bankrupt" dictatorship. Britain, Pym declared, "does not appease dictators." John Silkin, a Labour Party leader, echoed Pym, calling the Argentine regime "a tinpot fascist junta."

But where is the outrage in these circles when the junta is doing its dirty work against the working class in Argentina? Where are the angry condemnations in Parliament? Where are London's condemnations of the junta's support of imperialist efforts to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua?

If the honorable members of Parliament are so concerned about democracy, why don't they bring home the British officers commanding the armed forces of the Sultan of Oman — one of the last absolute monarchs left in the world? Why don't they stop the sale of British arms to Chile? Why don't they halt their complicity with the racist regime in South Africa?

No, imperialist outrage is selective. It is meant to cover up the real issues and to divert attention from the real interests at stake. Above all, the talk about democracy and self-determination is meant to convince the British working class that it has a stake in fighting Argentina.

Nothing could be further from the truth. British workers do not have the slightest interest in defending the colonial possessions of their ruling class. The fact that the leadership of the British Labour Party has supported Thatcher's dispatch of the fleet is a betrayal of the working class.

By lining up with Thatcher's war threats, the Labour leadership strengthens the hand of the ruling class, which is seeking to increase military spending at the expense of social programs.

It is the workers who will pay the cost of sending the fleet to Argentina — both in money and in blood.

What about the interests of Argentine workers and farmers in this situation?

Argentina is a semicolonial country that has been long oppressed and exploited by British imperialism. It has claimed the Malvinas Islands ever since obtaining its independence from Spain. The dispute over the Malvinas is part of the overall struggle against imperialist domination of Argentina. It is in the interests of the Argentine working class to carry this fight through to victory.

Interests of Argentine workers

But, it could be argued, the Argentine junta is a creature of imperialism. It serves the interests of the imperialists by keeping the workers in check, and it only took action around the Malvinas in a desperate attempt to shore up its crumbling position at home. Furthermore, this same regime is cooperating with U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary campaign in Central America. In light of all this, shouldn't Argentine workers take a neutral position in the conflict with Britain?

All these points about the character of the Argentine regime and its policies are true. But the character of the regime in power is not decisive in determining on which side of the battle the interests of the Argentine people — and the peoples of all Latin America — lie.

The people of Argentina understand this quite well, and are anything but neutral in this conflict with British imperialism. This is true despite the unpopularity of the dictatorship, which has been facing growing opposition.

It is in the interests of the Argentine workers and farmers to overthrow the ruling dictatorship in the course of their struggles for social gains and democratic rights. But British imperialism is on the side of the junta in any such struggle.

It is *not* in the interests of Argentine workers and farmers for the British imperialists to strengthen their economic and military domination over Argentina. Therefore, the workers and farmers cannot be neutral — they must be for the withdrawal of the British fleet, and failing that, for its military defeat.

Road forward in Argentina

In carrying out this perspective, the workers and farmers will strengthen their position within Argentina. The military regime cannot capitulate to the imperialist demands without causing a redoubling of the political opposition that forced it to embark on the occupation of the Malvinas Islands in the first place. But successful resistance to the British would require the kind of mass mobilization and political activity that the dictatorship was installed to repress.

Particularly significant in this regard has been the stance of opposition leaders inside Argentina. Opposition and labor groups organized a huge demonstration in Buenos Aires on April 10. A joint statement by the General Confederation of Labor and the National Confederation of Labor declared that "we're going to show the world the national will to link arms against colonial aggression."

As part of their fight against the threat of

British aggression, the Argentine masses are pushing forward their right to participate in political action. If the British threat is defeated, the generals will have a harder time trying to close the door that is now being forced open.

Any strengthening of the political position of the workers and farmers in Argentina, any confrontation with imperialism and deepening of anti-imperialist mobilizations, will also make it harder for the Argentine dictatorship to collaborate with Washington in trying to crush the Central American revolutions.

On the other hand, the presence of the Royal

Navy in South American waters is a threat to all the peoples of Latin America. Thatcher, after all, is one of the few heads of state who was willing to back Washington's phony election in El Salvador. From this point of view as well, it is necessary to demand the withdrawal of the British fleet.

Whatever the intentions of the Argentine regime leading up to this crisis, the confrontation with British imperialism is what is now decisive. The workers and farmers of the entire world have a stake in defeating the British military attack and in demanding a halt to the imperialist embargo against Argentina. □

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Intercontinental Press (ISSN 0162-5594).
Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Published in New York each Monday except the first in January and the third and fourth in August. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

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Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

To Subscribe: For one-year subscription in the U.S. or Canada send \$35.00 (41.00 Canadian dollars) to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Write for rates for first class and airmail; or telephone: (212) 929-6933.

For air-speeded subscriptions to Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box K208, Haymarket 2000. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 8852, Auckland.

For airmail subscriptions to Britain, Ireland, and continental Europe send \$50 for one year; \$25 for six months. Write for subscription rates to all other countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Intercontinental Press is published by the 408 Printing and Publishing Corporation, 408 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Offices at 408 West Street, New York, N.Y.

Imperialists line up behind Thatcher

Latin American countries defend Argentine claim

By Will Reissner

In the dispute between Argentina and Britain regarding sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands, the imperialist countries of the world have lined up solidly behind the British claim. On the other hand, the countries of Latin America — whatever their views on the wisdom of Argentina's seizure of the islands, and whatever their relations with its present military regime — recognize the Argentine claim to sovereignty.

The reason for this difference is obvious, and was alluded to by Argentine Foreign Minister Nicañor Costa Méndez in the United Nations Security Council debate on Resolution 502, which demands that Argentina remove its troops from the islands. Costa Méndez described the British seizure of the Malvinas in 1833 as "one more reflection of the imperialist policy that the European countries carried out in the 19th century at the expense of America, Africa and Asia."

Imperialist arms embargo

Britain's imperialist allies in the European Economic Community (EEC) were quick to agree to the British call for a halt to arms sales to Argentina.

The French government, which itself has colonies in the Caribbean and on the South American mainland, banned military sales to Argentina. The West German government is refusing to deliver submarines and other warships being built for Argentina in West German shipyards.

The Netherlands, which still has colonies of its own in the Caribbean, has also ended military sales to Buenos Aires, as has Belgium.

Other imperialist governments are also backing the British campaign against Argentina. The Canadian government has embargoed all shipments of military supplies to Buenos Aires and closed its embassy there. Canadian Foreign Secretary Mark MacGuigan added that "it is certainly possible there could be additional steps."

The Austrian government has suspended the sale of 27 tanks to Argentina. Japan has blocked arms sales to Argentina. The Portuguese government has allowed the British fleet to use facilities in the Azores on the way to the South Atlantic.

New Zealand broke diplomatic relations with Argentina on April 4.

Reagan-style 'neutrality'

The Reagan administration has adopted a pose of neutrality in this conflict between two important allies. But its actions have clearly

supported the British position in the conflict.

The State Department immediately issued a communiqué calling for the withdrawal of Argentine troops from the Malvinas. The U.S. representative at the UN Security Council, Charles Lichtenstein, voted in favor of the British-sponsored resolution demanding Argentine withdrawal from the islands.

Lichtenstein hypocritically explained his vote by claiming that Washington, which is now embarked on the most extensive arms buildup in human history, "feels that the use of force to solve problems is deeply regrettable and will not produce a just and lasting settlement of the dispute."

The Reagan administration also agreed that the British fleet could use facilities at a U.S. military base on Ascension Island, and sent Secretary of State Alexander Haig to Buenos Aires to tell the Argentine military government why it must accede to the British demand that its troops be removed from the islands.

UN ignores 'territorial plunder'

By contrast, Panama, which is the only Latin American country with a seat on the Security Council, cast the sole vote against the Security Council resolution demanding withdrawal

of Argentine troops from the Malvinas. The Panamanian representative put forward a substitute motion urging "Britain to cease its hostile conduct, refrain from any threat or use of force, and cooperate with the Argentine Republic for the decolonization of the Malvinas Islands."

The Venezuelan government also offered strong backing to Argentina's claim. It sharply criticized the Security Council resolution for ignoring "the original cause of the problem . . . the territorial plunder committed by the occupying colonial power." The Bolivian foreign relations ministry gave unequivocal support to the Argentine action, as did the Guatemalan regime.

The Brazilian and Peruvian governments also supported Argentina's claim to the Malvinas. Peru's war minister stated that Peruvian support might extend to military aid if needed.

The Mexican government also supported the Argentine claim to the Malvinas, although it expressed disagreement with the movement of troops to the islands and called for their withdrawal.

The governments of Uruguay, Honduras, and El Salvador supported Argentine sover-

Nicaraguan statement on Malvinas dispute

[The following statement by the Nicaraguan government was published in the April 6 issue of the Managua daily *Barricada*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

In light of the delicate situation created by the dispute between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom regarding the Malvinas Islands and other adjacent islands, the Foreign Ministry released the following statement yesterday:

The Government of National Reconstruction, in keeping with its anti-imperialist and nonaligned international policy, which is opposed to all forms of colonialism and neocolonialism, feels that one of the causes of the disturbance of international peace is the maintenance of anachronistic colonial enclaves that contradict the fundamental principles underlying contemporary international law.

The Government of National Recon-

struction of Nicaragua regrets the failure of the efforts by the Republic of Argentina to peacefully resolve the colonial and illegal occupation that the United Kingdom has imposed on the mentioned territories, and it once again states that it supports the right of all peoples and nations to exercise their full and total sovereignty over the territories that legally belong to them. It repeats its backing to the government of the Argentine Republic in this dispute.

In addition, the Government of National Reconstruction, whose norm has been to seek peace through dialogue, calls on the Argentine government and the government of the United Kingdom — both of which it maintains cordial relations with — not to carry out any action that could lead to a further worsening of the present grave situation, but rather to strive to be faithful to the principles of the United Nations charter and the norms of international law in order to resolve these differences peacefully.

eignty over the islands, as did Chile, which has a long and bitter dispute with Argentina over ownership of several small islands in the Beagle Channel near the southern tip of South America.

The government of Nicaragua, which has been the victim of Argentine support to Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, acknowledged the justice of Argentina's claim to the islands (see box).

Speaking before the Organization of American States (OAS) April 8, Costa Rican Ambassador José Rafael Echeverría said, "It seems incredible, but it is true that an armed fleet is coming at maximum speed from Europe to the southern part of our continent in the spirit of war."

The Ecuadoran and Colombian representatives at the OAS meeting also expressed support for Argentina in the dispute.

In contrast to the stance of these Latin American nations, the Soviet government has carefully refrained from expressing its support to the Argentine claim on the Malvinas in the course of the present crisis. The Soviet government abstained in the Security Council vote on Resolution 502 — along with Poland, Spain, and China — and has declared itself neutral in the conflict between British imperialism and Argentina. □

Britain

World role of British imperialism at stake

Pressures on Thatcher building up in Malvinas crisis

By Alan Freeman

LONDON — In 1833, a troop of British marines stormed the Malvinas Islands in the South Atlantic, evicted the small group of Argentinian settlers, and claimed the islands for the British Empire.

A hundred and fifty years later, the biggest British invasion force since World War II set sail from Portsmouth to retake the islands in the name of "international law."

Within hours of the news of the Argentinian takeover, a wave of jingoistic hysteria swept the news media and the political scene. Parliament was reconvened on a Saturday for the first time since the ill-fated Suez invasion 25 years ago.

Politicians from all parties strove to outdo each other in demands for rolling heads. In the absence of any lynchable Argentinians, the Commons had to content itself with the ritual self-sacrifice of Lord Peter Carrington, foreign secretary and Britain's answer to Henry Kissinger.

Carrington's resignation is a good measure of the depth of the crisis. One of imperialism's most astute politicians, he was responsible for the Lancaster House settlement in Zimbabwe and remains a likely successor to Margaret Thatcher.

In 1956, when Britain launched the invasion of the Suez Canal, it brought the downfall of Tory Prime Minister Antony Eden. This time, failure would bring the whole Conservative Party government down. Prime Minister Thatcher is therefore staking everything on this military gamble.

'Defense of British citizens'?

But more than simple self-preservation is guiding the government. Basic imperialist interests are at stake. In defining these interests, the hypocrisy of Thatcher and her wolf pack has been breathtaking:

"The defense of the islanders' rights" was the initial claim. No such concern was shown for the rights of the Grenadian islanders, who had to throw out their British-backed dictator

arms in hand; or for the islanders of Diego García in the Indian Ocean, who were evacuated for U.S. military exercises.

"Defense of British citizens" was the next cry. It took the papers a week to point out that half the islanders cannot even legally enter Britain under the Tories' Nationalities Act. But defense of the poor islanders has now given way to more hardheaded calculations.

"There should be stronger causes now for confrontation than the little islands at stake," explained the influential business magazine

The Economist. "Stronger causes — be heartless about it — than the 1,800 British lives on the islands, and than the lives of the men now sailing towards them. Some of those lives may have to be lost; maybe many."

Some of these causes were tersely summed up by Lord Shackleton — who led the last government survey of the island — in the April 11 edition of the *Observer*:

"Their [the islands'] importance lies firstly in the fact that this area commands the approaches to that part of the Atlantic where there are overlapping claims by the British, Chileans, and Argentinians. The value of this area has yet to be fully measured, but exploration has indicated possible major oil reservoirs," Shackleton said.

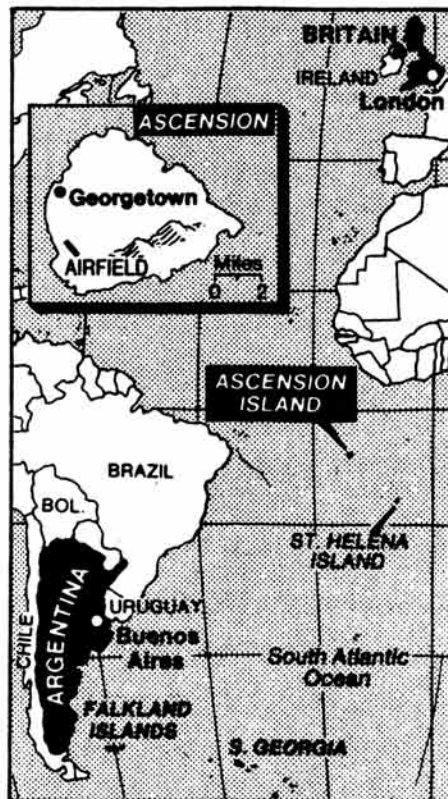
He did not mention that Shell had already made an oil strike off Tierra del Fuego, nor that the company that now owns the Malvinas, the Falkland Islands Co., was purchased one year after this find by the Coalite group, a British solid-fuels company that is eager to move into petroleum products.

Wealth of Antarctic

"There is a more directly political significance to the area," Shackleton continued. "Latitude 60 degrees delimits the territory covered by the Antarctic Treaty of 1959." The significance of the dispute, and the parallel dispute between Chile and Argentina — in which no less a personage than the Queen of England served as arbitrator — is that it bears directly on ownership of the seabed, the Antarctic, and the growing sources of exploitable wealth being identified in these regions.

Successive British governments have clearly made important diplomatic errors over the islands. In 1969, negotiations were taking place on the assumption that Britain would cede sovereignty in return for a 25-year lease. Many Tories, privately and even publicly, accept that formal British sovereignty will have to go. But no agreement was ever reached.

Once the die was cast, the international im-



U.S. air base at Ascension Island is being used as supply station for British fleet.

portance of the confrontation came to the fore. No less is now at stake than Britain's continued world role, as America's junior partner and as one of imperialism's two major world cops.

All imperialist governments lined up with Britain — more rapidly than with the USA in recent times. This, in spite of major sacrifices.

Reagan had lined up Argentina as a pillar of U.S. imperialism's rule in the southern continent and had been readying the junta for months to spearhead a possible invasion in Central America. But U.S. facilities on Ascension Island were immediately put at the disposal of the British Navy, and the United States threw its weight behind obtaining UN Security Council endorsement of British military action.

Britain's world role

Anxious to reconcile U.S. imperialism's two allies, Alexander Haig rushed to Britain, to Argentina, and back to Britain in the space of three days.

It took just 30 hours to persuade the European Economic Community to follow Britain in slapping a ban on Argentine imports, involving the tidy sum of 1 billion pounds a year [1 British pound = US\$1.78], half of which goes to West Germany.

Britain has proved its worth to America three times over in the 1980s. Britain was the only European country to send observers to the elections in El Salvador; it took part in the joint naval exercises in the Caribbean; and it still keeps the warship *Exeter* in Caribbean waters off the coast of its ex-colony Belize.

Britain is the USA's major partner in the counterrevolutionary Rapid Deployment Force, and Lord Carrington himself was a linchpin of Washington's Far Eastern diplomacy.

European backing for Britain, despite sharp conflicts highlighted in recent negotiations over agricultural policy and despite a growing trend toward European military adventures, highlights the fact that no European power wants to challenge Britain's world military role — either by supplanting it or by forcing the United States to shoulder the entire burden of world policing.

For both the U.S. and European imperialists, Britain remains a cornerstone of the defense of their world interests.

Economic weakness

But the contradiction between Britain's industrial-economic weakness and its military and financial role on a world scale has become glaring. Per capita income in Britain is now less than in East Germany, and manufactured imports exceeded manufactured exports last year for the first time ever.

Britain's balance of payments is kept up only by North Sea oil and by invisible earnings from insurance, banking, and trade. The more reliance is placed on these activities, the higher becomes the eventual political cost of the day of reckoning. This point has not been lost on the most astute politicians.



Argentines celebrate in Buenos Aires.

The shrewdest comments of the week came from Tony Benn, now the accepted leader of Labour's left wing: "There are also British interests and British citizens in Argentina. When memoirs are written, in my judgment, Lord Carrington will be shown to have resigned in part because no responsible foreign secretary could put at risk so great a set of British objectives in pursuit of the objectives the prime minister has set."

Benn and Carrington share an understanding that Britain's world role is now positively counterproductive to British imperialism. But the Tories cannot accept the political price of withdrawal from traditional empire precisely because of the weakness of the domestic economy and the strength of the British working class, which stands in the way of the kind of capitalist reorganization required to make British industry profitable once again.

Jitters on stock market

An attack of severe jitters shook the stock market the day after Carrington's resignation. Two thousand million pounds were knocked off share and equity prices, and the pound fell by two cents. Government securities were particularly hard hit: "because the government isn't secure," as one broker succinctly put it.

A sharpened sense of British weakness has produced immediate reaction. The Guatemalan government has given Reagan a further headache by reasserting its claim to Belize, and the Spanish government has suddenly stalled in negotiations over Gibraltar.

A defeat for Britain in the conflict with Argentina would open vital prospects for the world revolution. It would call into question the whole of Britain's shaky world operation.

It would bring down the Thatcher government and usher in a period of great possibilities for British working people.

It would also open up important possibilities for the Argentinian working class. Contrary to the Tories' hypocritical claim, the fleet now steaming to the South Atlantic will not hasten the Argentine junta's end. On the contrary, it has postponed the end by giving the junta an excuse for its own military adventure. If Britain were defeated or forced to retreat, the Argentinian workers could give the dictators their deserts.

Role of Labour Party leadership

The Labour Party leadership — to whom the British ruling class has often turned before in times of crisis — attempted to outdo the Tories in bellicosity. Denis Healey, leading off Labour's attack on the Tories, began by explaining that in 1977 the Labour government had averted a similar crisis by sending a fleet as soon as Argentinian belligerence began to mount. He did not mention that Labour was the Argentinian junta's chief military supplier during the four years in which Carter's human rights policy blocked sales from the United States.

Healey was followed by Michael Foote, now leader of the Labour Party, who accused the government of failing to discharge its patriotic duty because it ran down the navy to buy nuclear weapons and failed to send a bigger fleet much earlier.

However, as the initial wave of hysteria began to subside, voices began to be heard against the adventure. First to speak was Labour member of Parliament George Foulkes, who was simply howled down in Saturday's debate. A handful of backbench Labour MPs

followed, and by Monday it was clear that a split was developing in the Labour leadership around opposition led by Tony Benn to Labour's support for military action. Benn demanded that the fleet be withdrawn and the islanders given the opportunity to resettle at British expense. However, he did not recognize the crucial principle of Argentinian sovereignty over the islands.

'Socialist Challenge' plans meeting

Supporters of *Socialist Challenge*, the weekly newspaper in Britain in solidarity with the Fourth International, have taken the initia-

tive of calling a national public meeting for April 19, with the support of a number of Labour MPs such as Reg Race and Joan Maynard. The meeting will take up the fight against Thatcher's war drive.

Socialist Challenge calls for the immediate withdrawal of the British fleet and recognition of the Argentinian claim to sovereignty over the Malvinas, as well as for an end to Britain's worldwide military role. This is the only policy that can bring about genuine international unity of the working classes of the two countries.

April 12, 1982

Argentina

The role of British imperialism

A history of exploitation and plunder

By Will Reissner

When Argentine troops landed on the Malvinas Islands on April 2, they focused the world's attention on a small piece of Argentine territory that has been occupied by Britain for 149 years. Although the Malvinas were the only portion of Argentine territory over which Britain exerted direct political control, in the 19th century British capital turned all of Argentina into a *de facto* colony, a status that continued until after World War II. Even today, British imperialism has tremendous leverage in the Argentine economy.

In 1828, five years before the British seized the Malvinas, for example, they were directly responsible for breaking off what is now Uruguay from Argentina. And in 1845 British and French fleets blockaded the port of Buenos Aires to prevent the Argentine government from retaking Uruguay.

Large-scale British investment in Argentina first occurred around the building of railroads. But it skyrocketed following the 1876 introduction of the first refrigerator ship that could transport meat from Argentina to Europe without it spoiling. Prior to that, the vast herds of Argentine cattle were slaughtered only for their hides, with most of the meat left to rot.

In 1884 the first meat-packing plant was built in Buenos Aires with British capital, and by 1890 there were 278 refrigerator ships constantly shuttling between Buenos Aires and Britain.

At the turn of the century, fully 80 percent of all foreign investment in Argentina was British. British control over Argentine life had become so overwhelming that 19th century Argentine President Bartolomé Mitre called England "the principal factor in the country's political, social and economic progress."

By the 1930s British capitalists controlled about three-quarters of the railroad mileage, most urban railway transit systems, much of the crucial meat-packing industry, and had

large stakes in chemical works, tire factories, and other industries. In addition, Britain was by far the largest customer for Argentine meat and grain, and was Argentina's largest supplier of industrial imports.

In 1933 Argentina's status as a virtual British colony was formalized in the Roca-Runciman pact. Under the terms of the treaty, Argentina promised to buy guaranteed amounts of British industrial goods in return for a British agreement to buy specified amounts of Argentine beef.

The British capitalists were not shy about demanding special privileges. Around the time of the Roca-Runciman treaty, conditions on the British-owned Buenos Aires municipal transit system had deteriorated so badly that competition had arisen from small Argentine-owned bus lines. The British government intervened on behalf of the owners of the transit system, successfully forcing the Argentine

The Falkland Islands Co.

In 1851, the British government made the Malvinas Islands the virtual preserve of the Falkland Islands Co., which continues to dominate the economy of those islands to this day.

The FIC, as it is known, directly owns 43% of the 4,700 square miles of land on the islands and half the 650,000 sheep there. The company directly employs almost half the economically active population, and has a virtual monopoly over local stores, shipping, and the all-important wool industry. The FIC also functions as the banking system on the islands.

Today the FIC is a subsidiary of a much larger British conglomerate, the Coalite Group Ltd.

government to outlaw all competition in Buenos Aires.

As late as 1942, of the total \$2.5 billion in foreign investment in Argentina, 60 percent came from British capitalists. Their biggest foreign competitors, U.S. capitalists, controlled only 20 percent.

Following World War II, however, the overwhelming British control over the Argentine economy was broken. During the war, Argentina had continued to sell Britain large amounts of beef and grain, although Britain had nothing to sell in return. As a result, Argentina built up huge currency reserves in British banks during the war and the immediate postwar period.

Juan Perón, who had become president of Argentina in 1943, used these huge reserves to buy out British investments in Argentina, making himself a hero of Argentine nationalists in the process. When the Argentine government purchased the British-owned railroads in 1948, there was rejoicing throughout the country.

In the postwar period, U.S. capitalists have surpassed their British counterparts in terms of *direct* investment in Argentina. But British banks continue to play a crucial role in Argentine financial life and in financing the country's huge foreign debt.

Today Argentina's foreign debt stands at the astronomical level of \$32 billion, a figure that is not only far larger than the much-talked-about Polish foreign debt in absolute terms, but is also more than 1.5 times higher in per capita terms.

Of Argentina's total foreign debt, nearly \$6 billion is directly owed to British banks, and much of the rest was syndicated through London banks. This fact illustrates the tremendous economic leverage that British imperialism still wields over the Argentine economy.

In this connection, the Thatcher government's freeze of Argentine deposits in British banks and its veto on any further loans to Argentina could deal a crippling blow to the Argentine economy.

The development of the crisis around the Malvinas Islands demonstrates the extent to which Britain remains a major imperialist power, despite its relative economic decline since the Second World War. British finance capital continues to exercise tremendous economic weight in international financial markets. And its relative weight in Argentina is far smaller than it is in many other areas of the world, particularly in some countries of the Middle East and Africa.

In addition, the British imperialist state is one of only three that has the military power to send troops halfway around the world to defend its economic and political interests. In this sense, the dispatch of the British fleet — including nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers — to the South Atlantic is not only a warning to the Argentine government to keep its hands off "British property," but is a warning to all semicolonial countries that the British military will defend British economic interests throughout the world. □

Defending 'Western civilization'

Haig speaks on nuclear war policy

By Ernest Harsch

In an April 6 speech, Secretary of State Alexander Haig declared that the U.S. government was prepared to initiate nuclear war in order to "protect the essential values of Western civilization" and "preserve the peace."

Haig, in keeping with previous U.S. policy, explicitly rejected a Soviet proposal that both countries pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This is an idea, Haig noted, "which has received some resonance here in the West."

He also restated the Reagan administration's determination to push ahead with its nuclear arms buildup. The purpose of this, Haig claimed, is "the prevention of war" and the deterrence of "Soviet adventurism."

Millions say 'No!'

Working people in Western Europe — where many of these nuclear arms are based and where new ones are scheduled to be deployed — do not see things the same way. Since last year, several million have demonstrated in Britain, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy, Greece, Spain, and elsewhere against U.S. and NATO nuclear policies. While U.S. protest actions have not yet been as large as some of those in Europe, antinuclear sentiment is mounting in the United States as well, with a major demonstration scheduled for June 12 in New York City.

Haig's speech was partly directed against this movement. It began at the unusually early hour of 9:15 a.m. so that it could be reported by West European television that same evening and by the next day's morning newspapers.

The Haig speech was one more attempt by Washington to stiffen the European imperialists and get them to take a harder line against the massive antinuclear sentiment in their countries. The U.S. rulers are especially concerned that their NATO allies proceed with the scheduled 1983 deployment of the new Pershing II and Cruise missiles.

This is also part of Washington's broader effort to foist more of the cost of the imperialist arms buildup onto its partners. Just a week earlier, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, during a visit to Japan, urged the Japanese government to double its arms spending.

Haig's 'preemptive strike'

Haig's speech was also aimed at critics of Reagan's arms policies within the American ruling class. In particular, it was intended, according to administration sources, as a "preemptive strike" against four former high-ranking government officials who have called on Reagan to make a "no first strike" pledge:

former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, former National Security Adviser McGeorge Bundy, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union George Kennan, and former Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Director Gerard Smith.

All four had previously supported the first strike option, and McNamara and Bundy played a major role in formulating U.S. nuclear strategy in the 1960s, as well as in carrying out the war in Vietnam.

In an article scheduled to appear in the spring issue of the Washington quarterly *Foreign Affairs*, the four support the arguments for maintaining a large U.S. nuclear stockpile. But they also express concern over the political opposition that Reagan's policies are engendering, and press for some attempt to defuse the widespread antinuclear sentiment.

Haig's April 6 speech will certainly do nothing to dampen the opposition to Reagan's arms buildup. But the speech was not intended to allay popular fears in Western Europe or in the United States. It was intended to signal the White House's determination to drive ahead, despite opposition.

In the view of Reagan, Haig, and other U.S. officials, they have little choice. Just as the international capitalist economic crisis drives them to impose austerity measures on American working people, the imperialists have no other answer to the rise of the world revolution but war.

Behind Haig's smokescreen

In his speech, Haig consciously and very carefully tried to obscure this basic motivation. The framework for U.S. nuclear policy, as he outlined it, was the need to stave off an alleged "Soviet threat" against Western Europe. This is a framework that McNamara, Bundy, Kennan, and Smith share.

But it is not the specter of Soviet troops marching toward the Atlantic that the imperialists fear. (Since World War II, in fact, the real threats of military aggression in Europe have been aimed in the opposite direction, *against* the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.)

What they do fear is the prospect of new socialist revolutions — including in Europe. The thousands of nuclear missiles based there are an ever-present Sword of Damocles hanging over the heads of the European workers.

Nor is the imperialists' concern confined to Europe. In recent decades it has been expressed in particular toward the colonial revolution. And it is here that the real thrust of the imperialists' nuclear strategy is most evident.

Since the two atomic bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945,

the U.S. government has wielded its nuclear might numerous times as part of its interventions against the colonial revolutions. In the words of Daniel Ellsberg, a prominent critic of U.S. war policies, American nuclear arms have been used "in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled."

In an introduction to the book *Protest and Survive*, a collection of essays on the anti-nuclear-weapons movement edited by E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith, Ellsberg documents a dozen or so instances when Washington employed the threat of nuclear war in just this way.

Nuclear blackmail

They include public threats to use nuclear weapons in 1950 during the Korean War and in 1962 during the so-called Cuban missile crisis. But they also include a number that were made secretly at the time, and only revealed later:

- A threat by President Eisenhower to use nuclear weapons against China in 1953, in an effort to force a settlement to the Korean War more favorable to the imperialists.
- A secret offer of three tactical nuclear weapons to the French government in 1954 to relieve the besieged French troops at Dienbienphu, Vietnam.
- A directive by Eisenhower during the 1958 "Lebanon crisis" authorizing use of the bomb against Iraq to prevent an Iraqi move against the Kuwait oil fields.
- Another threat to bomb China in 1958 in the event of a Chinese attempt to liberate the island of Quemoy, held by the U.S.-backed forces of Chiang Kaishek.
- Threats during 1969-72 to use nuclear weapons against North Vietnam.
- Warnings by both the Carter and Reagan administrations that any "Soviet thrust" into Iran (that is, a socialist revolution) could risk World War III.

These were not idle threats. Any of them could have been carried out. And any could then have escalated into a major nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

This threat of nuclear annihilation is a weapon that the imperialists intend to keep. That is why the Reagan administration — like previous ones — is opposed to a "no first strike" pledge and is driving for clear nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union.

Despite this whole record of American nuclear aggression, Haig had the gall to state in his speech, "Let us remember, first and foremost, that we are trying to deter the Soviet Union, not ourselves."

But more and more people are realizing that it is precisely the U.S. imperialists and their NATO allies that must be "deterred" if humanity is to be saved from nuclear annihilation. The mass demonstrations that have been called in Europe to greet Reagan's arrival there in early June and the June 12 action in the United States will be good opportunities to mobilize this sentiment. □

No letup in military pressure

'We are prepared to do whatever is necessary'

By Michael Baumann

MANAGUA — "The state of emergency remains in full effect," Commander Humberto Ortega told a crowd of more than 3,000 here April 8.

Everyone understood why. The meeting was no ordinary gathering. It was a memorial service for 17-year-old Sandinista soldier Heriberto Laguna Gámez, who had been killed the day before when counterrevolutionaries attacked the Zacateraz border post, 300 kilometers north of here.

Ortega, who is minister of defense and head of the Sandinista armed forces, delivered the main address at the meeting.

Heriberto Laguna Gámez was not the only casualty this week. The Nicaraguan revolution remains under daily military pressure from imperialism, and a virtual state of undeclared war continues in the northern border region.

Between 4,000 and 5,000 armed counterrevolutionaries are based in 17 camps just across the Honduran border. At least 600 more are based inside the country, mostly in remote rural areas in Zelaya province to the east.

These counterrevolutionary forces, made up for the most part of former members of Somoza's National Guard, are trained, equipped, and financed by the U.S. government. They continue to carry out armed incursions, at times with the open backing of the Honduran army, which now has some 100 U.S. advisers.

One week's attacks

Attacks just this week include the following:

Thirty uniformed Honduran soldiers crossed the border near Somotillo April 4, and kidnapped 21 peasants — men, women, and children. Following protests by the Nicaraguan government, the peasants were released the next day.

On April 5, counterrevolutionaries tried to board and take over a fishing vessel in Nicaraguan waters off the Atlantic Coast. They met more resistance than they expected and all were captured.

The same day an armed band attacked the home of two militia members in central Chontales province, 140 kilometers east of here, killing both of them.

On April 6, in the same area, three peasant militiamen were killed and four were kidnapped. Three terrorists were killed in the fighting.

Just before daybreak on April 7, coordinated attacks were mounted at opposite ends of the country. To the south, the Peñas Blancas border post was shelled by mortars from the Costa Rican side. To the north, an armed group of 100 attacked the Las Pampas border post, and another attacked the Zacateraz post,

where Laguna Gámez was killed. Both groups of terrorists were driven back across the border.

On April 8, a U.S. RC-135 spy plane entered Nicaraguan airspace from Costa Rica, and conducted a spy flight up the Pacific Coast.

Escalation began in March

The latest attacks come on top of an already grave escalation of military pressure.

From March 15, the day the state of emergency was declared, to April 4, Nicaragua has been subjected to 23 armed attacks, including two in which units of the Honduran army participated; 23 violations of its air space, including four RC-135 U.S. spy flights and one attack by Honduran war planes on a coast guard vessel; and 5 violations of its territorial waters.

"Our revolutionary government was forced to decree the state of emergency," Ortega told the memorial meeting, "and with it we showed the imperialists that despite difficulties we are capable of organizing to push the revolutionary process ahead under the most trying conditions."

Referring to the decision to suspend the Easter week vacations so as to maintain both production and defense, Ortega explained:

"Imperialism is trying to prevent the people of our country from carrying out their normal activities. They are trying to create chaos, to keep us from carrying through the tasks posed by the revolution. But we have shown them we are capable of confronting a difficult situation without halting production, cultural activities, or religious services."

How long the mobilization for defense continues, he said, is not up to us but up to the U.S. government.

"So long as imperialism continues to consolidate the thousands of counterrevolutionaries based in Honduran territory, defense will remain a top priority. If these camps are shut down, in accordance with proposals for peace we have made, then the high state of readiness can be lessened.

"If the CIA halts its efforts to destabilize the revolution, the tension can be relaxed somewhat. But as long as we continue to be threatened, murdered, and have our bridges blown up, our defense will remain in high gear as well."

He added that in the meantime the Sandinista armed forces would "ask the government to consider maintaining the state of emergency."

CIA operation?

Indications of CIA complicity in recent terrorist acts were presented at a news conference here April 6, which featured a captured member of the counterrevolutionary commando

team that blew up the Río Negro bridge March 14.

The captured terrorist, Gerónimo Ramón Espinales, claimed that he had deserted minutes before the explosive charges were placed. Following his arrest, he led Sandinista authorities to the place where he had hidden his equipment. This was presented at the news conference. It included the following telltale signs of a CIA operation:

- Nearly 40 pounds of a modern plastic explosive, manufactured in the United States for military use and unavailable from traditional black market sources. (Some 400 pounds of this explosive was used to blow up the bridge.)

- Two Claymore antipersonnel mines, also made in the U.S.A.

- Two submachine guns, from Israel and Sweden, more modern and sophisticated than the weapons previously available to counterrevolutionaries operating inside Nicaragua.

Factories stay open

In light of the seriousness of the situation, there has been broad compliance with the decree suspending the week of Easter vacations. The decree was lifted Thursday afternoon, April 8, giving the entire country a three-day weekend.

All large factories in Managua were open and functioning up until that day. These are the workplaces where the unions and militia units are most strongly entrenched.

In businesses where the workforce is smaller and not as well organized, 10 to 20 percent of the employers showed their contempt for defense of the country by shutting down without permission.

That this did not represent the feeling of workers here was shown April 6, when more than 4,000 turned out for a meeting to display support for the measure.

The crowd reacted with laughter and applause when Commander Tomás Borge blasted the way capitalist opponents of the revolution tried to portray the suspension of vacations as an attack on religion. He compared them to the hypocritical Pharisees of biblical times.

Lucío Jiménez, head of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), voiced the sentiments of the crowd when he said to thunderous applause:

"We are prepared to work whatever days and hours are necessary.

"We are not interested only in time off.

"We care about our revolution.

"We are thinking about our vacations in the years to come, vacations we will get only if we defend our revolution."

The crowd chanted in reply, "We want peace more than we want vacations!" □

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'U.S. intervention has already begun'

Speech by editor of 'Barricada'

[Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of *Barricada*, the newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FLSN) in Nicaragua, was a featured speaker at a conference on social change in Latin America which took place in Toronto, Canada, at the end of March.

[On March 31, Chamorro addressed a public meeting attended by 250 people and sponsored by the Ontario Federation of Labor, the Ontario New Democratic Party (Canada's labor party), and several church and solidarity organizations. His remarks are reprinted below.]

* * *

A few days ago a continental women's conference was held in Managua. At that conference, one of our leaders spoke about the concept of solidarity. He said that we put such a high value on this aspect of our revolutionary struggle that one could say without solidarity it is difficult to talk about revolution.

We have learned through our experience that the struggle against U.S. imperialism is carried out on all fronts. Solidarity has a fundamental role to play in isolating the enemy, neutralizing other enemies, encouraging other forces, and directly supporting the struggles of the people.

The present situation in Central America poses a real challenge for people who are conscious, who are responsible, and above all, for revolutionary people.

We believe that in solidarity with the struggles of the people of Central America there must be the unification of the broadest range of forces because there are common causes which unite us, there are common points we can work on together.

'We are struggling for peace'

Within the Central American region right now we are struggling basically for peace. The people of Central America are confronting more than empty threats. The transition has already been made from rhetoric to aggression. In addition to backward oligarchies opposed to any kind of change in the region, the people of Central America are also confronted with the government of the United States.

There are people who have asked me here in Canada if we really believe there could be an intervention in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, or in Central America. We don't see intervention as a future possibility, but as a process that has already begun in Nicaragua and in El Salvador. There are destabilization plans which are actually under way in Nicaragua today.

There are acts of terrorism we have had to face. There are some 2,000 Somozaist ex-Na-

tional Guardsmen on the Honduran border who have killed 141 Nicaraguans during the past 18 months. There are other very dangerous military groups in Central America linked with the [U.S.] Southern Command in Panama.

The U.S. has officially admitted that it is spying on us from the air and from ships at sea. When Mr. Reagan has been asked whether or not he has approved a plan of aggression against Nicaragua he answers that he is not free to comment. We believe his replies are very indicative and that we cannot sit back with our arms folded.

'We have to prepare ourselves'

It is the responsibility of Nicaraguan revolutionaries to defend the future of our people. And that is why we were forced to declare a state of emergency within our country. This was not done to repress our population, but to prepare ourselves to face the aggression that is coming. That is why the Nicaraguan people are prepared to defend our territory. In an atmosphere of calm and normalcy you have Nicaraguan men, women, and children — the poor people of Nicaragua — defending the bridges, the factories, the strategic points.

We do not want war but we have to prepare ourselves. That is why Nicaragua went to the Security Council of the United Nations to warn the world about the dangers of a regional conflict, a conflict that could bring all of Central America into danger.

We were able to supply absolutely clear evidence of the actual plans that are under way to organize aggression against us. In addition, we also made peace proposals because we feel war is not what our people need. We need peace in order to rebuild our country.

That is why we proposed direct and unconditional negotiations with the United States. This is an act of responsibility and revolutionary maturity.

We have also told our neighbors that we are ready to sign military nonaggression pacts so that they don't go on saying Nicaragua is a threat to the whole region. And we have also proposed to them that we carry on joint patrols of the borders so that they don't go on saying we are sending arms to El Salvador, a country with which we do not even share a border.

All that we are asking from the United States is that it allow us to rebuild our country in peace. At the same time, we are supporting the revolutionaries who are struggling in El Salvador so that they might reach a negotiated settlement of the conflict there. Together with the Cubans and the Salvadoran revolutionaries, we have supported the peace proposals made by

the president of Mexico. We are still waiting for a serious and responsible reply to these proposals from the American government.

Building a new society

We have begun to build a new society in Nicaragua in which our people have begun to have access to education, to health care. The *campesinos* [peasants] are beginning to have access to land, the workers are organized in unions and participate in decisions about production and political questions.

Perhaps our people have not yet reached the standard of living we would like to have, but at least we feel that we are in charge of our own destiny. We feel that we are a sovereign nation. One of the best signs of this is that our whole people is ready to defend the Sandinista revolution.

There are also those who say that Nicaragua is a totalitarian country. Yet I don't see how anything could be more democratic than our own country, where you find an entire people ready to give its life to defend its revolution. In neighboring countries the rulers would not likely give arms to their people as is the case in Nicaragua.

The imperialists have made up a bunch of lies about the Sandinista revolution in order to try to prevent its example from inspiring other people. In fact, the Sandinista revolution represents an alternative, a hope for the peoples of the Third World.

This is something the imperialists don't like, so they have tried to paint us as if we are against democracy and claim that we are exporting revolution, implying that the Salvadoran revolutionaries are not capable of doing it themselves. Or as if revolutions could be exported the way you export other products. What you do export is your example and that is the power and moral authority which the Sandinista revolution has.

We are worried about the days that lie ahead. For the first time, some representatives of the American government have said a few words about dialogue and negotiations. Nevertheless, even as they utter such words they are continuing their aggressive preparations and military acts against Nicaragua.

Mobilize against intervention

We are confident that our people are ready to respond to any situation. We know perfectly well that the people of the United States, the U.S. Congress, and religious and popular forces in the United States do not want another Vietnam in Central America.

We also know that we can count on the sup-

port of the Canadian people. Yet this support has to increase significantly. It has to be organized and have clear objectives. The main focus should be against intervention.

You have a great challenge to mobilize people against intervention. You must organize so as to have some impact on the position of your government. We also count on the direct solidarity you show with the struggles in Central America.

You can be sure that the Nicaraguan people is an organized people and that we are doing everything possible to avoid a war. Because we know very well what war means. We have lived it. And we want to avoid it because we need peace in order to rebuild our country.

We are living through critical days. We hope that the solidarity work done here might also become a source of strength for us. We hope it can be united with the efforts of the people of the United States in order to build a very powerful anti-interventionist movement.

We are counting on our own strength. We have denounced internationally the aggression that is occurring. And we also believe that we can count on your solidarity.

If these three elements are not enough to stop the aggression, you may be sure that we will struggle for our sovereignty.

We ask you to become a militia of solidarity with the people of Nicaragua, a militia for peace. □

Women leaders meet in Managua

Fighters for peace and national independence

By Jane Harris

MANAGUA — Despite near-daily U.S.-inspired provocations against the Nicaraguan revolution, more than 250 women leaders from 67 countries participated in the Continental Meeting of Women for National Independence and Peace held here March 24-26. These internationalist fighters came from all over the globe — from Vietnam, El Salvador, Guatemala, Argentina, Grenada, the United States, the Soviet Union, Palestine, and others.

Charter planes brought women from Cuba and Mexico. Exiled Chilean Hortensia Bussi de Allende flew in with the Mexican delegation.

Commander Daniel Ortega, just returned from addressing the United Nations Security Council, pointed out that the presence of women from all over the world in Nicaragua was a demonstration of their courage and a contribution to holding back intervention. He explained that in light of all the recent attacks on Nicaragua, some people thought that the gathering could not take place.

To the contrary, delegates got right to work, dividing themselves into separate commissions to share information, analyze the political climate, and make proposals to the plenary session.

The commissions were led by such revolutionary fighters as Vilma Espín, president of the Federation of Cuban Women; Salvadoran guerrilla commander Ana Guadalupe Martínez; and FSLN leader Mónica Baltodano.

The participants not only repudiated U.S. intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean, but also governments that prop up White House strategy such as those in Argentina, Honduras, and Uruguay. At the same time, delegates expressed their "friendship and solidarity with women in the United States, who, together with us, denounce the foreign policy of their government, which is posing a dangerous threat to peace and to the existence of humanity."



MÓNICA BALTODANO

Baltodano touched on the important role women's organizations can play in the fight for peace and independence. She said that for Nicaraguan women, the political situation had changed fundamentally with the guarantee of freedom and democratic rights that the revolution had produced, but it had also changed through the creation of the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE).

The gathering concluded that "in this land of Sandino, as a tribute to its heroic sons and

A repeat of the Chilean coup?

The \$19 million CIA destabilization project against Nicaragua is no longer just a plan, but an operation in full force.

An unidentified U.S. government spokesman recently explained to ABC-TV the thinking behind the operation. The official stated that there is no point in trying to directly overthrow the government in Managua right now because of the support the Sandinistas have throughout the country. Instead the aim is to create disruption, increase the economic squeeze, and back the right-wing opposition.

Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of murdered Chilean president Salvador Allende and a recent visitor to Managua, pointed to the similarities between the CIA's actions in Chile 10 years ago and in Nicaragua today.

"I have been closely and attentively following the development of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua," she told *Barricada* March 30, "and I find that imperialism, through the CIA, is using tactics like the ones they used in Chile to try to destabilize the Sandinista People's revolution."

She pointed in particular to the use of rumors and scare stories, contrived shortages, and the reactionary press.

She said that after reading several issues of the Managua capitalist daily *La Prensa*, it is clear that newspaper is playing the same role that the CIA-funded daily *El Mercurio* played in Chile prior to the military coup.

She added, however, that there is one great difference between Chile and Nicaragua. "A significant fact, different from what occurred in my country, is that here the arms are in the hands of the people."

— Michael Baumann

daughters, and to its revolution of hope and promise, we proclaim our readiness to serve as internationalist fighters for peace and national independence, defenders of our national resources, and ardent fighters for the common destiny of our peoples."

The following day, the women activists made good on their promise by participating in a demonstration of more than 20,000 against U.S. intervention sponsored by the Nicaraguan Committee for Peace. The rally was led by mothers of the heroes and martyrs of the revolution, some of whom had lost their loved ones in the latest series of rightist attacks.

Several of the participants in the conference addressed the rally, including Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), who told the crowd that "Sandino and Farabundo were of the same blood and the same destiny," and that Salvadorans would "fight united until final victory." □

Euphoria wanes in Washington

Vote caused more problems than it solved

By Fred Murphy

More than 80 percent of the country's "registered voters" went to the polls to elect a constituent assembly in the midst of a civil war. "We are heartened by the fact that the elections were held," said a White House statement afterwards, "and heartened by the size of the heavy turnout as reported." The major U.S. news media pointed to the vote as "a great upwelling of democratic spirit" among the country's people.

But the rebels, who controlled large sections of the countryside, denounced the election as fraudulent. Their representatives were not allowed to participate. And of those who voted, many did so out of fear — failure to bear the properly marked identification cards afterwards could have meant their death.

This might be a description of El Salvador in March 1982, but in fact it has been taken from news accounts of another election — the one held by the brutal regime of Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky in South Vietnam in September 1966.

Staging elections to lend a democratic facade to a military dictatorship is nothing new for U.S. imperialism. But after the ploy has been milked for its propaganda value, the Washington policymakers always have to face the reality the elections were designed to cover up.

Marshal Ky's elections solved nothing. The Vietnamese people fought on, against a half-million U.S. troops and the Pentagon's genocidal bombing. With the aid of massive international solidarity, the Vietnamese finally forced the invaders out of their country and gained their liberation in April 1975.

Truth begins to come out

The Reagan administration's course in Central America points toward turning that region into what most U.S. working people fear will be "another Vietnam." The March 28 elections in El Salvador were designed to enhance the image of the local rulers and cut across the mounting anti-interventionist sentiment inside the United States and internationally.

But as the big wave of press and television propaganda subsided, a little of the truth about the elections and their aftermath began to make its way into the pages of major U.S. dailies.

"The turnout was so big," Laurie Becklund wrote from San Salvador in the April 4 *Los Angeles Times*, "that reporters joked that it was officially more than 100%." The final unofficial figures released by the government claimed 1.49 million had cast ballots, but information distributed to journalists before the vote had put the number of qualified voters — those over 18 who have government-issued identification cards — at only 1.45 million.

"But the truth is that no one knows how many potential voters there were last Sunday," Becklund continued. "Salvadoran election officials . . . now say it was more than 90% of those eligible to vote.

"Left out of the calculations, however, are the estimated 1-million-plus voters, many of them residents of rural areas where guerrillas have considerable support, who did not have identification cards and therefore were not considered eligible."

Another 300,000 or more Salvadorans were unable to vote because they have fled the country for fear of the death squads and the military.

Among those who did, a typical sentiment was expressed by a voter in Santa Tecla, who told correspondents from the New York weekly *Village Voice*, "Voting is an obligation. What would happen to me if I showed up at work and they checked my ID card and found that I didn't vote?"

Duarte loses

Washington had hoped that President José Napoleón Duarte's Christian Democrats would emerge with a big majority of the votes. The presence of these supposedly reformist elements in the regime has been essential to Washington's efforts to convince the American people that the Salvadoran government should receive military aid.

But Duarte's party wound up with only 24 seats in the new 60-member constituent assembly. The majority of seats went to two extreme-rightist parties that enjoyed financial backing from most capitalists and from the landed oligarchy, and had tacit but crucial support from a substantial section of the military officer corps.

Ex-military intelligence chief Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson's party, the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), emerged with 19 seats. Fourteen more went to the National Conciliation Party (PCN), which served as the facade for a succession of military dictatorships from 1962 to 1979.

D'Aubuisson is known as the chief of the paramilitary death squads and the organizer of the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in March 1980. During his campaign, D'Aubuisson praised the death squads as El Salvador's "anonymous heroes."

Afterwards, he called for the restoration of "liberalism" in the spirit of the country's 1886 constitution. (The latter document was adopted by a Liberal Party regime that in 1885 forcibly expropriated the lands of Indian communities to make way for a big expansion of the coffee-planting oligarchy's holdings.)

Thus Washington was presented with a twofold difficulty by the election results. On the one hand it had to try to preserve a role for the Christian Democrats in a regime dominated by those who during the campaign were calling Duarte's supporters "communists" and "traitors." On the other, it had to start painting killers like D'Aubuisson as democrats worthy of continued U.S. military and economic aid.

"We consider Mr. d'Aubuisson to be the leader of a democratic party," U.S. ambassador Deane Hinton told CBS television with a straight face the morning after the elections, "and as long as those things which are dear to American ideals are respected, we will work with any new government here."

Hinton wasted no time in applying pressure on ARENA, the PCN, and the Christian Democrats to strike a deal and form a "national unity" government. In a statement issued immediately after the elections, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) pointed out how blatant Washington's intervention had become:

"The vote count is not over, and D'Aubuisson has already spent a morning having breakfast with the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, and the same day, the leaders of the six parties had lunch with the ambassador following his invitation. The people of El Salvador ask themselves: What is the meaning of elections, if the day after elections the politicians meet in the house of the Yankee representative to split the pie? We see that there is a clear return to the times of the U.S. proconsuls."

In an April 1 editorial, the *Washington Post* openly acknowledged that this was the U.S. role: "Playing the proconsul has its downside, but at this point it would be self-defeating for the United States to stand on niceties and eschew necessary legitimate steps to strengthen the center."

'Muchachos' are getting stronger

A "political observer" quoted in the April 2 *Wall Street Journal* suggested that "a few behind-the-scenes reminders that Congress could cut off the \$250 million in aid it's promised El Salvador this year can go a long way in convincing all parties of the value of cooperation." A top-level Congressional delegation visited El Salvador April 8 to aid Hinton in applying the screws.

Two weeks after the vote the politicians were still bickering over the makeup of the new government and the extent to which the Christian Democrats' so-called reforms would be maintained. Meanwhile, the death squads had resumed their bloody work. On April 3 three young men were kidnapped and murdered in San Salvador.

As for the FMLN, it carried out some of the biggest military operations of the war in the days before and after the March 28 election.

Rebel forces held the provincial capital of Usulután for six days and overran the National Police barracks there. They surrounded San Francisco Gotera, the capital of Morazán pro-

vince, and occupied the town's military landing strip. They blocked a convoy of 31 gasoline trucks from reaching El Salvador's third-largest city, San Miguel. And they stepped up operations in the western provinces of Santa Ana and Sonsonate, where previously FMLN activity had been scant.

"The *muchachos* are getting stronger, not weaker," a priest in the Usulután village of Santa Elena told a *Washington Post* corre-

spondent. "They are everywhere now, and even people who recoiled from the idea of their armed struggle a year ago are today giving them their quiet backing."

The most telling statement of the FMLN's mounting strength came from an army captain in Suchitoto, quoted in the April 3 *Los Angeles Times*. Speaking of his beleaguered garrison, the captain lamented, "We are an island in a sea of guerrillas." □

Iran

HKE fights official abuses

Attacks widen against working-class papers

By Fred Murphy

Attacks and harassment against the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), one of three organizations in Iran affiliated to the Fourth International, have continued since the HKE's weekly newspaper *Kargar* was forced to suspend publication on March 26.

On March 29, HKE leader Bahram Ali Atai answered a subpoena from the Tehran Revolutionary Prosecutor's Office and was sent directly to Evin Prison. Another member of the HKE, Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, has been detained at Evin since March 15, when he was arrested at the office where *Kargar* is published. No charges have been brought against either Atai or Falsafi.

When the Tehran prosecutor ordered publication of *Kargar* suspended, HKE leaders were informed by telephone that the organization could no longer use its public headquarters.

Attacks of this kind have hit other political currents in the working-class movement in Iran as well. The newspapers and magazines of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, including its weekly organ *Ittihad-e Mardom*, have all been forced to halt publication. The newspapers of the two tendencies in the majority faction of the Fedayan have also been forced to stop publishing. Both of these are known as *Kar*.

The Tudeh Party publications and the HKE's *Kargar* are all licensed for legal publication by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance. The Fedayan newspapers have no such license, but their circulation had been tolerated by the authorities.

When the prosecutor's office issued its order suspending *Kargar* this was published prominently in the government's four main daily newspapers in Tehran. The suspension of the Tudeh and Fedayan publications has not been publicly reported, however.

Violations of law by officials

The attacks on the HKE were stepped up after *Kargar* published an interview with Bahram Ali Atai in its March 8 issue exposing and denouncing widespread abuses and violations

of the law by officials and guards at Evin Prison. Atai had been jailed at Evin from mid-December of last year until March 3, without charges. In the interview, Atai revealed that many of the some 6,000 prisoners at Evin were being subjected to torture, and that hundreds of secret executions had been carried out there in December and January. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 5, page 277.)

In response to the banning of its newspaper, the arrest of two of its leading members, and the overall campaign of harassment by the revolutionary prosecutor's office, the HKE has filed several lawsuits. These all point out that the attacks on the democratic rights of the HKE are in blatant violation of the Islamic Republic's constitution.

One of these suits has been filed by Bahram Ali Atai and the HKE National Committee. It calls for a halt to torture and mistreatment of prisoners, which is specifically prohibited by Article 37 of the constitution. Another suit by Mohammed Bagher Falsafi and the HKE National Committee demands an end to warrantless arrests, such as the one Falsafi suffered on February 7 when he and another HKE member were seized at *Kargar*'s print shop and held overnight at the revolutionary prosecutor's office.

A third lawsuit points out that *Kargar* is legally licensed by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance and that Article 168 of the constitution provides for public jury trials in all cases involving freedom of the press.

Divisions within regime

The HKE has also been sending delegations to various government offices to protest the attacks. The head of the General Investigations Office — which is supposed to receive and act on complaints by citizens against any government agency — told the socialists he had read their lawsuits and related materials and agreed with their concerns. He said he would investigate the situation in Evin Prison and raise the matter with the president, Hojatoleslam Ali Khamenei.

Likewise, officials of the Ministry of Islam-

ic Guidance — which is supposed to oversee the news media and rule on the legality of publications — told the HKE that the actions of the prosecutor's office were "not justified." The ministry officials acknowledged that many abuses were being committed at Evin Prison but admonished HKE leaders that *Kargar* had erred by printing information on these.

Meanwhile, the official news media have been reporting frequent statements by President Khamenei, Supreme Court head Ayatollah Mossavi Ardebili, and other top officials on the need for the revolutionary courts and the prosecutors to follow proper legal procedures — without acknowledging the serious abuses revealed by Atai in the *Kargar* interview.

The regime's representatives, including Ayatollah Khomeini himself, also continue to pledge that a broad amnesty will be granted, but give no details or specific dates for such a move.

Thus there would seem to be real disagreements inside the regime over how far to go in cracking down on leftist political groups like the HKE, the Tudeh Party, and the Fedayan. This reflects growing discontent among working people over the scope of the repression directed by the revolutionary prosecutor's office and the courts. As an HKE leader told *Intercontinental Press*, "These are the most unpopular institutions in the country."

Masses gaining confidence

The activities of the courts and the prosecutor's office were greatly expanded during the latter months of 1981 as a result of a series of counterrevolutionary terrorist attacks that took the lives of some 1,000 government officials. But most of those jailed or executed had little or nothing to do with the armed groups responsible.

The Iranian masses mobilized to denounce the terrorist attacks, but they have opposed the massive arrests and executions. They sense that these are an attack on their own rights, an attempt to foster an atmosphere of intimidation. As a result of the big victories won in late March against the Iraqi invaders, the masses are gaining fresh confidence to fight for their demands.

International solidarity from those who support the Iranian revolution and oppose the attacks on it by U.S. imperialism and its local agents can also help in defending the rights of socialists and working-class fighters in Iran. Telegrams such as the following should be sent to Hojatoleslam Mousavi Tabrizi, Prosecutor General, Islamic Revolutionary Courts, Tehran, Iran. Send copies to *Jomhuri-e-Eslami*, Tehran, Iran:

"As a supporter of the Iranian revolution and an opponent of the U.S. government's threats against it, I urge you to release the anti-shah, anti-imperialist fighters Bahram Ali Atai and Mohammed Bagher Falsafi, and to halt the illegal harassment of their organization, the Revolutionary Workers Party (HKE), and of the HKE's legal newspaper, *Kargar*." □

Socialist Workers Organization formed

First legal Trotskyist party in Black Africa

[The following editorial appeared in issue number 1 of *Combat Ouvrier* (Workers Fight), published in Dakar, Senegal. The magazine describes itself as a "bulletin of political information and opinion." The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

On the basis of an analysis of the political situation in our country and with the strategic perspective of building the revolutionary party, Senegalese revolutionary Marxists have decided to form the Socialist Workers Organization (OST).

The establishment of the first legal Trotskyist organization in Black Africa takes place in a political context marked by the "resignation" of President Léopold Senghor and his replacement by Abdou Diouf. Because of the unprecedented economic and financial crisis and the deepening social discontent, imperialism came to two conclusions regarding our country:

1. To successfully take Senegal under the wing of international capitalism's financial institutions, with the "austerity policy" that involves, there would have to be a political change made at the highest level of the Senegalese state (the replacement of Senghor by Abdou Diouf).

2. Presenting Abdou Diouf as "the man of the hour," the "savior," and so on, would rebuild the government's mass base and channel the people's discontent. It could even include agreements with the opposition around so-called "national unity" policy. A total democratic opening, as a token of the government's good faith, would make it possible to begin this process.

Fight for legality

We of *Combat Ouvrier* say:

1. We have no illusions whatsoever about the current democratic opening. We know that the government will try to end it, and even turn to bloody repression, if it feels that the degree of combativity, organization, and consciousness of the workers and their vanguard begin to threaten the government. The recent case of the PDS¹ is a good illustration of the false and diversionary character of the government's proclamations about democracy.

2. Revolutionaries do not choose to function underground. That is a situation imposed

1. More than 30 members of the Senegalese Democratic Party (PDS) were arrested in late 1981, allegedly for attacks on state security and for introducing arms into Senegal. No evidence was presented for these charges.

on them by the relationship of forces between classes. Every time the chance to function legally appears, it must be utilized. It was in this spirit that the decision was made to establish the OST.

The OST has made its request to the administrative authorities for legal recognition. It is now waiting for acknowledgment.² From now on the OST will carry on its activities above ground, with determination. Neither intimidation, nor provocations, nor the hatred of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and Stalinist forces of all stripes can shake the OST in its activity.

Too many parties?

Some people may feel that "eleven parties is already too much, and one more party will only add to the confusion and make Abdou Diouf's job easier."

Our response is that of the 11 parties with legal status on our country's political scene, none express the class interests and positions of the working class, with whom we identify.

Some of these are bourgeois parties, parties whose interests are in contradiction to and antagonistic to those of the working class.

Some of the others are petty-bourgeois parties that are incapable, by themselves, of successfully leading the struggle against imperialism and the local bourgeoisie.

Finally, there are those that claim to be Marxist and working-class parties, but are actually opportunist parties that put forward a program of collaboration with the bourgeoisie (or with certain sectors of the bourgeoisie).

For Trotskyists, a party is above all a program.

If Trotskyists set up a distinct political organization it is because they are convinced that their program, for the revolutionary conquest of power by the working class, is the only one that makes it possible to defeat imperialism. In saying this, they are not engaging in self-glorification. It is up to them to prove the correctness of their program in practice. This is the commitment they make.

A workers party

The OST did not emerge out of thin air. Its present existence is the result of years of underground activity that the Trotskyist movement carried out through the Revolutionary Workers Group (GOR).

The OST is not an organization that paternalistically issues instructions to the workers from the outside. It takes root, educates itself,

2. The OST was given legal status on February 4.

and forges itself in the working class. Its rules are the same ones that Leon Trotsky formulated a little more than 40 years ago, at the time of the founding of the Fourth International: "to face reality squarely," "to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be," and "to be bold when the hour for action arrives."

Faithful to the best traditions of the international workers movement, the OST will work to educate the Senegalese workers in the spirit and practice of proletarian internationalism. It will lend its active support to the struggles that the proletariat and its allies carry out in the three sectors of the world revolution — the anti-imperialist movement in the semicolonial and colonial countries; the antibureaucratic movement in the degenerated or deformed workers states; and the anticapitalist movement in the imperialist countries.

The OST expresses its political agreement with the struggle that the Fourth International is carrying out.

Combat Ouvrier salutes the birth of the OST. □

General strike in Bolivia

Bolivia was paralyzed by a general strike March 29 and 30. The strike was called by the underground Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) to protest recent austerity measures imposed by the military government. These included a 300 percent devaluation of the peso, resulting in huge rises in living costs for working people.

The strike was the biggest in Bolivia since the July 1980 military coup. In La Paz, the capital, those participating included factory workers, construction workers, bank employees, public-school teachers, and journalists and radio station employees.

On March 26 a demonstration of 10,000 workers took place in Cochabamba, called by the Federation of Manufacturing Workers. The marchers demanded the resignation of President Celso Torrelio and protested his economic policies. They were attacked and dispersed by police and army units and by armed paramilitary gangs. At the same time, strikes by rail and airport workers, bank employees, and retail clerks were under way to demand wage increases.

Repression in Cochabamba left six persons dead and 11 wounded. According to Bolivia's Human Rights Assembly the government had also jailed 100 trade-union and political activists throughout the country.

Three years of the Grenada revolution

Maurice Bishop's speech at anniversary rally

[The following is the speech given by Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop at the rally held in St. George's, Grenada, March 13 to mark the third anniversary of the revolution. The text has been taken from the March 20 issue of the Grenadian weekly *Free West Indian*.]

* * *

Comrades, in the name of our party, our government and our people, I want to welcome you all and to welcome all our invited and overseas guests to this historic and massive third anniversary of our People's Revolution.

Today, three years have passed since our people's will and giant determination finished with tyranny and fear forever in our country, and these last three years have brought us many transformations, many massive changes.

But seeing this huge assembly before me now, understanding how many of you have come from so many places on the earth; from up and down our Caribbean necklace of islands and right through our continent of America; from all over Europe; from Africa, the land of the fighting Angolans, Namibians and Seychelles Islanders; through Asia to the heroic, struggling nation of Korea, whose shores are washed by the Pacific Ocean; from Australia and the fighting people of the Pacific Islands; all of this great presence has rammed home an extraordinary truth.

In the old days — and now when we speak about the "old days" in Grenada we speak of just three years ago, because we have all matured that much — in the days of darkness that are gone forever, you would find Grenadians leaving their country in their thousands, emigrating by sea and by air to far-off shores to escape the deadend of Gairyism.

Our people were locked inside a mentality of visas, migration and despair. Grenada was a place to leave, a place to run from, a point of departure to the United States, to Britain and to Canada.

But our country today has become a symbol of a new reality to oppressed people. No longer are we a point of departure. Today we are a point of arrival for people from all over the world, who have come to celebrate with us our third anniversary of our glorious Revolution.

We are certainly proud of what we have achieved over these past three years, but we realise also that we are still on the threshold of the real changes that we want to see in our country. We have only taken the first steps, and we have no room in our process for complacency or premature satisfaction.

Our people, through their history, have always struggled and craved for real transformation, have organised, fought and died for real

transformation, and there is no rest for us until we have built a new life in Grenada that will fulfill all the enormous potential of our people, for our people deserve nothing less.

All of this will of course depend on how quickly we can expand our economy and build the necessary wealth to construct a new life. For we are embarking upon our Year of Economic Construction at a time when the capitalist world which surrounds us, and with whom we trade, has created for itself a whirlpool of economic devastation which is today becoming an economic crisis of world-wide proportions.

Their crisis affects us like a leech, because we are still reliant upon them for exports and imports, and historically, we have been shackled to their economies through a 400-year imposition of colonialism and a quarter-century of neo-colonialism.

Our success must, therefore, be measured in how much we can cut through the chains that

Our country today has become a symbol of a new reality to oppressed people . . .

have bound us to their system, how rapidly we can immunise our economy from their recessions, how quickly we can create our own economic self-reliance that will keep us strong, no matter what happens to the capitalist world.

For, of course, the terms of trade which are favourable to the industrialised countries are inevitably unfavourable to us — that is the great inequality upon which imperialism bases its power. They control the prices at which we sell our crops which have meant life or death for us: our bananas, our cocoa, our nutmegs. And they also control the prices of the goods we buy from them. So we are squeezed from both ends.

We are in a vice, and our only way out is real and concrete economic construction. We import their rising prices, we import their inflation, we import everything unhealthy about their economy, and it affects our economy like a cancer.

I know that when I speak to you today of these economic matters that more and more you are able to understand them. Our last two months of budget consultation have laid bare the economic truths of our country, and the new economy-consciousness that has risen so massively among our people has created a new popular understanding of our economy, the second great pillar of our Revolution.

If we take the present situation with our nutmegs, for example, we will see that 10 years ago, one ton of nutmegs could bring us enough money to buy a car. Now, for a car of the same value, we would have to sell at least five tons of nutmegs. So our nutmegs today are worth only a fifth of what they were worth five years ago. You can imagine how serious that is for our foreign exchange and our imports situation.

And if we look at nutmegs from another angle we can make an even more important point. A sister cracking nutmegs at a receiving station in Grenada receives a small wage of \$7.10* a day, and that sister would need to crack about 150 pounds of nutmegs in order to earn that \$7 for the day. Those same nutmegs are sold to a broker — a middle man — and taken off to Europe. Then they are re-sold to a miller, cleaned, blended and packaged, and put on the shelves of European supermarkets.

And when one of our sisters or brothers or aunts living in Shepherd's Bush or Brixton or Hammersmith in London goes to buy a one-ounce carton of Grenada nutmeg, the price of that one ounce of nutmegs is about 20 pence or one of our dollars. One ounce for \$1, but 150 pounds of cracking for \$7.

So, our worker here earns \$7.10 a day cracking 150 pounds of nutmegs in Victoria, Gouyave or Grenville, but our families in England and the British working people in London pay the equivalent of the same money for seven ounces of the same nutmegs. Those seven ounces represent approximately one-third of one per cent of what the Grenadian sister earns during one day at one of our receiving stations.

Or to put it another way, the real value of the nutmeg worker's labour is 300 times what she receives in a day's wage. That is what we mean by imperialism at work.

You can see, therefore, what our working people are fighting against every day of their lives, and why we in Grenada are so committed to struggling for the global implementation of the new international economic order.

But all of us know that that struggle will not be finished overnight, and that struggle will be a long and hard campaign, conducted by our comrades all over the developing world, whose peoples are oppressed and battered by the same blood-sucking system of imperialism.

What, therefore, can we do at this moment to wrestle ourselves free of such a stranglehold on our economy? Clearly, we can no longer rely upon our traditional crops alone. The fickle

*One East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$0.37.

world of capitalist trade owes loyalty to no poor and exploited country, particularly one like ours, which is struggling for its economic independence.

So, we have to find new crops, new products, new exports. We have to diversify. And this is where our people's initiative and creative genius has been, and will continue to be, so vital.

Throughout our weeks of budget participation, we have heard suggestions which our agro-scientists and researchers must take very seriously. We have heard good reasons for processing and canning new products, from Callaloo to sprats, and we have seen over the last three years how neglected fruits have been taken up by our people and cultivated to real economic value and effect.

All those mangoes that used to lie on the ground and rot, that we used to pelt at each

Our conviction became doubly reinforced that it was only mass participation and revolutionary democracy that could genuinely move us forward . . .

other when we were children, those mangoes are now in tins of nectar and jars of chutney! Some people used to think there was no potential for eggplant, but now we are exporting thousands of dollars of eggplants to Britain every year and increasing every month. And we have had a world-winner and international prize-winner in our own nutmeg jelly, which won in our first year of competition abroad. It took the Revolution to achieve all this.

For the Revolution knows that the richness of our soil is a huge asset to us, and we have as yet only just begun to realise the wealth it can bring to us. Our earth is our treasure, and if we work with it, respect it, love it and enrich it, it will repay us a thousand times over!

And as we diversify our products and look for more and more ways of making even more appetising and delicious nectars, jams and jellies and other agro-industrial products — so that when the people of the world just hear the name "Grenada," they must begin to smack their lips and their mouths must begin to water. Besides this, we need simultaneously and scientifically to search the world for the new markets for our products.

Grenada's "Spice Isle" label must be seen in shops in every continent, and we are asking our internationalist friends here to spread the good news of our tasty products. Take home samples, comrades; for we are not just the Spice Island any more, we are now also the nectar island, the island of vegetables, of fruits, of sauces, of jams.

Tell the world that, and add that our beaches, our hotels and the hospitality, friendliness and dignity of our people are always ready to receive our overseas guests.

Over the last year we have spoken much about the "social wage" and we have defined it as all those concrete benefits which you receive, but for which you don't have to find the money in your pockets to pay, or for which you pay only a small part of the real cost — those benefits of the Revolution:

- Free education,
- Free health care,
- Over 300 free university scholarships abroad,
- Our house-repair programme,
- Our new public transport system,
- Our free school books and uniforms for the poorest children,
- Our eye clinic,
- Our free milk programme,
- Our new housing schemes for our workers.

These are the benefits that go to make up our social wage.

What we have to make clear, however, is that the money to pay for all of these programmes has to come from someplace. It doesn't come from the sky, it doesn't come from a fairy godmother, it doesn't come from a money-machine, it doesn't come because Finance Minister Bernard Coard is able to wave a magic wand.

Everything has a cost, everything must be paid for. And as we don't believe in money-machines, and as we have rejected the policy of sinking in a morass of public debt, as we know our people's wages are low and that extra burdensome taxation would not be a just or satisfactory option, then what will be our source, where will we find the money to maintain and expand on these programmes?

For maintain them we must, not only for the benefit of our own workers, but because they are an inspiration and a model to the working people the length and breadth of our Caribbean! Comrades, the money we need for these programmes and benefits is inside you!

It lies inside your muscle-power and your brain-power, and more than anything else, it lies inside your consciousness and commitment to "Work Harder, Produce More and Build Grenada" — for it is only with determination and resolution, and the greater production and wealth that it will bring, that there will be a guarantee of the continuation and expansion of all the concrete gains of our social wage.

The same truth rings just as clear in relation to our infrastructural development. For even before the Revolution, our New Jewel Movement (NJM) understood how economic development could only come with infrastructural development, that to create a Revolution meant necessarily to create a new infrastructure. And that is why we have it as a number one priority, a number one must, for our people and our country. And the fulfillment of this is beginning to sprout out all around us:

- Completion of the first phase of the Eastern Main Road this year and the beginning of construction of the Western Main Road;
- Development of our Central Water Com-

mission, with a much-improved supply of water all over the nation;

- The new telephone system which we shall begin to install this year;

- The new generators we are negotiating to buy for our electricity company so as to bring an end to black-outs;

- The 67.5 miles of feeder roads that will open up our agriculture to further production this year;

- Our new radio transmitter;
- Our Ramon Quintana Quarry, stone-crusher and asphalt complex;

- The Sandino pre-fabricated concrete unit and block-making plant, which incidentally arrived on the St. George's docks this morning, as yet another gift from our internationalist friends of Cuba;

- Continuation of our international airport and the start of the terminal building in the next few months;

- Construction of warehouses for our Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB) in every parish — with vital implications for the expansion of our foreign trade and internal supplies.

- Construction of eight fish-selling centres with deep-freeze facilities and the planned dredging of the St. George's Harbour to accommodate larger ships for the advancement of tourism and trade.

This is an impressive infrastructural list to try to bring out in one year, but again, it all has a price, it all has to be paid for. Over the past three years, we have seen magnificent fraternal contributions from our international friends and comrades. Several of these countries are poor, developing countries like ourselves, but that has not affected their generosity.

It is clear that we would be much further back in our development process without this direct help of our sisters and brothers from many nations: from Cuba, from Iraq, from Algeria, from Syria, from Libya and from other countries in the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), from Korea, from Tanzania and Nigeria, from Mexico and Vene-

We understand today that the struggle for peace and the struggle for development is one and the same struggle . . .

zuela, from Canada, from Kenya, from the European Economic Community (EEC) and from the socialist countries. All of this assistance has been very, very welcome and heart-warming to our people.

These nations have reached out to us and supported us because they know that we are an honest government, a serious government, a government that will tolerate no corruption, a government that places the welfare of its people as its first overwhelming priority, a government that makes the fullest and most eco-

nomical use of every cent of assistance that our country receives.

And while we thank these countries from the depths of our hearts, on behalf of all of our people, we are quick to add that none of these countries, not one of them, has ever tried to compromise our freedom or put conditions on their assistance, none of these countries has ever tried to undermine our economic process or pervert our development for their own ends, and we thank them for that also.

So our receipt of their economic aid has taken place in a true relationship of friendship, partnership and respect for mutual dignity and sovereignty.

But we must realize that many of these countries also have their own problems and that external assistance has to be seen as only a very small part of the solution to our problems. We cannot sit back and become smug and think we can do it only through receiving external assistance. That would be a disastrous mistake.

As always we have ourselves, our own discipline, our own organisation, our own production, our own self-reliance and recognition that this country is ours and we and we alone have the duty to build it.

And this is why last Monday's historic emulation ceremony, the first of its kind that we have had, was so very crucial for the future of our country. For here were our greatest resources being publicly recognised, here was our greatest power being appreciated, here was the force and dynamo of our future being acclaimed: our incomparable working people, whose determination, commitment and collective power will add the motor to our production which will drive us victoriously out of economic dependence and towards the self-reliance and prosperity which is the rightful wage and reward of our people's struggling history.

The three years of building the foundations of our Revolution have caused us to discover much about ourselves.

March 13, 1979, was crucial for us, in that when we seized that sunrise and dawned our own new day in Grenada, we were suddenly, for the first time in our lives, staring at our true selves, looking at a reflection of who we really were, understanding with additional revolutionary insight who we could become.

We began to see more and more clearly the massive potential of our people, and as we worked together to safeguard and consolidate our victory, our people's genius was set free and began to sparkle with brilliance. For as we began, as a people, to confirm concretely that organisation was our greatest weapon, our conviction became doubly reinforced that it was only mass participation and revolutionary democracy that could genuinely move us forward. And that is why we steadfastly believe that our people constitute the first great and indispensable pillar of our Revolution.

As we lay to rest in Grenada the Westminster corpse, we recall with admiration the prophetic words, uttered over 60 years ago, by our



Kevin Williams/Free West Indian

Revolutionary government has placed great emphasis on agricultural development.

great democrat and patriot, T. Albert Marryshow, that one day a great spirit of democracy would come to "level up and level down" this Grenada of ours. How happy our T.A. would have been today to have lived to see the fulfillment of his prophesy, that democracy is "leveling up and leveling down" in our country.

And there is another reason why the old patriot's choice of words is vital for us today. Let me try to make them concrete. Perhaps not all of us here will remember Point Salines Estate before the Revolution: just bush and salt pond, with ridges and valleys like the fingers of an outstretched hand running down to the sea.

But all of us can now see what our workers and their Cuban internationalist comrades have achieved at Point Salines with their enormous collective effort, cooperation and discipline. With their own hands and machines they have made real Marryshow's dreams come true, they have levelled hills, they have filled in valleys and ponds, they have made land out of sea and created a new Point Salines, so level and smooth that most, if not all the largest aircraft in the world will soon be able to land upon it.

They have transformed our earth, they have concretely and physically levelled our land. If the power of work and collective discipline can achieve all of that in two years, it tells you how far we have moved and the unlimited possibilities for our people in the future. It tells you what our Grenadian people are capable of achieving.

Our zonal councils, our workers' parish councils, our National Women's Organisation (NWO), our National Youth Organisation (NYO), our Young Pioneers, our regenerated

trade unions of workers and farmers are all mighty achievements: real proof of the progress of our people's revolutionary democracy. They are not talkshops; they are not social clubs or garden parties.

Unless they are causing us to produce more, to build more, to organise more efficiently, to democratise more, to create more wealth for our poor and working people, then they are only ornaments, only luxuries. Their success will, in the final analysis, be measured in the inspiration and ability they give us to produce and the expertise they give us to organise.

The urge and demand for world peace is so dominant that all other issues are dependent on it. The Grenada Revolution, all other revolutions, and progressive and democratic forces on earth cannot make progress, cannot move forward, cannot develop, cannot be independent, without peace. It is as simple, as fundamental as that.

The one task that cannot be postponed, the one overriding obligation facing the Caribbean and Latin American region — indeed the challenge that confronts progressive humanity — is the struggle for peace and to safeguard mankind from destruction caused by nuclear war.

We understand today, that the struggle for peace and the struggle for development is one and the same struggle. The struggle for people's democracy and economic independence are identical; it is like the relationship with the chicken and the egg, the two things defy separation.

Just 37 years ago, the antifascist movement, led by fighting workers and peasants of many countries, defeated that most notorious mass

murderer, Adolf Hitler, and stopped him from murdering humanity and imposing on all nations a thousand years of fascist rule. But what a terrible price was paid to defeat that monster! Millions dead, all cities destroyed, all countries devastated, six years of bitter, bloody and brutal warfare.

Today, only a few minutes are needed for the world's arsenals of nuclear weapons to completely wipe from the face of this planet the totality of mankind's work.

As a revolutionary people, Grenadians are realists. We know that we have no other recourse, no other alternative but to fight this threat and resolutely mobilise ourselves in preparation to confront this threat. We are under no illusions at all that the responsibility, the real blame for the increase of international tension rests fully with Washington's attempt to seek world domination once more.

US President Ronald Reagan's policy of hostility, of economic and political aggression, of personal interference, of subversion, of counter-revolutionary propaganda, can never be grounds for the sober and constructive dialogue that the world needs at present.

Every day the arms race swallows up over \$1 billion, while every day over one billion men, women and children continue to suffer from hunger, from disease, from illiteracy and from underdevelopment. Raw materials which exist in the Third World, and especially the rare ones for which imperialism hungers — bauxite, copper, lead, zinc, nickel, manganese, uranium, oil — are now being squandered for military purposes.

Disarmament will release a quantity of these raw materials for civilian production, and this would make it possible to make the energy capacity [*sic*] of the developing countries; make it possible for science to discover new sources of energy, and for technology to be placed fully at the service of mankind.

The Grenadian people are convinced that peaceful co-existence and disarmament are the essential conditions for the development of a new system of international economic relations which guarantee the liberation of less-developed countries.

Two years ago, from this very platform, on our Revolution's first anniversary, we called

The people of Grenada and the region demand the right to be free from aggressive military harassment . . .

for the Caribbean Sea to be regarded and respected as a zone of peace. Two years later, we still hold firm to that call.

Our view remains that military task forces, air and sea patrols, and all military manoeuvres by foreign powers in our region, must be outlawed once and for all.

We believe that military bases and installations must be removed from the territories of the Latin American and Caribbean countries



Pat Kane/FP

Bishop (right) at January 21 rally commemorating victims of Gairy dictatorship.

that do not want them. The people of Grenada and the region demand the right to be free from aggressive military harassment. We demand an end to the Monroe Doctrine, the Reagan Doctrine, and all other doctrines aimed at perpetuating hegemonism, interventionism or backyardism in this region of ours.

The people of our region once again demand that their sacred right to self-determination be recognised and respected in practice. We want to see in practice that the people of this region are, in fact, allowed to build their own processes in their own way: free from all outside interference, free from all threats, free from all tic-tacks, free from all attempts to force them to build a process imposed from outside.

We are convinced that peace, independence and development are inextricably connected. Peace is an imperative pre-condition for orderly and progressive economic, social and cultural development of our people.

In addition, to be able to pursue social, economic and cultural policies which are necessary for its own peculiar developmental requirements, a country must be truly independent and not be subject to any form of outside pressure or dictation. This is an inalienable right of all peoples.

We intend to struggle unceasingly to ensure the widest possible recognition for this concept. Therefore, in the coming months and years, we will continue to raise in every appropriate forum to which we have access that our Caribbean must be recognised and respected as a zone of peace, independence and development.

Two years ago, we said from this very platform that aid with political strings or unreasonable conditions, which bring about economic

hardships on Caribbean peoples, or which consolidate and entrench the rule of the big US companies, must be condemned and avoided like a plague. Today, we are compelled to restate this view in relation to Reagan's version of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

Any casual glance at this version of the Caribbean Basin plan would show that it is very different, indeed a prostitution of the original ideas discussed by Mexico, Canada, Venezuela and the USA in the Bahamas.

It is obvious that is the reason why these other countries are now out of this particular version of the initiative. Right from the outset, these other countries took a principled view that the plan must not exclude any country on the basis of ideological or political deviation, and must not have a military component.

These countries and, in particular, Mexico and Canada, were very, very strong on these points.

Therefore, when on two separate occasions Cuba was excluded from the discussions, it was obvious that the wider plan was dying. And when Reagan's representative at the Santo Domingo meeting in October last year bluntly said that his government was not interested in any "Mini-Marshall" idea but rather in promotion of private-sector investment on a bilateral basis, the plan, as originally conceived and involving four original countries, was clearly no longer just wounded and dying, but stone-cold dead!

To get a clearer idea of the extent to which this original plan is dead, and to understand how it was prostituted by this new US plan, let us reflect on the original 13 points enunciated at the Jamaica and Dominican Republic meetings by the foreign ministers of the region.

When we examine these 13 points outlined by the foreign ministers of the region, we will discover that every single one of the points made by the people of the region has been completely violated, ignored and broken — every single one:

1. Participation in the programme should be open to all territories in the region;
2. The programme should respect the sovereignty and integrity of states, the integrity of regional institutions and their autonomous character;
3. Wherever possible, the programme should utilise regional institutions and indigenous resources and expertise;
4. The programme to be formulated should be truly reflective of national goals and priority areas for development and the criteria used in granting aid should not be based on political or military considerations;
5. The programme should respect the right of the people of each state to determine for themselves their own path of social and economic development free from all external interference or pressure;
6. There should be no diminution in resource flows either to the region as a whole or to individual member states. Rather, there should be additional flows within an agreed time-bound programme, and with a major portion being in the form of grants;
7. Ideological pluralism is an irreversible fact of international relations and should not constitute a barrier to programmes of economic co-operation;
8. Substantial flows of official development assistance (ODA) and other forms of government-to-government assistance are vi-

Reagan's bilateral aid approach is certainly designed to destroy regional unity . . .

tally necessary for essential infrastructural development and to create the conditions for investment, both foreign and regional;

9. Substantial private investment, both foreign and local, is an essential element if development is to proceed at an acceptable rate;
10. The flow of resources under the programme, whether public or private, should contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of the independence of the countries of the region;
11. The programme should be directed towards strengthening on-going regional integration and co-operation, and encouraging wider and more intensive co-operation and exchange, particularly in the industrial, financial, technical and trade areas, in order to get maximum economic and developmental benefits at minimal cost through joint efforts;
12. The programme should respect the commitments of individual member states to regional objectives and to the goals of the developing countries as a whole;

13. To maintain peace, security and stability, which are essential to the achievement of the social and economic development of the region, the principle of noninterference must be respected.

The Caribbean plan should cover an initial five-year period and be based on the principles outlined in the previous section. It must pay special attention to the balance of payments and the need to remove the foreign exchange and other constraints to development, and to provide: the infrastructural, technological, institutional, skilled and managerial capability requirements of the production and marketing processes in industry, agro-industry, agriculture, transportation, communication links and energy. And it should also assist in promoting the diversification of production in the Caribbean countries.

What is now clearer is that this plan is meant only to deal with narrow military, security and strategic considerations of the USA, and is not genuinely concerned with economic and social development of the people of this region.

Where is the proof? It is contained in Reagan's speech to the Organisation of American States (OAS) on February 24.

"The Caribbean region is a vital strategic and commercial artery for the United States. Nearly half of our trade, two-thirds of our imported oil, and over half of our imported strategic minerals pass through the Panama Canal or the Gulf of Mexico. Make no mistake: the well-being and security of our neighbors in this region are in our own vital interest."

And this sort of justification is repeated more than once in the speech.

We are not surprised, because this has always been the USA's approach, and with Reagan in power, this narrow nationalist approach will not only continue, but will become much more emphasised.

We recall John Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" plan was \$20 billion, or 57 times more money than what is now proposed for the CBI. And who can forget how dramatically that grandiose Alliance for Progress collapsed?

They speak of \$350 million, but \$350 million is equivalent to the profits of a big US company working for only three days of year-round profits.

How shameful it is to reflect that the present military manoeuvre, announced at the same time as this CBI, costs more than the whole CBI plan.

Reagan says his plan will bring stability to the region. That is only hypocritical nonsense, because what is clear is that Reagan's bilateral aid approach is certainly designed to destroy regional unity.

What is also clear is that the plan will also crush local private investors in the region, while promoting and expanding the role of big US companies. There is no doubt that it is the new strategy of colonisation.

In fact, Reagan's ridiculous emphasis on private sector investment downplays infrastructural development, and this is itself a guarantee that private investment will not come.

We observe, too, that in this so-called "Caribbean" Basin Initiative, only two Caribbean islands will benefit in any serious way, and only one of these is a Caribbean Community country. Reagan certainly managed to keep a lot of people dancing to his tune, making dozens of expensive trips and waiting with eager arms outstretched — all for nothing. His Basin plan has turned out to be the con game of this century.

The CBI plan reflects the chauvinism and Ugly Americanism of Reagan, in the vulgar way in which he has completely ignored and discarded the views of Caribbean countries, as to what kind of plan they wished to see.

The concern of his plan is with his warmongering "national security" interests.

The bulk of the CBI is nothing more than money and arms for fascist dictatorships and

A state of martial law, a state of siege, exists in El Salvador today. What kind of elections could there be in such a state? . . .

oligarchies as represented by El Salvador. And giving money to El Salvador today is like sinking money into a hole or flushing it down a toilet. Such money might as well be saved for the massive job of national reconstruction, which patriots of El Salvador in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) will have to undertake after their certain victory.

On top of this insult, indignity, charade, masquerade and pappy-show represented by the CBI, Reagan's speech to the OAS also contains vulgar attacks on Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the fighting people of El Salvador.

Reagan attacks Nicaragua, he attacks Cuba, he attacks Grenada, he attacks the ordinary working people of El Salvador, who have picked up arms to regain their country from genocidal oppression and imperialist plunder.

But he does so out of desperation, out of the recognition that the people of the region now understand very clearly that there is an alternative to fascism, to 19th century capitalism and dictatorship.

That alternative was shown in the glorious Cuban Revolution and continued with the Grenadian and Nicaraguan Revolutions. Reagan attacks our countries because he understands very well that neither his words, nor his belligerent actions and threats, will stop the heroic people of Cuba from continuing to go forward with their mighty Revolution — a beacon, a model of hope, an example of dignity and struggle for the people of the region and of the world to emulate. Reagan understands the power and the impact of the Cuban Revolution.

He attacks Nicaragua today, knowing full well that he applauded long and well when Somoza was waging terror. He attacks Nicara-

gua today, understanding very well that the children of Sandino have made massive strides in their Herculean task of national reconstruction which they so heroically shouldered. He attacks Nicaragua today, understanding very well that neither the November plan of CIA terrorism against Nicaragua, nor the economic warfare and complicity with mercenaries, will ever be able to turn back this glorious people's Revolution, or stop the ordinary poor and working people of Central America from longing to be noble Sandinista fighters themselves.

And what can we say of Reagan's hypocritical call for elections in El Salvador? The last free election in El Salvador was dozens of years ago, all other so-called elections in that

We ask you to take the truth of our Revolution back to your homeland, for the truth itself is revolutionary . . .

country have been farcical and fraudulent. And on top of that, today conditions are far from normal.

In 1932 over 30,000 Salvadoran patriots were murdered by the then-dictatorship. In the past two years, another 30,000 patriots have been murdered by Duarte's butchers with the fullest financial military and diplomatic backing from the USA. A state of martial law, a state of siege, exists in El Salvador today. What kind of elections could there be in such a state?

Today, we want to repeat once again our fullest support for the Mexican-French Declaration calling for a negotiated political solution and for the recognition of the FMLN and the FDR as authentic representative forces.

Today, we also want to repeat our fullest support for the recent statesmanlike offer of Mexican President José López Portillo to act as an intermediary in the Central American situation. We applaud President López Portillo for his statesmanship.

We applaud today, too, the speedy and statesmanlike response of Cuban President Fidel Castro and the Sandinista leadership in accepting this offer and stating their readiness to assist in ensuring a just and negotiated solution to the problems of the region.

Now we wait on Reagan for a serious response. But whether or not the Reagan administration chooses to wake up to the realities of the region; whether or not they choose to come in line with these realities, one thing is certain: the children of Jose Martí, of Camillo, of Che, of Fidel; the children of Sandino likewise, will continue to write brilliant page after brilliant page in the history of the Caribbean and Latin American region.

Equally certain is the fact that the children of Farabundo Martí will one day soon join the children of José Martí, the children of Sandino, and the children of Fedon, Butler, Marryshow, Rupert Bishop, Harold Strachan and Alister Strachan in liberating their own territory,

and starting on the road to people's power in their own countries. That is certain.

In the presence of our very good friends, outstanding revolutionary Comrade Jorge Risquet, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba; and of Comrade Carlos Nuñez, President of the Council of State and member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista front; and of our comrade representative from El Salvador, we say that the people of Grenada will always give our fullest support and solidarity, to your revolutionary processes.

Today, we also have to recognise the tremendous work and the great job of nation-building that is being undertaken by a country far away in Asia. This country has sent to our third anniversary festivities their premier, one of the top leaders in their country; a country with a brave heroic people; a country that was victorious over US imperialism in the late 1940s; a country that still continues today to be threatened by the US; a country under a brave and wise leadership. In the presence of the Premier of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and his delegation, we in Grenada pledge to continue to give our fullest support to your just struggles for re-unifying your country and making once again, one Korea, one people.

Today, we know our comrades in the DPRK are still facing threats from manoeuvres right now taking place on their soil and in their region. We want to say to them that they also have our fullest solidarity in their struggle to end those hostile manoeuvres in their fight to have all US soldiers removed from Korean soil.

Coming from almost as far away, from a chain of islands near Africa, with a brave, fighting and heroic people, who had their own revolution a few years ago, and whose President is a very good friend of Grenada, the foreign minister of Seychelles has travelled a long, long distance to be with us here today.

The Seychelles late last year faced a mercenary attack organised and financed by South Africa, with the full backing of the USA. But these brave people, on discovering those mercenaries on their land, with their AK [automatic rifle] in their hand, they drove them off. The South Africans were made to flee as puppy dogs, with their tails between their legs — well beaten.

These comrades have done what our own people in Grenada will do, if any mercenary or outside aggressive force chooses to land on our soil.

We also have here with us our friends from Southern Africa, from Namibia, a country that today continues to be denied its independence because South Africa has decided that they should not be independent. The Reagan administration in the US has been the main force pushing to ensure that the timetable and plan for independence in Namibia are made so difficult, so full of ridiculous clauses and conditions that the elections are bound to be a farce. We, therefore, expect that the people of Nami-

bia, under their authentic leadership, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), will continue to fight with arms in hand to win their freedom and their dignity. We again pledge our fullest support and solidarity with the people of Namibia.

We also pledge, on this platform today, our continuing and fullest support for our sisters and brothers in Angola, for our sisters and brothers in the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa and for all of the front-line states that are today facing daily pressure from the South African military. To all our friends in Southern Africa, who are today still fighting for national liberation or to consolidate their hard-won independence, the people of Grenada today send their warmest greetings and salutations.

And, we also recognise today the struggles of the people of Libya; the struggles of the people of Iraq, who had their nuclear reactor blown up by Israel last year; Syria and Lebanon; of the Western Sahara; and the people of Palestine, who are today continuing to struggle for their homeland. Today, we think of the vicious and wicked annexation of the Golan Heights by Israel, we think of the daily attacks on Lebanon and Syria by the Israelis. Today, we once again send our warmest and firmest handshake to all our friends in the Arab world and particularly to the people of Palestine, who must one day have their homeland returned.

Today, we support on this platform all the struggles of the peoples of the world for national liberation, for the new international economic order, for the new international information order, for peace, for prosperity, for social progress.

And, today, I also want to ask you especially to remember a very brave people who have

The masses see the party, see the state and the government as theirs . . .

hit out against local reaction and imperialism, a people who only two days ago had to fight against these forces inside their own country. We want to remember a country [Suriname] that only two days ago was subjected to yet another attack on its process, yet another counter-revolutionary attempt to roll back the new life that is being built for its people.

On the same day that fighting broke out two days ago, we publicly expressed our solidarity to the leadership and the people of that country. We never expected a response because the fighting was still continuing. Nor did we expect to receive a message of solidarity for our third Anniversary because of the difficult situation. Thus it was with great pleasure and shock that we received a message from the leader of that revolutionary process, yesterday. The message reads:

"The Government and people of Suriname, although in a situation of distress due to counter-revolutionary threats made by rightist op-

portunists in the army, want to convey to you, the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, and the people of Grenada, the deepest and sincerest congratulations for the results that you have achieved over three years of a genuine people's Revolution. The government and people of Suriname follow your development with great attention. We try to learn from you and we know that international solidarity of revolutionary countries is essential to succeed in this day and age, where international imperialist and fascist forces try to destabilise the rightful aspirations of people who fight for genuine sovereignty and development. Long live the Grenada Revolution.

"Signed: Desi Bouterse, Commander-in-Chief of the Army."

If we look at our geography books or consult our atlases, we see that our country, Grenada, is defined as an island, a separate piece of land surrounded by water. But, as I look around this huge multitude this afternoon, and see all the faces from so many parts of our Earth, I see quite clearly that while, of course, Grenada remains physically an island, Grenada is no longer really an island! No more can we ever see ourselves as separate, cut-off, a little rock in the world's great seas.

For your presence here this afternoon, comrades and friends from throughout the nations of the world, proves to us that we are an integral and individual part of the mainland of the world's people, and that the seas that surround our country can be bridged and leapt over by anyone who wishes to share our process; anyone who wants to see for themselves the freedom we are making; anyone who has the independence of mind and spirit not to be fooled by the imperialist media-monsters and press-potentates who spread their lies throughout the world about our Revolution.

To all of you who have scorned the distance between your countries and ours, and flown across land and water to reach us and be with us on this, the third anniversary of our people's grasp of power and the irreversible rupture with the brutality and buffoonery of the Gairy dictatorship — our hearts are moved that you have come to us. Our joy at your being with us, we express with our own invitation to share with us everything in our country: our advances, our problems and setbacks, our successes and our mistakes, our achievements and our plans.

We have a national consciousness of the profound need for criticism and self-criticism, and we have nothing to hide. We are justly proud of the steps we have made in three years to wrench our country out of the vortex of underdevelopment into which it was sucked, and through which it whirled in pain, agony and decay under the dictatorship. We are practically moved at the daily discoveries we are making about the huge capacity and creative genius of our people, and the energy and commitment with which they are fighting the great battle for economic construction, which we are waging in our country.

Every ounce of effort and drop of sweat

means investment for us, for our people have learned that nothing will come out unless everything is put in! But we are also continually inspired by our people's ability to pause, analyse and consider their progress, to identify their errors and weaknesses and to resolve their problems, contradictions and failures as they move in their masses along the road we are building towards a new society.

If you can help us in that process, come with your suggestions, your help and your criticisms, for the over-riding and fundamental principle in our Revolution is consultation with all of our people through their structures of democracy, their workers' parish councils, their zonal councils, their trade unions, their NWO, their NYO and their Young Pioneers. In the spirit of these organs of popular democracy, we welcome your views and your advice.

We also ask you to take the truth of our Revolution back to your homeland, for the truth itself is revolutionary and we are confident that it cannot harm us. It is in itself our comrade. It is also the enemy of our enemies and the greatest weapon we have. Our detractors and villifiers have neutron bombs and wage chemical warfare. We hold the truth of our process out towards them: our free health, our free education, our free school books and uniforms, our free milk, our national bus service, our international airport, our clinics, our fishing fleet and saltfish plant, our agro-industries, our house-repair programme, our Centres for Popular Education. These are the great truths of

the Grenada Revolution.

As we begin the fourth year of our Revolution, it is very clear that the great strength of the Revolution, first and foremost, lies in the unbreakable link between the masses and the Party; between the masses and the government; between the masses and the state.

This is what gives our Revolution an invincible force because the masses see the party, see the state and the government as theirs; not something foreign or strange, or apart or isolated from them, but living, throbbing entities that embody their aspirations, their interests and their hopes.

Over the years the leadership of this Revolution have learnt much from you, the heroic Grenadian people; over and over again you have renewed and fortified our confidence, our faith, our revolutionary enthusiasm, our resolve; every day you help to educate us, you help the Party and the leaders to develop a clearer awareness of our process, you help make us more revolutionary. And we are convinced that these fraternal relationships will expand and endure in years to come.

For together as Party, government, and people, we will continue to learn from each other, to share ideas and confidence with each other, to hide nothing from each other, and to love each other. We will continue to work harder together, produce more together and build Grenada together — a Grenada that will continue to march proudly forward into the bright sunshine of a great future. □

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Jacek Kuron speaks from prison

Polish activist's proposals for fighting martial law

[The following document is by Jacek Kuron, for many years one of the most prominent critics of the Polish bureaucracy and an influential figure in the Solidarity union movement since it was established after the August 1980 strike wave. He was interned following the declaration of martial law on Dec. 13, 1981, and this document, dated February 1982, was smuggled out of the Bialoleka internment camp near Warsaw where he is being held. It appeared in a French translation in the March 31 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. The state of our economy defies description. If one believes the authors of the coup, who maintain that they acted to save the economy, one can only say that the operation was a success but the patient died.

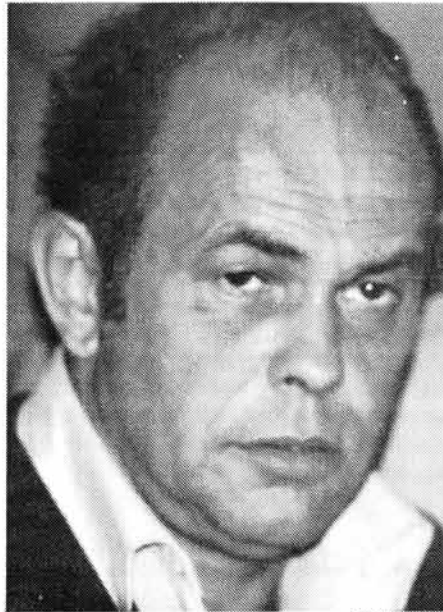
According to a report issued by the Central Statistical Office — and what could be more official — production in January 1982, the first calm month in our war, fell 13.6 percent compared to January 1981, a month with a smattering of strikes (when five free Saturdays were taken). It was down 17.5 percent compared to December 1981, the first month of the war.

Following this trend, we will fall below zero in a few months. It is easy to improve statistics. Will it also be possible to set the economy right and prevent its death agony?

To answer this question we must understand the causes of the catastrophe. Among the causes, people generally point to the demoralization of the workers, the information blackout imposed by the state of war, and the Western sanctions. These three causes are so obvious that they obscure another one, the most important.

The breakdown of our economy does not date from December 1981 or August 1980. Those who had the courage to speak out pointed to it back in 1976. After August 1980, all competent people agreed that our social and economic life was terminally ill from centralized management, which was the sole means of organizing social activity. The population had no influence on how their social and economic life unfolded or on its objectives. This is where the illness began. A reform of the economy and state was needed to radically change this state of affairs.

But, regardless of the declarations of the putschists or even their intentions, since December 13 the country has been ruled militarily. This means that all of social and economic life has been subject to orders from a central high-command. The entire active population



KURON

Ernest Harsch/JP

must carry out these orders and make reports on the situation. This is probably a good way to wage war, but it is surely the worst way to manage social life.

The causes of the terminal illness eating away at us have therefore sharpened to the point where they are now a caricature. Even if a miracle took place, even if Poles threw themselves feverishly into work and Western credits reached the heights attained during the Gierek era,¹ the fruits of that would be totally squandered, with a speed directly proportional to the degree of militarization of our life.

A classic occupation

2. Society is living through a war. Those who proclaimed the war are not trying very hard to hide the fact that they are carrying it out against society. Thanks to the extraordinary discipline of Poles, we have so far avoided large-scale bloody confrontations. Instead, we are living in a classic occupation situation, with censorship of correspondence, curfews, massive roundups, searches, arrests, military tribunals, collective responsibility, and so on. Terror, threats, and desperate appeals for calm are the only language that the regime speaks.

What does the regime get from this, and what can it get? It gets the desperation and

1. Edward Gierek ruled Poland from 1970 to 1980. His regime borrowed very heavily from Western banks and governments, building Poland's foreign debt to some \$27 billion.

hatred of everyone; the fear and submission of some; the determination and willingness to fight of others. The regime cannot count on those who are terrified. Their submission will last only as long as the terror lasts.

The resolute will fight. They will fight all the more resolutely as the repression is stepped up. The ruined economy will engender hunger and misery. This will then swell the ranks of the resolute.

The occupiers should not delude themselves: the partitions of Polish soil have never been lasting. The partitions did not destroy the social and economic fabric. The occupation does.

References made to the very first years of the postwar period are baseless. At that time the Communists took up the program of all Polish democrats, including the peasant party, and they carried it out to an extent. The country was rebuilt. The western territories were developed. That is why, notwithstanding an organized resistance, there was no state of war then. Instead there were certain, not insignificant, democratic rights.

The example of Hungary after 1956 is pernicious. That country had been purged, and the men who set themselves to reconstructing the social life there were not the ones behind the purge.

Violence calls forth violence. The least patient, the least level-headed will tend toward terror, a weapon that cuts both ways. Terror engenders terror, but the spiral of terror cannot be stopped by terror. Those who sow the wind reap the whirlwind.

A miscalculation

3. The whole Soviet bloc was deeply shaken by the Polish events. The terminal illness of which I spoke is most advanced in Poland, but it eats away at all the countries of the bloc. As the economy is modernized, the aspirations of society and its participation in the international division of labor grow. The need to arm themselves forces the countries of the socialist bloc to modernize their economy. In a sick organism, modernization requires massive investments, since efficiency is stagnating, and therefore declining. From this flows the growing dependence vis-à-vis the West and the increasingly sharp social conflicts.

We know that the war in Poland was declared under Soviet pressure. The rulers of that power have good reason to fear the Polish infection. But they have clearly miscalculated. The sanctions have limited the possibilities for cooperation with the West, without which the economy of the bloc cannot function normally since the burden of the increasingly costly armaments is now beyond its ability to bear.

The ruin of the Polish economy has removed an important link in the bloc's economic cooperation. The countries of the bloc must now aid Poland. But they are barely capable of doing so. Their peoples are obliged to bear the burden of that aid, in addition to the burden of a crisis that is getting worse in every respect. Social patience, however, has limits, which are already becoming visible.

4. Can Polish society wait out the death agony of imperialism? The Czechs remained patient until the end of the German occupation. But at that time the war was taking place, if not without their participation, at least largely outside their territory. And everyone knew what they were waiting for.

At present the war, if there is a war, is taking place in Poland, and the death agony of imperialism is still only a forecast.

No appeal can stop the young people who want to fight. If repression is effective enough to prevent them from waging other forms of battle, it will drive them into the dead end of terrorism. No appeal can dampen desperation and hatred, which are an explosive mixture.

The state of war produces misery as well as terror. A healthy society responds to violence against it, to misery imposed on it, by fighting. It can carry out the fight on different fronts. Today there is only one front. We are in Poland. History teaches us that in this country the oppressor can eventually assure itself of calm only at the price of blood and devastation carried out over an entire generation.

Even the highest authorities recognize that appeals to refrain from certain actions cannot be effective unless one can point out other ways to resolve the crisis. But the occupation has just eliminated any possibility of peaceful action. It has also just eliminated the sense of conscientious work.

As long as the occupation continues, no one has the power to guarantee peace in Poland. Only two forces can guarantee peace: the regime, by concluding a compromise with society; or society, by overthrowing the regime. In this second case, we would find ourselves face to face with Soviet military power.

The people united as never before

5. A national agreement is an absolute precondition for peace. To achieve it, everyone has to agree on at least some values and basic aims. Since August 1980 the Polish people have been united as never before. Our problems stemmed from the Soviet threat, which forced society to renounce an essential portion of its aspirations. We argued among ourselves over how much of our aspirations, and which ones, we would have to give up. We asked for a compromise with the men in Poland who represent the interests of the Soviet Union.

In the name of this compromise, the masses of Poles agreed to the leading role of these men in running the state. They only demanded to control their actions and to assure that society could genuinely participate in the making of basic decisions.

The Soviet Union's people in Poland did not

want a compromise. Rather than building, at the head of the nation, a state — however slightly democratic — they broke the economy and administration into pieces. After December 13 they finished off their work by destroying all the conditions necessary for a social compromise.

This compromise — a compromise between society and those in power — is even less possible today than it was before December 13. But if the occupation continues, it will inevitably lead the government's camp toward catastrophe. If there are conscious people in this camp, they will be asking themselves if the consequences of a move toward compromise would be as tragic for them.

This question is not unfounded. Polish society has good reason to demand a settling of accounts with the occupiers. But the clergy are for a compromise, and in Poland they have enormous authority. It would be supported by the majority of Solidarity's leadership, by scientific and cultural figures, in short, by all those whose voices count in Poland.

Even more important, a move toward compromise would offer the government's camp the social mandate it has lacked since 1956.² It would certainly be a risky initiative, but the occupation is an act of suicide.

6. A massive and well-organized resistance is the only chance for the Poles. Only such a movement can be an active partner in a compromise. Only such a movement can contain the wave of terrorism and lessen the risk of a Soviet intervention in the event that the failure to attempt a compromise provokes the inevitable social explosion.

The occupier's strength lies in its ability to disorganize society and rapidly deploy small military pacification units. In contrast to the period before August 1980, we must therefore come together around a central nucleus and display absolute discipline. We must organize an effective information network, while realizing that it could be blocked at the decisive moment. The movement's concrete objectives and methods of functioning must be known to all.

Concessions and demonstrations

7. The movement's activity, in addition to publishing, is today reduced to demonstrations, running the gamut from leaflets and slogans painted on walls to strikes of varying lengths, and including various forms of collective action. All these forms are very important in maintaining the nation's morale and putting pressure on potential supporters of a compromise inside the government's camp. An ultimate means of pressure, our last chance of compromise, would be a general strike.

But we must bear in mind that all these forms of resistance are a demonstration of national will against men who have deliberately set themselves against the nation. If we leave

2. In 1956, Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power with massive popular support because of his pledge to relax the Stalinist terror and improve economic conditions for the masses.

them there, and if the partisans of a compromise in the government's camp do not show themselves, we cannot stave off a catastrophe.

In about a dozen weeks — perhaps a little earlier, perhaps a little later — some local incident will degenerate into disturbances that will sweep the whole country. The occupation government will probably be overthrown, but at the highest cost and at a greater risk of Soviet intervention.

Therefore, the leadership of the resistance movement must prepare society both for major concessions leading to a compromise with the government, and for liquidation of the occupation through an organized demonstration of the whole population. I think that such a demonstration could take the form of a simultaneous offensive against all the centers of power and information in the whole country. Those in power must understand that they have only a very limited amount of time to take steps toward a compromise.

In preparation for the worst, we must now do everything possible to make the Soviet leadership understand that with a minimum of good will on their part, a national agreement among Poles — even without the participation of the country's current leaders — will not threaten the military interests of the Soviet Union and can only be beneficial to its economic interests.

If that is not done, the Soviet Union will end up intervening militarily.

I am not stating that an organized demonstration of our nation, together with a declaration of good will toward the Soviet Union, will guarantee our safety from this power.

I am simply stating that if the occupation continues, such a demonstration will limit the risk to a minimum.

For many years I have advocated refraining from all violence. I therefore feel obliged to speak out in order to say that, at present, preparing ourselves to counter the occupation through a collective action seems to me the lesser evil. □

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'Chronicle of my announced death'

Novelist third on murder squad's hit list

By Gabriel García Márquez

[The following appeared in the March 28 issue of *Granma Weekly Review*, published in Havana, Cuba. The title is an allusion to García Márquez's most recent novel, *Chronicle of an Announced Death*.]

* * *

In the second week of March, Colombia's most distinguished defense lawyer for political prisoners was murdered in the streets of Bogotá. Five pistol shots in the head killed him. Hours after the killing, the clandestine group MAS [Muerte a los Secuestradores — Death to Kidnappers] claimed responsibility for the crime, and released to the media a list of its next victims. Although the list was not made public in its entirety until that Saturday, it became well known that the names of three well-known people were on it. One was the journalist María Gimena Duzán, who had been in fact kidnapped a few days before and taken to the operations headquarters of M-19 [April 19 Movement] to do a feature which, though done under duress, was something no true journalist would have refused to do. Another name on the list was that of Dr. Alfredo Vázquez Carrizosa, ambassador in London after the government of Alfonso López Michelsen and now president of the Colombian Committee of Human Rights. The third known name on the list — modesty aside — was mine.

Mafia thugs — or military officers?

The group calling itself MAS, in its own published version, is supposed to have been formed to take action against kidnappings in Colombia, as its name suggests. From the first, its methods have shown a high degree of sophistication and a surprising striking power, and it has had a freedom of action difficult to explain except by assuming complicity or complacency on the part of the authorities. It was said that its members were retired militarymen financed by the drug Mafia, some of whose relatives had been the targets of kidnappings that cost them high ransoms. The Colombian authorities persisted in keeping mysteriously silent in the face of MAS's intrepid and arrogant activities, and the minister of defense, General Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva, gave no more than a curt definition of those activities to the press: just quarrels between mafiosi.

However, the murder of a jurist and threats against three persons who have never had anything to do with kidnappings nor any dealings with the Mafia puts things in their true light. MAS is a group organized to fight political ac-

tivities by illegal means, and to kill political opponents. So it seems that there may well be truth in the widespread rumor that it is made up of commandos from the military intelligence service, armed with the repressive techniques of Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. In fact it is well known by now that the death squads in those countries were composed of military officers who had chosen — either by vocation or political conviction — the sinister trade of physical extermination. Many of them, it seems, are offering their services to other countries, now that their job is finished in their own. They are gathering in Honduras to direct actions against Nicaragua. They are acting as advisers on terror and death to the government junta of El Salvador. They are even being found outside our continent, for instance in South Africa, where one of the most repressive governments in the world highly esteems their professional level of savagery. And we may note in passing that this is a good way for their countries of origin to solve the problem of what to do with them when there is no longer any use for their particular talents.

Death squads in Colombia

In Colombia, despite the government's constant assertions to the contrary, these horrific organizations are also known to exist. In July 1980 a very revealing letter circulated among the newspaper offices of Bogotá, a letter which, however, none of them published. It was handwritten by a former member of a death squad, who was a lieutenant in the army, and signed by his colleagues, two sergeants and two corporals, who said they had been members of an intelligence and counterintelligence battalion better known as the Charry Solano Battalion.

The tale told in that letter was hair-raising. It was told with such minute detail that the most imaginative novelist could not have invented it. The authors stated that in mid-1978 a group called Triple A had been formed, identical in name and function to its Argentine counterpart. There was a propaganda squad, whose sole task was to go around on a military motorcycle painting slogans on walls. "If we were caught at it," the letter said, "we could allow ourselves to be arrested without saying anything and our release would be coordinated later." Another of its subgroups, the letter claimed, was the one which was responsible for bomb attacks in that same year on three Bogotá newspapers, *Alternativa*, *El Bogotano* and *Voz Proletaria*. Although the letter did not say so, it is logical to suppose that it was also this group that placed explosives in the house

of the journalist Enrique Santos Calderón, editor of *Alternativa*, as a result of which his wife María Teresa almost died. The methods of that group, which on that occasion was unsuccessful, were similar to those MAS is using today with alarming regularity.

'We can testify at any time'

The letter gave details, with names, of those who had been responsible for the murder of Manuel Martínez Quiroz, a guerrilla leader who was "killed in a truck after all the information he possessed had been extracted under torture." Some episodes are remarkable rather for their frightful refinement: "Dr. López was given a knife to kill herself with, and when she became desperate under torture, she cut her wrists. A razor blade was passed to Augusto Sánchez, and he attempted suicide by cutting his aorta, but since the blade did not cut deep enough he could not carry out his intention. In the case of Iván Moreno Ospina, a knife was left on a chair in the passage where he was going to have breakfast and he tried to slash the veins in his arms." Elsewhere the letter stated, "We can testify on these crimes and on the methods used at any time." But as far as I know, only one newspaper published even an excerpt from the letter, even though it was addressed in the first instance to the president of the republic himself.

Well then, we have a death squad in Colombia on which our fate depends. Against the advice of many incredulous friends, I have decided to take the threat against my life with the seriousness it deserves. I have stated and repeated many times my opposition to terrorism, from whatever quarter it comes, and for whatever reason, for I consider it an unjustifiable and base form of struggle. It would be rather ironic to become a victim of it.

Killing me would be the easiest thing in the world: I have no weapon of defense except my typewriter, and at my age I'm not about to change my life just to live a few more years. The only thing I'd regret would be to fall victim to the most ham-fisted government my country has ever had in its entire history, and in a form which would not even be a political crime but a mere administrative job carried out by members of the armed forces of Colombia, whose supreme commander and highest official is the president of the republic. □

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