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Address by Dr. Cheddi Jagan at the International Conference, sponsored by the Institute of Media Analysis, Inc, on ANTICOMMUNISM AND THE US : HISTORY AND CONSEQUENCES, at Harvard University, USA, November 11 - 13, 1988.

Three decades separate the landing of troops in British Guiana (now Guyana) in 1953 and in Grenada in 1983. In the former, the soldiers were British; in the latter American. But common to both events and many others was anti-communism.

In justification of the gunboat action against the popularly-elected government which I headed, the charge was laid that we have been conspiring "to set up a Communist dominated state". The Lyttleton Doctrine (British Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Oliver Lyttleton) stipulated that "Her Majesty government would not tolerate the establishment - of communist states in the British Commonwealth".

The Reagan doctrine postulated the roll-back of the "evil empire", the USSR, the unrelenting dirty war against Nicaragua, the extermination of the "marxist virus" in Grenada and support for counter-revolutionaries in Angola, Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

Behind the Lyttleton and Reagan doctrines was the Truman Doctrine of "containment of communism". And collaborating with Truman was Winston Churchill, the British arch-imperialist, who, as Prime Minister despatched troops to British Guiana, and earlier, as Leader of the Opposition in the British House of Commons, had issued the clarion call for the breakup of the anti-Hitler coalition and the start of the Cold War. He urged a Western Alliance against socialism and revolution, which had its origins in the successful Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Then, he had called for a strangling of the "Bolshevik infant in the cradle". Later, although the Teheran Conference in November 1943 had reached agreement for a future post-war world to be built against fascism on the foundation of Anglo-Soviet-American cooperation, he was pre-occupied with a "black depression" that with the defeat of Hitler, the main task was the defeat of "the bloody Russians". This was in line with the 1942 Memorandum which began the planning of the cold war. It led to the deliberate delay during World War II of the opening of the second front in France until June 1944, no doubt based on a hope that the Germans and Russians would exhaust and destroy each other.¹

At Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946, Churchill in his "Iron Curtain" speech referred to "police governments" in Eastern Europe, warned of "Communist Fifth Columns" everywhere which were "a growing challenge and peril to civilisation", and called for joint action in bringing about through the preponderance of military power "good understanding"; namely a

showdown with the USSR, the leaders of which, he had always previously regarded "as murderers and ministers of hell".

The immediate aim was to shore up the tottering reactionary regimes of Greece and Turkey which had been threatened by the popular partisan movements. The USA took over from the British and it was in order to rationalise their indefensible support for the return of the monarchy and the unpopular Rightist government in Greece that the Truman Doctrine was outlined.²

In March 1947, almost a year after Winston Churchill's cold war speech at Fulton, Missouri, Truman redeclared the cold war. At Baylor University on March 6, he made a speech on foreign economic policy which clearly stated that governments which conducted planned economies and controlled foreign trade were dangers to freedom, that freedom of speech and worship were dependent on the free enterprise system. He pointed out that controlled economies were "not the American way" and "not the way of peace". He urged that "the whole world should adopt the American system" and that "the American system could survive in America only if it became a World system". Calling for action, he implored: "Unless we act and act decisively, it [government-controlled economy and government-controlled foreign trade] will be the pattern of the next century ... if this trend is not reversed, the Government of the United States will be under pressure, sooner or later, to use these same devices to fight for markets and for raw materials".

Requesting support from Congress for Greece, which the bankrupt British government was handing over to the United States, and Turkey, Truman attacked the Communists, "a military minority", for creating political chaos and urged that if the United States were to realise its objectives, it must be "willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes". He proposed that "it must be the policy of the U.S. to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure".

To make the American free enterprise capitalist system into a world system, a global strategy -- military, political, economic, diplomatic and psychological -- was devised.

An iron-ring of military bases was established under treaties for different regions of the world -- International Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Pact) for Latin America and the Caribbean; North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) for the North Atlantic; Baghdad Pact, later Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) for the Middle East; Anzus Pact and South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) for South-East Asia. The intention was not only to "contain communism" but also to roll-back socialism and arrest national liberation worldwide.

Direct and indirect military aggression; economic warfare and ideological warfare.

"Big stick", "gunboat diplomacy" methods are now traditional. Under the Rio Pact (1947) and the US National Security Act (1951) bilateral military treaties were signed with several Latin American and Caribbean States reducing them virtually to client-states of the USA. Such was their vassal status that US laws -- the Law of Reciprocal Aid of 1949 and the Law of Mutual Security of 1951 -- were also applicable to them.

Under this "mutual security" plan the USA, through military missions, military training and military assistance, supplanted the United Kingdom, Germany and France and controlled Latin America politically and economically.

Under the first Mutual Defense Association (MDA) Agreement between Ecuador and the USA in January 1952, Ecuador agreed "to facilitate the production and transfer ... of ... strategic materials required by the United States" and to co-operate in the blocking of trade with the socialist world, and the United States government agreed "to make available ... equipment material, services and other military assistance designed to promote the defense and maintain the peace of the Western Hemisphere"³.

In the Far East, the American capitalist ruling class, with the collaboration of dictator Syngman Rhee of South Korea, wanted to destroy socialist North Korea. And General MacArthur not only engineered the invasion of People's China, but also wanted to use the atom bomb,

In the Middle East, the Central Intelligence Agency, established in 1948 for covert and overt actions, destabilised the democratically-elected Mossadegh government of Iran in June 1953, a few months earlier to the overthrow of the PPP government in British Guiana. A year later, the popularly-elected Arbenz government of Guatemala became the victim of the CIA's covert indirect military action.

What happened in the then British Guiana, Iran, Guatemala and elsewhere were not isolated events. They coincided with the period of intense McCarthyism inside the USA. Under Senator Joseph McCarthy's red-witch-hunting Un-American Activities Committee, American patriots -- politicians, administrators, journalists, writers, actors, including the learned Black scholar Dr. W.E.B. Dubois and the famous actor/singer Paul Robeson -- were hounded and blacklisted,⁴ ^{and jailed} Dubois and Robeson were prevented from travelling abroad through the confiscation of their passports; Robeson was also prevented from earning a living by the denial of concert halls.

Twelve communist leaders were indicted in 1948 and several were imprisoned for five years, not for committing any overt illegal acts, but simply for believing and teaching the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. Under the thought-control Smith Act of 1947, they were convicted of

"conspiracy", that is, an agreement to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

In the early fifties, Julius Rosenberg and his wife were executed for war-time espionage after a very controversial trial.

Communists were debarred from holding leading positions in trade unions, and communist-led unions were expelled from the AFL-CIO. The progressive New Deal National Labor Relations Act, known as the Wagner Act, was replaced by the vicious anti-labour Taft/Hartley Act.

Behind the anti-communist hysteria, direct and indirect aggression and reactionary violence was naked self interest -- the British-owned Booker Bros. sugar monopoly and the US/Canadian bauxite monopoly in British Guiana; the British oil monopoly in Iran; the US United Fruit Company which had monopolised the land, railways and ports of Guatemala. Mohammed Mossadegh had nationalised the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company after it had refused to agree to revise an archaic oil agreement so as to bring it into line with the then 50-50 profit-sharing arrangement of Venezuela.⁴ President Col. Jacobo Arbenz had implemented a land reform which removed the stranglehold of the United Fruit Company on the Guatemalan economy and peasantry.

Under President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, brinkmanship was practised and "liberation" and preventive war contemplated. Basing his policy on "peace through strength", Eisenhower declared that the US government "with cold finality must tell the Kremlin that we shall never recognise the slightest permanence of Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia".

In 1958, the United States established its Military Forces Southern Command in the Panama Canal Zone to monitor the situation in Latin America. Also located in this zone is the Special Action Force in Latin America designed for emergency situations. This was the jumping-off base for the 1983 invasion of Grenada and the later harassment of Panama.

The Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations initiated US involvement in Vietnam. And President John F. Kennedy gave the green light for the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and CIA destabilisation of the third PPP government in British Guiana ((1961-64).

Under the Johnson (President Lyndon Johnson) doctrine, the US government, after the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, assumed the right to intervene in any Latin American country which it considered was "threatened" by communism.

In 1970, US warships entered the territorial waters of Trinidad and Tobago in support of the unpopular PNM government.

The Nixon administration, faced with the debacle in Vietnam and

the consequential radicalisation of US politics, talked in honeyed words about "negotiations not confrontation". But the objective of its main backers, the military-industrial-complex, was, by a combination of methods -- political, economic, military and ideological -- to uphold and strengthen the system of imperialist exploitation and to regain lost positions.

Under Nixon's "Vietnamisation" policy, Asians, Africans and Latin Americans were to become the instruments of their own subjugation. It is significant that President Nixon heaped lavish praise on the Brazilian dictatorship after the official visit of the Brazilian President to Washington, declaring: "As Brazil goes, so goes the rest of Latin America".

The Ford-Rockefeller-Kissinger administration continued, in violation of international law, with the policies of its predecessors. Like President Johnson, President Ford presumed to know what was good for the Caribbean and Latin American peoples. When questioned about Chile: "Under what international law do we have a right to attempt to destabilize the constitutionally-elected government of another country?" he replied: *Popular front, Salvador Allende, govt was destabilised by the CIA under the Ford administ.*

"I am not going to pass judgement on whether it is permitted or authorised under international law. It is a recognised fact that historically as well as presently, such actions are taken in the best interest of the countries involved".

But not only Marxist socialist Salvador Allende and communists (Marxists-Leninists) like Henry Winston and Angela Davis became victims of the Cold War. Also caught up in the anti-communist hysteria, "better dead than red", were nationalist Jcao Goulart of Brazil, anti-communist nationalist Mohammed Mossadegh of Iran, revolutionary-democratic Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic and social-democratic Michael Manley of Jamaica.

The late Prime Minister Manley, according to the bauxite/aluminum transnational corporations, had committed a cardinal sin of imposing in 1974 a bauxite levy which had increased revenues by nearly 600 per cent.⁵ What he felt was ultimately responsible for the CIA's destabilisation of his government in 1980 was his close friendship with President Fidel Castro and his defense of the Cuban decision to send combat troops to Angola in 1975 to repulse a South African invasion force.

ECONOMIC AGGRESSION

Apart from direct and indirect military aggression, anti-communism was always manifested in varying degrees of economic aggression: economic blockade, aid with strings, the curtailment or cut-off of credits, the denial of essential machinery and spare parts and the imposition of economic planning strategies designed to perpetuate the status of dependency. Economic aggression was, in fact, a necessary

concomitant, and sometimes a substitute for military aggression.

PK model, Alliance for Progress, 500 model, Regional Integration, usual features of
President Truman's cold-war economic policy against planned economies and controlled foreign trade and for "the American system [to become] a world system" was fostered among other measures through foreign aid: Marshall Plan for Europe and Point Four for the Third World.

Marshall Plan
Under the Marshall Plan for the so-called recovery (in fact subordination) of Europe, US aid was offered but with political strings -- the removal of left socialists and communists from the united front governments in France, Italy and Belgium, which had resulted from wartime cooperation in the underground resistance to Hitler's fascist occupation forces.

IMF Bank
The international financial institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, were subverted to serve imperialist interests and to foster in the Third World the system of dependent capitalism. Eugene R. Black, a former President of the World Bank, wrote in the COLUMBIA JOURNAL OF WORLD BUSINESS:

Our foreign aid programmes constitute a distinct benefit to American business. The three major benefits are: (1) foreign aid provides a substantial and immediate market for US goods and services; (2) Foreign aid stimulates the development of new overseas markets for US companies; (3) Foreign aid orientates national economies toward a free enterprise system in which US firms can prosper.⁶

CBI
President Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) was proposed in 1982 as an economic aid package for "those countries which are under economic siege". It is basically the economic aspect of an anti-communist, militarist strategy. Consequently, Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua were excluded. *IMF, World Bank and CBI "industrial"*

Before granting economic aid and the right to duty-free entry for 12 years for Caribbean exports (except textiles, apparel products and leather goods; sugar by special quota restrictions) the United States "will discuss with each of these countries their own measures of self-help". This means the imposition of political strings -- "create conditions under which ... private entrepreneurship and self-help can flourish", create an investment climate for foreign capital with income tax holidays, subsidised services, etc.; guarantees against expropriation; if properties are nationalised, the payment of "prompt, adequate and effective compensation"; unrestrained repatriation of profits and other assets; no limitation on the "freedom of trade".

As a result of a stipulation that the Maurice Bishop Government of Grenada should be excluded, the Caribbean Development Bank rejected a US aid offer of \$5 million (EC) for the Eastern Caribbean states.

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In the early 1950's, a policy of economic subversion was carried out. A developmentalist approach with an economic planning strategy geared to satisfy not local-national, but foreign, interests, was

advocated. The Puerto Rican model of planning for economic development, "industrialisation by invitation", popularly known as "Operation Bootstrap", was introduced to the Commonwealth Caribbean territories as a panacea for the many ills of the peoples inhabiting this area.

Later, the reformist Alliance for Progress, the ECLA model based on foreign capital and import substitution, regional integration and "equal partnership" based on joint enterprises were fostered, especially for Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Reagan administration shifted the emphasis of aid from reform and social needs to "pacification through development". Development will come about, it claimed, not by massive aid, but aid linked to trade and investment. In September, 1981 President Reagan declared at a joint World Bank-IMF meeting: "We cannot have prosperity and successful development without economic freedom". "Free people build free markets that ignite dynamic development for everyone", he told the World Affairs Council. "Investment is the life-blood of development" and improving the climate for private investment would be one of his administration's major priorities.

The US government is exerting pressure for privatisation and denationalisation of state-owned enterprises. The US government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), which insures US companies abroad against expropriation and violence, is now preparing to buy into private business itself in third world countries. OPIC President Craig A Nelson said: "A vital key to increasing our efforts, righting the (U.S.) trade deficit and creating new domestic job opportunities will be the rate at which we gain footholds in the developing countries by establishing a physical presence through direct investment".⁷

The Debt Crisis - Time Bomb -
IDEOLOGICAL WARFARE

In the battle to win men's minds, anti-communism, particularly its anti-Soviet brand, is propagated. The objective is to create confusion in the ranks of the working class, the national liberation movements and the peace forces, and to isolate Cuba and the Soviet Union which offer an alternative social order, and provide the "stick" to suppress any progressive movement against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

Brandon Grove Jr., former Deputy Asst. Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, in response to the call for change by Caribbean leaders, urged: "There is a way to have social change without adopting a Marxist model".

In its directives "How to Compile Propaganda Broadcasts" to Radio Free Europe, the CIA instructed: "Never mention facts that can harm your cause; always seek to create an impression that you know

everything, that you were really in the place about which you talk and that you have access to secret information; accuse, accuse and once more accuse -- this strategic method is the most effective type of propaganda; use the method of setting one people against another, one population group against another and, if possible, the majority against the minority ... this is very important ... Use propaganda to cause sleepless nights, suicides, desertions, discorders, mistakes, vacillations".

In the developing countries, American imperialism, under the guise of cultural and educational work and "assistance" in the establishment of national information systems, aims at strengthening the positions of Western propaganda and simultaneously at preventing the creation of truly independent information services in these countries. The programme of aid is a sort of "Marshall Plan" in the field of information -- what can be deemed information imperialism.

The CIA surpassed Goebbels. Where Hitler and Goebbels operated under the slogan of national socialism and a single party, the CIA worked in the name of freedom and democracy and corrupted right, left and centre.

"Socialists" like Norman Thomas were better fronts to carry out US State Department's anti-communism. Thomas, the then leader of the Socialist Party of the USA, admitted receiving \$1 million from the CIA which was used for the setting up of seventeen socialist parties in the Caribbean and South America to fight communism. And extremist rightwing organisations like the "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade" and the John Birch Society served to make US State Department take on the pose as moderate -- "neither extremists of the left nor of the right".

The Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, to which were closely linked the Defenders of Freedom and the United Force, admitted spending US \$45,000⁷ during the 1961 general election campaign to defeat the PPP and prevent an independent Guyana from becoming "another Cuba". The American Consulate also for the first time took their 16 mm projector and films to the street corners to show ^{anti} anti-communist and anti-Castro films.

Throughout the Caribbean "so near to the USA and so far from God", there is a steady stream of researchers and anthropologists, many of whom are CIA agents.

At labour colleges and institutes, backed by the CIA-supported American Institute of Free Labour Development (AIFLD), trade union activists and leaders are trained in "economism", to separate trade union struggle from political struggle, to concern themselves not with issues such as colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, but merely with bread and butter ones -- wages and working conditions at the work places -- while at the same time, they are indoctrinated in anti-communism. And by corrupting the trade union leadership and refusing

Political : Non-Aligned Movement - declared by John Foster Dulles and Nikita Khrushchev as "imperialist", was aligned with the superpowers.

to democratise the trade union movement, the imperialists ensure that there is no effective struggle for better wages and improved working conditions.

Guyana: direct military attack; destabilisation.

CIA AND GUYANA

In late 1961, soon after his interview with the editor of Izvestia, President Kennedy, after attacking the Communists for subversion and condemning Fidel Castro for refusal to hold elections, declared:

Rusk { "... the United States supports the idea that every people should have the right to make a free choice of the kind of government they want. Mr. Jagan who was recently elected Prime Minister in British Guiana is a Marxist, but the United State doesn't object because that choice was made by honest elections, which he won".

This was a time of great tension in the Caribbean: after the April 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and before the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. This was also the time when the anti-communist crusaders had dubbed Guyana as "a second Cuba".

Dean Rusk The impact of this propaganda was felt the following year. According to President Kennedy's special adviser, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the State Department at first thought of trying to work with the PPP, "then Rusk [Secretary of State Dean Rusk] personally reversed this policy in a stiff letter to the British in early 1962".

In his book, A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House, Schlesinger further stated that Prime Minister Burnham's visit to the White House in May 1962 left the feeling, as he reported to the President, that "an independent British Guiana under Burnham (if Burnham will commit himself to a multi-racial policy) would cause us many fewer problems than an independent British Guiana under Jagan". All this in spite of the fact that: "thus far, our policies had been based on the assumption that Forbes Burnham was, as the British described him, an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power". And the way to remove the PPP from government "would be to establish a system of proportional representation (PR)."

But PR had been rejected at a Constitutional conference in London in 1960; it had also been agreed that the party that won the 1961 elections would take the country to independence.

Syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, in an article on March 22, 1964 reported on "Kennedy's haunting worry that British Guiana would get its independence from England in July 1963, and set up another Communist government under the guidance of Fidel Castro. If this happened just before the Presidential election of 1965 and if at that time a Communist Guiana began seizing the Reynolds Metals aluminum operation and other American properties, Kennedy knew the political effect would be disastrous". Thus Kennedy's talks with Prime Minister MacMillan in the summer of 1963, and the agreement that "the British would refuse to grant

independence to Guiana because of the general strike against pro-Communist Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan."

To facilitate the British in delaying independence, an 80-days strike "was secretly inspired by a combination of US Central Intelligence Agency money and British intelligence. It gave London the excuse it wanted."

The CIA agents operating inside Guyana in the early 1960's were Gerald O'Keefe, posing as an official of the Retail Clerks Association and William McCabe, posing as a representative of the American Federation of State, Country and Municipal Employees (FSCME). O'Keefe was one of the 50 persons named in the police special branch secret report, "A Research Paper on the PNC Terrorist Organisation", which gave gory details of arson and dynamiting of government buildings. The FSCME, according to The New York Times, was "actually run by two (CIA) aides who operated out of the union's former headquarters in Washington with the knowledge of the union leadership". And CIA funds were channelled for the Guyana operation through the dummy Gotham Foundation.

The final expose on CIA-financed and fomented-strikes and riots came soon after Ramparts disclosed that the National Students Association was in the pay of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with US\$1 million per year. Neil Sheehan, in a special article to the New York Times of February 22, 1967, "CIA Is Linked to Strikes that helped Oust Jagan", documented the CIA operation in Guyana. Soon after on April 16, the Insight Team, in a story in the Sunday Times, "How the CIA got rid of Jagan", wrote: "As coups go, it was not expensive; over five years the CIA paid out something over £250,000. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly \$10 million-worth of damage to the the economy and a legacy of racial bitterness."

Guyana is a case history of how not to do it on moral, economic, international-legal and humanitarian grounds. Harold Wilson, the British Leader of the Opposition, called the imposed PR system of voting "a fiddled constitutional arrangement". It was instituted not because of its merits but simply because it was the only way to remove the PPP from government: we had won consecutive elections in 1953, 1957 and 1961 based on the American and British first-past-the-post constituency system.

Incidentally, the same American ruling class had earlier scuttled PR in New York. It had been introduced by a referendum in 1936 for New York City and state elections at the time of the progressive New Deal president F.D. Roosevelt and New York mayor Fiorello La Guardia. As a result, communist Peter V. Cachione of Brooklyn won a City Council seat and Vito Marcantonio of the American Labour Party won a Congressional seat for East Harlem. Precisely to defeat Marcantonio in 1950 and silence the most progressive voice in Congress, the Wilson-

Padula law was enacted and PR became a casualty of the Cold War.⁸

By what moral/international law was the American ruling class justified in foisting on the backs of the Guyanese people a regime headed by one who was deemed by the British "an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power"? The British should know: after their troops had destroyed the first PPP government in 1953, they had succeeded in persuading L.F.S. Burnham to split the party in 1955. Blinded by anti-communism, the American chose the self-styled democratic socialist L.F.S. Burnham as the "lesser of two evils".

The end result : corruption and decadence under what a Canadian Parliamentary Human Rights Group for Latin America and the Caribbean called "an administrative dictatorship".

In the late 1960's, a supporter of the ruling PNC government, writing in July 1967 in the Sunday Graphic under the pen-name of "Lucian" pointed out:

Many Guyanese and non-Guyanese are disgusted with the present state of affairs in this country. Some are packing up to leave out of sheer frustration, while others are dejected from unbearable disgust.

Today, the emigration trickle of two decades ago has become a flood of able-bodied, skilled, semi-skilled and white collar workers and professionals.

The corrupt society which has been created by the PNC under the system of bureaucratic-state, parasitic and co-operative capitalism, has been fully documented in the 1987 Report by the Integrity Commission. It is a serious indictment of the PNC, which has brought our nation to economic, social and now confirmed moral ruin. It fully justified the position taken by the PPP for over two decades.

The Report referred to "a get-rich-quick dyndrome" and "bribery and corruption ... which ... has reached if not, almost, epidemic proportions", and noted that a "number of public officers seem to think that public funds are there for the taking". Hitting out against racial and political discrimination, the Commission observed that "selection and promotion on merit are sacrificed on the altar of political partisanship, party loyalty, nepotism and personal friendship."

As regards sexual harassment, the Report stated: "We have formed the impression from the evidence generally that as regards sexual gratification, public office holders show particular favour to those who submit to their urge to be sexually gratified".

In its concluding remarks, it noted:

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Guyana needs a new moral vitality. A fresh flow of values must now be infused into the life-stream of society, revitalising its sinews. Indiscipline, inattention, discourtesy, all symptoms of the malaise of inertia, fraud and other corrupt, immoral and dishonest acts -- the cumulative effect of all these social ills which are so manifest in the public sector bodies, seriously hinders progress.

As to the Commissioners' observation about the need for electoral reforms and recommendation that "the government and all the political parties concerned hold urgent and constructive discussions with a view to agreeing on other provisions for further reforms to be made to the electoral laws", the government spokesmen were at pains to point out that the question of electoral reforms were outside their terms of reference.

This is ridiculous as electoral fraud in all elections since 1968 and the Referendum of 1978 is the foundation of many corrupt practices. The Commissioners, noting the inter-connection and inter-play between electoral fraud and corruption generally was duty-bound to recognise the need and call for electoral reforms. As they correctly put it, the government must set the example, the moral tone, if corruption is to be stamped out.

Corruption, nepotism, electoral fraud and lack of democracy at all levels and political and racial discrimination have taken their toll on the economy, acted as fetters on production and productivity and wrecked the lives of the people.

Already by 1973, before the "oil crisis", the economy was facing a crisis. This was averted by a windfall of over G\$500 million from a Levy on exports of sugar at astronomically-high world prices. However, the end of 1976 saw the worst crisis ever. And despite big help from the US government and infusions from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the then Vice-President in charge of Economic Planning and Finance, Desmond Hoyte, told the National Assembly: "To put it bluntly, the performance of the economy in 1981 was disastrous". And on 14 February 9 1982, the New Nation, organ of the ruling PNC, stated that the economy was "tottering on the brink of collapse".

The bankrupt situation was openly admitted by leading spokesmen of the ruling party and government. The then Vice-President and the PNC chairman Cammie Ramsaroop said that "the nation is in the red". Desmond Hoyte, in his 1982 Budget Speech, pointed out:

In consequence, many suppliers have stopped exporting goods to us other than on a cash basis; and in some countries their export insurance agencies have withdrawn cover from us. We are not deemed to be credit-worthy at this time.

The Minister of Finance stated that "the total national savings stand at zero ... Guyana has reached the stage where neither our debt

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at home nor abroad can be paid."

As an admission of failure and hopelessness, Minister of Finance Carl Greenidge in his 1984 budget statement said: "The production sector of Guyana has undergone a marked decline over the last 3 years". As a reality, he further admitted that the picture of the economy, the strategies which were being recommended and the prognoses for speedy resuscitation "all appear very daunting", and concluded by saying that he could "offer no comforting solution which will allow us to survive and prosper".

In 1985, Guyana was declared by the IMF "ineligible" for further credits -- a distinction then shared by only two other countries!

In an understatement in his 1987 budget speech, the Finance Minister said:

Economic growth since 1980 has been very sluggish. In fact, since the turn of the decade apart from the last three years, the economy has experienced negative economic growth. But, with the exception of 1984, that growth has been relatively small.

Actually, there had been a drastic decline: minus 8% in 1982; minus 10.6% in 1983; 2% in 1984; 0% in 1985, 0.3% in 1986 and 0.7% in 1987.

The calamitous situation has resulted in a per capita GDP of US\$410, the lowest of the 13 Caricom states, and among the three lowest in Latin America and the Caribbean (the other two are Bolivia and Haiti). At the time of the PPP government in the early 1960's, Guyana was bracketed with the more developed countries (MDC's) -- Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago.

Other economic indicators show a far worse situation in the "lost decade" (1975-1985), as compared with other third world countries, especially in the context of our vast natural resources. The most alarming is the huge and chronic budget deficit. On this score, the Minister of Finance, in his budget speech of 1986, told the National Assembly that most of the foreign financial institutions like the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the European Development Fund (EDF) "seem to be increasingly pre-occupied with the size of our fiscal deficit". Yet, the deficit is growing.

Two factors are mainly responsible for the financial crisis: an over-bloated military and bureaucratic apparatus, and excessive debt payments.

The huge debt has ^{become} burdensome on the backs of the people. The debt service ratio (external debt payments in relation to export income) will be nearly 30% in 1988, far too high. In 1988, the Guyana government decided to pay US\$112 million with the expectation of net external borrowing of US\$27 million.

Debt payments have led to the shortage of foreign exchange and big import cuts. The consequent shortages are affecting not only production and productivity but also livelihood. In the colonial era, a cost of living survey in 1942 in Georgetown the capital disclosed that a worker earned \$7.41 but spent \$8.23 per week. In this period of neo-colonialism, the position is worse. A family budget survey conducted by the Economic and Research Committee of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) disclosed that in 1981 the expenses of a worker's family of six were G\$654, but income was only G\$250, per month. This caused TUC General Secretary Joseph Pollydore to comment that life had become unbearable for the worker: "he was eating one meal a day and his child was going to school with bare tea in the morning". Since then the quality of life has sharply deteriorated.

In 1964, goods were plentiful, and the PPP government paid part of the prices on essential commodities as subsidies. There was also strict price control. Now, there are shortages, hardly any subsidies and practically no price controls.

Social services and social infrastructure have also deteriorated. The percentage budget allocation for this sector has declined by about half compared with 1964. Security gets a bigger allocation than health, housing, cooperatives and transport combined.

There is a marked lowering of the standards of education. Guyana takes last place in the English-speaking Caribbean in external examination results and is well on its way to becoming a nation of "functional illiterates". In the mid-1970's, a former Minister of Education had stated that three-quarters of the children coming out of primary school could not read properly. Since then the position has worsened.

Health services have declined. The disgraceful practice of "two-patients-in-one-bed" (a small bed for one person), even maternity cases, continues. And the scourge of malaria, which had been virtually eradicated by the PPP government, is alarmingly raising its ugly head.

The housing problem is acute. And rapidly deteriorating living standards and conditions of high unemployment and under-employment are leading to many anti-social tendencies. Crime has reached alarming proportions. Choke-and-rob has been superseded by armed gangs. Criminals with weapons invade homes and business places, not only committing robberies, but murdering their victims.

INTERDEPENDENCE

Guyanese journalist, the late Carl Blackman, in October 1987 noted:

... sometimes I feel that if there had been no suspension [of the Constitution in 1953] we would be a happier, prosperous nation today.

This was exactly the point I had made in California in 1974 in a conversation at the Rand Corporation, a think-tank of the US State Department. My son's graduation at the University of California had facilitated a US visa. For the previous 10 years, I was denied one although I held the official position as Leader of the Opposition!

Referring to CIA's covert acts of destabilisation in Guyana in the early 1960's, I said that that same cold war policy had led ultimately to a fiasco in Viet Nam, the radicalisation of the American people and an economic debacle -- a recession, a trade deficit, devaluation of the "almighty" (good-as-gold) dollar and non-convertibility of the dollar into gold. I showed statistics indicating a decline in production in Guyana in the 7-year (1965-72) period as compared with the 7-year (1957-64) period of the PPP government. Referring to the 30% cut on Guyana's imports in 1973-74 and generalising this to other third world countries, I asked: how does putting people like Burnham in power help to stimulate world trade and getting jobs for people in the United States? At that time of recession, American industry was operating at around 60-65% capacity.

Pointing out that as a student of history, I saw US actions in Guyana as part of a process unleashed with the cold war, and thus I had no recrimination. However, the crisis in the North, I said, would not be solved with client states like Guyana. Strange as it might sound, I pointed out, it was not politicians like Burnham but like me who should be supported in the third world. Only we have the support and confidence of the people, and without that, there can be no development. But we were not asking for support; all we wanted was a "hands off" policy.

A second encounter with the Americans was at a conference in Caracas in 1983 on the occasion of the Bicentennial of Simon Bolivar. At a session on US/Latin American relations, I posed the question: what did the United States want -- a huge and costly armament programme and abandonment of the "war on poverty" at home, coupled with domination and plunder⁹ of Latin American and Caribbean countries or a "good neighbour" policy of mutual respect, live-and-let-live and genuine interdependence? IMF prescriptions, I pointed out, had led to under-development, increased unemployment, poverty and hunger. When the people fought back, as in El Salvador, they were terrorised, tortured and killed by the dictators and their death squads, who were propped up by US bayonets and dollars. How could the US economy become viable when Latin American and Caribbean countries were forced to curtail essential imports (needed for their own development) so as to have a foreign exchange surplus for the payment of debts, which by 1982 was some 59% of foreign earnings? What was needed was a new policy for recovery of both North and the South in keeping with the Brandt Commission's thesis of interdependence and mutual development.

More recently, in February 1988, I took part in a US Congressional Consultation on the Caribbean Basin Initiative in Barbados. Not only were there generalised criticisms about the CBI; also voiced were attacks on the US administration for quota cuts of Caribbean sugar exports, and for cutbacks of US aid.

Congressman Dante D. Fascell, chairman of the US House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs, though expressing sympathy and support for the Caribbean, pleaded for realism and an appreciation also of the problems facing the United States -- a huge federal budget deficit; sustained calls for welfare; the need to protect jobs; a large number of sugar workers in his own constituency in Florida.

In my contribution, I expressed agreement with Congressman Fascell that we must take a comprehensive approach, keeping in mind both the interests of the United States and the Caribbean. I pointed out, however, that if the Consultation was restricted within the narrow confines of the CBI, then our efforts would be fruitless, and the CBI would fail like the Alliance for Progress.¹⁰ If the CBI were to succeed, first of all its cold-war underpinnings must be removed: the Reagan/Gorbachev talks had created a favourable international atmosphere for such a development.

Moreover, I pointed out, if the basic needs of the American and Caribbean peoples were to be met, and an explosion in the Caribbean, as in the late 1930's, averted, it was necessary to:

1. support the UN call for disarmament for development;
2. agree to a 12% cut in defense expenditures by the nuclear powers, with the proceeds to be used to pay the transnational banks for the cancellation of their loans to third world countries;
3. agree to hold under UN auspices a "global round" of discussions for a New International Economic Order; ~~more equitable economic relations between the North and the South;~~ ✓
4. support for democratisation worldwide.

I was pleased to see some of the ideas I expressed were later voiced by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, especially in his presentation of a budget for the USA. In the primaries, he proposed increased welfare at the expense of the defense budget. No doubt, that was why he was also attracting white voters. His advocacy was universal and his message, directed to the poor, unemployed and homeless, crossed racial barriers.

This lesson has be to be learnt the hard way : if there is to be world recovery, the Burnham/Hoytes, the Pinochets and the Gairys/Blaizes installed and propped up by an anti-communist coalition cannot help to bring it about.

Guyana was once regarded as the greatest asset and hope for

the Commonwealth Caribbean territories. But this potential has not been fulfilled. In 1975, University Lecturer, Dr. John Dukhia, in a Report, presented to the 10th West Indies Agricultural Economic Conference, pointed out that Guyana had the lowest consumption of meat per person in the developed Caricom countries. "This" he commented, "is rather paradoxical since it is generally argued that Guyana has the potential of being the food basket of the Caribbean".

Today, instead of being the food basket, Guyana is regarded as a basket case; it is a liability to its Caricom partners. It is highly indebted to Trinidad and Barbados. Its indebtedness caused the collapse of the Caribbean Multilateral Clearing Facility.

The prospects under the ruling People's National Congress are bleak. The TUC Economic and Research Committee in its 1986 Report noted that "it is difficult to foresee any significant improvement in Guyana's economy."

It is only the Maurice Bishops, the Salvador Allendes and the Fidel Castros and others, supported by the people, who can increase production and stimulate world trade. This is realism.

Jingoism, anti-communist hysteria and cold war confrontation and intervention must give way to respect for national independence and self-determination, detente, peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition. Otherwise, we will all burn. As Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher rightly said at the time of the Grenada invasion: if the United States decided to take over every country where "Communism ruled", it would lead to "really terrible wars in the world".

The cold war must be ended not only between West and East, the USA and USSR, but also between North and South, the developed capitalist states and the underdeveloped third world countries. We must return to the period of detente, peaceful coexistence and competition in the wake of the Viet Nam fiasco in the latter half of the 1970's.

In 1976, at Notre Dame University, the newly-elected President Jimmy Carter declared that the United States was no longer driven by its "inordinate fear of communism". Instead, he would talk of arms control, human rights and the problems of the Third World. "We must replace balance-of-power with world order politics", said Carter. "It is likely that in the near future issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems which have dominated international relations since World War II."¹¹

President Carter was reflecting the views of the Trilateral Commission; what the foreign policy journals dubbed "interdependence".

Unfortunately, this attitude was replaced by the anti-communism of the far right "Committee of South Africa", which returned President Reagan's policies.

The US administration's insistence on the observance of human rights must be translated into support to the Guyanese people for;

1. the holding of long over-due local government elections (last held and rigged in 1970) under an independent Elections Commission;
2. electoral reforms embracing --
 - a) an independent chairman of the Election Commission and Chief Elections Officer,
 - b) restoration of the powers of the Elections Commission;
 - c) the counting of the ballots at the place of poll;
3. the exclusion of the military and para-military forces from the electoral process;
4. invitation to the Non-Aligned Movement Secretariat, the UN Commission on Human Rights, the OAS Commission on Human Rights, the Caribbean Human Rights Internet and friendly governments to observe the next general elections.

The PPP, as in 1953, is continuing the struggle for working class and racial unity. At the same time, it is committed to an alliance policy of all left and democratic forces. It has declared in favour of "winner-does-not-take-all" politics; namely, it would form a coalition government, even if it alone won a majority at a free and fair election. Such a broad-based revolutionary-democratic government, necessary for economic, racial/cultural and security considerations, will be represented in class terms by the working class, the peasantry, the radical intelligentsia, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national-patriotic bourgeoisie. Only such a government can get Guyana moving forward again.

the stepping up of
With/the democratisation process in Latin America and the Caribbean, the failure by "big stick" methods to overthrow the government of Panama, the Arias peace-plan for Central America, the Reagan/Gorbachev talks in Finland (1986) USA (1987) and USSR (1988), and in Guyana /the formation by five opposition parties after the rigged 1985 general and regional elections¹² of the Patriotic Coalition for Democracy (PCD) /^{coupled with} the break-away of 7 strategically-placed progressive unions from the PNC-controlled TUC and formation of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions of Guyana (FITUG), the prospects are favourable for national and social liberation, for peace, freedom, democracy and social progress.

References and Notes

1. In the USA also there were many isolationists who shared similar views. Senator Robert A. Taft had declared: "A victory for communism would be far more dangerous to the United States than a victory for fascism".
2. According to Roberto Gonzalez Gomes, "Isolationism or Neo-Interventionism", Tricontinental 90, OSPAL, Havana 1974, p 5 : "Worth recalling is the message sent by Ernest Bevin to the US government, expressing England's inability to intervene in the Greek civil war and to give military and economic aid to Turkey, which led to the proclamation of the so-called Truman Doctrine in March 1947 and the start of the "cold war".

Winston Churchill is quoted in The New York Times, April 12, 1947: "On Greek affairs in 1944-45, I seemed to find myself out of step. But today it seems I was pursuing the exact policy which, little more than two years later, the United States has adopted with strong conviction. This is to me a very intense satisfaction".
3. In the same year (1947), when the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed, "the infamous Truman Loyalty Order designed to weed dissentors from government jobs was promulgated", Si Gerson, "From Truman Doctrine to Reagan Doctrine", Political Affairs, New York, August 1987, pp 18-19.
4. A group of US oil companies broke the British monopoly on Iran's oil, with a 40 per cent share in a new consortium of Western oil companies. According to David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, in their The Invisible Government, "General Fazollah Zahedi, the man the CIA chose to replace Mossadegh ... fought the Bolsheviks, was captured by the Kurds, and, in 1942, was kidnapped by the British, who suspected him of Nazi intrigues. During World War II the British and the Russians jointly occupied Iran. British agents, after snatching Zahedi, claimed they found the following items in his bedroom: a collection of German automatic weapons, silk underwear, some opium, letters from German parachutists operating in the hills, and an illustrated register of Teheran's most exquisite prostitutes."
5. Prof. Dr. Norman Girvan in a study had pointed out that the Caribbean supplied about 86% of the raw materials requirement of the North American aluminum industry, but received only about 4% of the net income of the vertically-integrated industry.
6. AID, Proposed Economic Assistance Programme FY, 1967, p. 75, cited in NACLA, op. cit. p. 50.
7. E.C. News, Barbados, 28 October, 1988, p. 10.
8. Si Gerson, op. cit., pp 18-19.
9. According to the UN Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, the net outflow from the region, in the form of profits, principal and interest, annually in the 1981-85 period was US\$36,000 million.
10. About the reformist Alliance for Progress, Dante D. Faschell in 1969 had stated: "I would be less than frank if I would not admit that the initial record of the Alliance for Progress inspires more gloom than satisfaction".
11. Robert Armstrong, "By What Right? US Foreign Policy 1945-83" NACLA, New York, November/December 1983, p.14.
12. According to Dr. Festus Brotherson Jr., a member of the hierarchy and a former editor of the ruling PNC's organ, New Nation, wrote in the Caribbean Contact (November 1988, p 14): "The economy collapsed, legal intimidation of the media abounded, and the two constitutions gave birth to an authoritarian society. Today, apart from cosmetics, nothing has changed in Guyana ... Some members [of a specialised secret group responsible for rigging elections] have revealed themselves to me and claimed that the actual poll [of the 1985 national and regional elections] had not Hoyte but Cheddi Jagan winning ... I left mainly for very personal reasons and because of threats against my well-being. The PNC government, believing I was not going (even after the abrupt departure of my family), threatened my health through one of its most despised factotums. (Italics added).