

Jagan

STRAIGHT TALK by Cheddi Jagan

CRITICAL SUPPORT

There has been mixed reactions to "critical support". By and large, they fall into two broad categories -- it's nothing new, it's the old PPP line, it's only some new words; it's a sellout, Jagan has made a deal with Burnham, the PPP is merging with the PNC.

The PNC's reaction is based on the proposition that the PPP's non-cooperation, civil resistance campaign had failed, and thus its proposed changed political line. Its Chairman Cammie Ramsaroop, referred to "critical support of the PNC as a vindication of the rightness of the approach of the PNC's Party policy. (Guyana Graphic, 19/8/75).

The PNC General Secretary, Dr. P. Reid, said that the PPP was in danger of losing its support because its followers were being influenced by the seemingly progressive things the government was doing; they "were seeing the benefits that can be had from going and doing the things that are right and useful to them."

DANGER

There is dangerou<sup>u</sup>d smugness in these assertions. There is a danger, but not the one mentioned by Dr. Reid. And the danger cannot be seen unless one had a broad, world perspective.

Looked at in that way, what is the position?

# Particularly <sup>the past</sup> during ~~recently~~ thirty years, the world has been gripped by a titanic struggle between two socio-economic systems -- capitalism and socialism. The capitalist world launched a cold war to contain national liberation, socialism and communism.

But the socialist world has been growing stronger and stronger economically, militarily, morally and politically. At the same time, the capitalist world has been growing weaker and is now in a deepening crisis.

Meanwhile, in the "third-world" (Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean), the struggle intensified for national liberation -- to free the nation from political, economic, military and cultural domination.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Some "third world" countries like Cuba have succeeded in moving, or completely breaking, away from the capitalist world.

~~COUNTER~~

Others have failed largely because of the machinations and manoeuvres of imperialism. Because of its counter-revolutionary moves, many "third world" governments were toppled -- <sup>PPP in Jagan</sup> ~~Jagan~~ <sup>Guyana</sup> ~~the PPP~~ <sup>Guyana</sup>, Dr. Mossadegh of Iran, ~~the~~ Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala, Patrice Lumumba of Congo, Joao Goulart of Brazil, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Dr. Sukarno of Indonesia, Dr. Milton Obete of Uganda, Salvador Allende of Chile, Mujib Rahman of Bangla Desh.

The Governments were overthrown largely because their policies were in the direction against imperialism and for socialism.

MILITARY

And the instruments for the overthrow were mainly the military, in the majority of cases backed by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

Attempts were also made against the Nasser government of Egypt by the Anglo-French-Israeli military attack in 1956, and against the Castro government in 1961 by the CIA-directed Bays of Pigs invasion. Fortunately, these attacks failed.

What were the results in the <sup>FASCISM</sup> countries where imperialist counter-revolutionary blows succeeded?

A rightist, neo-fascist regime was set up. The previous anti-imperialist policies were reversed. And communist parties, where they existed, were banned, and a systematic attempt was made to exterminate all communists and genuine revolutionaries.

FASCISM

After the downfall of Dr. Sukarno, one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, the Suharto military dictatorship slaughtered nearly two million Indonesians, mostly communists (the Suharto regime's delegation walked out of the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned states held in Guyana in August 1972, after it had seated the Provisional Revolutionary government of South Vietnam and the Cambodian government led by Prince Sihanouk).

In Bangla Desh, after the tremendous electoral success of Mujib Rahman in 1970 and his arrest, the Pakistan military forces killed nearly 500,000 among whom were communists and revolutionary democrats. There the systematic killings in the first night indicated that the fascists worked with prepared lists <sup>with</sup> names and addresses.

In Chile, after the murder of <sup>TORTURE</sup> Salvador Allende in 1973, hundreds of thousands of socialists and communists were killed and imprisoned. The First Secretary of the Communist Party is still in a concentration camp, and his son was ~~killed~~ <sup>jailed</sup> and ~~brutally~~ <sup>tortured</sup>.

TORTURE

In Brazil, under the fascist military regime, all political parties except one with a right-wing orientation are banned and all Constitution liberties are suspended. The Communist Party of Brazil has been forced underground and its First Secretary is forced to live in exile in Moscow. Any communist caught in Brazil is either killed or imprisoned. And torture is an everyday occurrence. Even Catholic priests and nuns who have challenged and exposed the excesses of the fascist regime have been tortured. And the Brazilian state has become a sub-imperialism, a gendarme of US imperialism in Latin America. It has played a reactionary role in the South African

continent, and has influenced fascist trends in neighbouring Uruguay, Chile, Bolivia and Paraguay.

#### COMMUNISM

It is this possible danger that the PPP sees in the Guyana situation. Our concern is not to save the PNC but to safeguard the interests of the Guyanese nation and the lives of the PPP leaders, activists, members and supporters. Experience has shown that weakening imperialism is like an enraged wounded tiger. Wherever it succeeds with its counter-revolutionary blows, the first target is the Communist Party. It knows that such parties as the PPP in Guyana do not make deals with it; they are uncompromising, principled and consistent fighters against imperialism. For that reason, when the reactionary forces succeed with their counter-revolutionary coups they ~~move to~~ strike at the "branch and root" of socialism and communism.

#### INDIA

It is necessary to see the enemy clearly in all its forms. The situation in Guyana is bad with violation of civil liberties, harassment, discrimination, lack of democracy, electoral fraud, etc. But it is immeasurably worse in Brazil, Indonesia, Chile and Bangla Desh. While fighting for the preservation and implementation of our Constitutional Fundamental Rights, we cannot by deed or default ~~encourage~~ <sup>permit</sup> the development of a fascist state in Guyana.

Consider the situation in India, where the imperialists want to turn the clock of history as they have done in Bangla Desh by the removal of the Mujib Rahman government (in 1970, Mujib was arrested <sup>in</sup> East Pakistan and jailed in West Pakistan; in 1975, he was murdered).

Indira Gandhi, like Mujib Rahman, is being attacked by imperialism because her nationalist government pursues a policy of active non-alignment with a socialist orientation and close relations with the Soviet Union.

#### BALANCE

Just before India's military solution in East Pakistan (now Bangla Desh), the Indian Government signed a 20-year treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, which helped to check intervention by USA and China on the side of West Pakistan.

US imperialism, faced with the reality that Indira's and Mujib's policies were helping to change the balance of power in favour of socialism <sup>and</sup> against imperialism, is backing a rightist move to overthrow the Indira <sup>Gandhi</sup> government -- a coalition of five parties from the extreme right to the extreme ultra-left headed by Jaiprakash Narain's Socialist Party ("socialist" Norman Thomas of the Socialist Party of the USA admitted receiving US\$1 million from the CIA which he used to set up 17 socialist



parties in the Latin America to fight communism); the pro-Hindu Jan Sangh Party is fanatically anti-Muslim and reactionary (it opposes the slaughter of <sup>C</sup>deprecit cows which compete against humans for survival), and harbours the same elements who were responsible for the shooting and killing of Mahatma Gandhi; the Swatantra Party is backed by Indian Big Business like Tata <sup>one of the chief executives of which</sup> ~~Masani, who~~ was at one time chairman of the CIA-financed Congress for Cultural Freedom which published the high-brow magazine ENCOUNTER; a Maoist oriented Communist Party. This CIA-backed coalition was calling not only on the Indian Prime Minister to resign (she was convicted for a minor technical electoral offence), but also on the security forces to revolt.

#### BRUTALITY

With the experience of fascist brutality and tyranny in neighbouring Indonesia and Bangla Desh, and faced with a dilemma, a choice between the petty-bourgeois government led by the Congress Party and a rightist-fascist clique backed by the CIA, the Communist Party of India supports the Indira Gandhi government. It has no illusions about the Congress Party which still has influential landlords and capitalists playing a big role and thus obstructing the path to socialism. But with fascist danger near, it has no alternative.

Chilean fascism should also be a lesson to middle-of-the-roaders and even right-wingers who have political ambitions. The rightist Nationalist Party led by Jorge Alessandri and the reformist Christian Democratic Party led by Eduardo Frei joined with the CIA and the military to bring about the downfall of Salvador Allende. They hoped to replace Popular Unity and to become the beneficiaries. But the CIA and the ultra-rightist had other plans; they had not forgotten that those parties at the early stage has given parliamentary support to Allende's government to nationalise the foreign copper companies. Thus, they too have become the targets of the military Pinochet clique.

#### SUPPORT

The development of fascism in Guyana, whether from within or without, must be vigorously opposed. This was why <sup>the Central Committee, in its Report</sup> ~~I said in my address~~ to the 25th PFP Anniversary Celebrations <sup>declared</sup> "the situation now therefore demands a more flexible approach on the PFP... <sup>part of the</sup> our political line should be changed from non-cooperation to critical support..... Critical support does not mean unconditional support. It means just what it says -- giving support for any progressive measure, opposing any reactionary moves and criticising all shortcomings."