

CHEDDI
JAGAN

THE CARIBBEAN —
WHOSE?
BACKYARD?

THE CARIBBEAN
— WHOSE
BACKYARD?

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

Copyright © Nadira Jagan-Brancier 2000

CHEDDI JAGAN RESEARCH CENTRE
RED HOUSE
65-67 High Street, Georgetown, Guyana
Telephone: 37524

CHEDDI
JAGAN

**THE CARIBBEAN
- WHOSE
BACKYARD ?**



Copyright © Nadira Jagan-Brancier 2000

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

CONTENTS

Introduction 7

I. Rivalry and Plunder 11

II. Era of US Imperialism 25

III. Communism and the Western Hemisphere 44

IV. The Struggle for Independence 53

V. Cold War Interventions 80

VI. Economic Aggression 100

VII. Control of Trade Union Movement 124

VIII. Ideological Offensive 133

IX. Detente and National Liberation 154

X. Reactivation of the Cold War 172

XI. Crimes Against Humanity 191

XII. The Circle of Crisis 216

XIII. Peace and Social Progress 262

Epilogue 322

Appendix 331

INTRODUCTION

The timing of this work, The Caribbean: Whose Backyard?, could hardly be improved upon. Its publication coincides with the mounting imperialist assault on the Caribbean and Latin America by United States imperialism, the leading agent, organiser and protector of the region's reactionaries, despots and crooks who are currently engaged in a desperate, determined resistance against the peoples of the region. Everywhere the classical confrontation is the same: on the one side the masses of the people, oppressed by tyrants for years without end, fighting with might and main to overthrow the oppressor; on the other hand, the oppressor increasingly isolated, desperate and depised, propped up by Yankee imperialism. In other words, to explain the oppressor, look for the imperialist.

It is with this search, in its historical and contemporary dimensions, that the author of this work, Dr. Cheddi Jagan, is particularly preoccupied. His own credentials for the task are impeccable. For more than thirty years now Dr. Jagan has been the leading Marxist-Leninist in the English-speaking Caribbean, a towering political figure widely known and respected throughout the region and beyond, the acknowledged teacher, philosopher and friend to a whole generation of progressive and revolutionary politicians whose emergence has changed the Caribbean reality for all time. When the prospect of socialism in the Caribbean was nothing but a distant dream in men's minds, Dr. Jagan was foremost among those who dreamt that dream and who worked for its fulfilment. Accordingly, as early as 1953, Guyana alone of all the English-speaking Caribbean and Central American territories embarked positively on laying the basis for the attainment of that goal only to be foiled by the heavy hand of British colonialism. In the years that have passed much that is bad, backward and unpleasant has happened to the Guyana he has striven to liberate, but he himself has grown in stature and in eminence.

Ever since he wrote his autobiographical work, *The West On Trial*, which told the story of his early political struggles up to 1966, soon after the Colonial office and the American CIA had engineered his downfall, Cheddi's has been a name to reckon with in the historiography of contemporary political writing. That work realised all the promise of his earlier monograph, *Forbidden Freedom*, written in the dark days immediately succeeding the imperialist coup against his government in 1953. But it is sixteen years and more since *The West On Trial*, and the present work appears not a moment too soon for those who cherish his mature, patriotic and revolutionary appraisal of the present stage of political development in the region. The recent disastrous events in Grenada have only made it more timely.

This book is an enlargement of a paper, *The Caribbean and the Centres of International Power*, presented by Dr. Jagan for the colloquy on "Political Structures and International Relations in the Caribbean" at the Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico in October 1974. It begins with a statement of the origins of European interest and activity in the region in the period of so-called "discovery" of the "New World". It traces the development of the original model of colonial exploitation and plunder when the imperialist powers unashamedly arrogated unto themselves the right of appropriating the land and labour power of the region's peoples, of decimating them and of replacing them with various forms of subject labour, culminating eventually in the system of plantation slavery based upon a world-wide organisation of trade, unequal exchange, rapine and profit. If it did nothing else, that early experience set the mold for all future relations between the developing capitalist powers and the peoples of the colonised areas of the world. It bred certain habits of disdain, arrogance, contempt, and ill-usage which have become ingrained in the European (and later, American) perception of the world and which has done so much damage to the exploiters as well as to the exploited over the years. But, even more disastrously, the habit of exploitation, of extracting income, of living off the backs and the means of others has made the exploiter ill-prepared to face a world in which the exploited has, at last, become a man and is today, more effectively than at any other time in history, comprehensively ridding himself of the burden of oppression which has kept him stunted and undeveloped in stature for so long.

But if the book is about imperialism in general, it is about U.S.

imperialism in particular. It traces the emergence of U.S. hegemony in the region even in the early years of the nineteenth century when, only recently itself freed from the yoke of imperial domination, the U.S. seized the opportunity provided by the independence struggles of Central and South America to assert its own view of its future relations with the countries of the region in the infamous Monroe Doctrine which laid down the theoretical basis of U.S. interventionism in Latin America and the Caribbean. It also calls attention to the critical and qualitative leap in U.S. imperialist development at the turn of the century. Having raped Mexico and robbed her of nearly half of her territory, and having by other means availed itself of the material spoils deriving from the pursuit of a continental "manifest destiny", it launched on a vigorous overseas expansion in the era of the Cuban-Spanish-American war, 1898-1902. In the process Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and a number of smaller Pacific Islands were gobbled up. From that time onwards, U.S. diplomatic and military intervention in the affairs of the Caribbean and Latin American countries has been a standard phenomenon, and a constant repudiation of U.S. protestations and declarations of goodwill and fellowship.

By World War II, another qualitative leap had occurred. Already a continental imperialism in the Americas, the United States became an international imperial power, global in reach and influence and aspiring to world hegemony and control. Hardly had the war against fascism in Europe and the Pacific been brought to a close when the United States, the great power least affected by the ravages of the conflicts, began to cast about in Greece and thereafter in Berlin, in Korea, in Vietnam, in Guatemala, in Lebanon, in Cuba and in the Dominican Republic for ways and means of "containing Communism". Forgetting that the Soviet Union had been foremost in the fight against Nazism, and smarting under what he called "the brazen lie.... that Democrats were soft on Communists.....," President Truman launched his infamous Doctrine and ushered in another period of 'Big Stick' interventionism in U.S. foreign policy that was to last for nearly thirty years, that is, until the fall of U.S. imperialist power in Vietnam in 1975.

Between 1947 and 1975 imperialist aggression throughout the world was thwarted by two principal factors: the rise, development and consolidation of the international socialist community; and the growing strength, militancy and radicalisation of the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Carib-

bean. While the U.S. busied itself, as Dr. Jagan points out, substituting neo-colonialism for colonialism wherever it could, these two forces firmly and irreversibly created a new international environment and a new world of freedom, independence and democracy. Today the cold, hard evidence of the last forty years is that there is no hope in neo-colonialism, no freedom in nationalist rhetoric, no salvation in accommodationist 'models of development', no third way between capitalism and socialism.

A significant part of the book, not surprisingly, is taken up with precisely this subject: the step by step refutation of the chimeras of the past decades when the advocates of neo-colonialism proclaimed that ideology was dead, that socialism was as bad as capitalism and that the rhetoric commitment of the men of the 'Third World' was to find a 'third way' to genuine political and economic independence, liberation and national development. If the truth be told, few of the men who spoke of these things genuinely believed them, and fewer still worked to achieve them. On the other hand, the byways and the hedges, historically speaking, are strewn with the bones of dead ideas, vapid promises and theories that never were.

The present period in the history of the Caribbean is nothing but the re-affirmation of the genuine intrinsic value of authentic, revolutionary socialism. While the neo-colonialists stumble and fall and doom themselves again and again to repeat the old errors for want of real solutions, those few men and countries which choose what Nkrumah called 'the revolutionary path' point the way to a new Caribbean and a new order not in some distant time to come but here – at last! – in our own lifetime. As Cuba is doing, as Nicaragua is doing, as Suriname might yet do and as Grenada surely one day again will do.

This book is yet another contribution to the revolutionary struggle in the region from one who has fought it selflessly and unflinchingly and who has himself been part of the process that has made it possible. It is a resounding retort to imperialist arrogance and aggression. It is an apt tribute to the twenty five fighting years of revolutionary achievement in Cuba which is today being celebrated in Cuba and throughout the world. And it answers directly and unequivocally that question insistently posed by Maurice Bishop throughout his revolutionary leadership. Whose backyard? Why ours, of course!!

1 JANUARY 1984

JAMES MILLETTE

CHAPTER I

RIVALRY AND PLUNDER

Since Columbus landed on San Salvador in October 1492, the Caribbean and indeed the entire area that later became known as the Latin American continent has been the unenviable focus of international attention. Such attention has on different occasions manifested itself either in sinister cooperation or bitter rivalry.

The earliest wranglings over the "newly discovered" lands occurred between Spain and Portugal. It is scarcely necessary to say that this was not the first time that the lands had been discovered by persons of the so-called Old World. There is sufficient archaeological evidence today to support the view that the Norsemen of Scandinavia and Africans had direct contact with the area at least 500 years earlier. But for Spain and Portugal this was a New World. Therefore, they sought the blessings of Pope Alexander VI to share it between themselves.

By the issue of papal Bulls of Demarcation in May, 1493, the New World was divided by a north-south line in the Atlantic running one hundred leagues west of the Azores. Spain received the area west of the line while Portugal received the portion east of it with exclusive rights to discover, explore, settle and rule there.

The first Bull gave to "the Catholic kings of Spain and their heirs and successors the countries and islands discovered by their envoys and to be discovered thereafter together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions and appurtenances of the same". Addressing himself to the Spanish monarch, the Pope strictly forbade "all persons of no matter what rank, estate, degree, order or condition to dare without special permit.... to go for the sake of trade or any reason whatever,

to the said islands and countries after they have been discovered and found by your envoys or persons sent out for the purpose!"¹

But Spain wanted even more. And so she had the Pope, himself Spanish, issuing a fourth Bull, September 26, 1493, which nullified the previous demarcations favouring the Portuguese. The new demarcation line allowed greater freedom to Spain to engage in worldwide exploration by westward or southern navigation. This brought protests from the Portuguese who requested a re-division. After negotiations between the two countries, the Treaty of Tordesillas of June 7, 1494, agreed to a new meridian by which Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence were defined. It moved the line westward to 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands. By this treaty, Spain unwittingly gave away a large portion of the South American coast and Brazil became "Portuguese" territory. "In appreciation of this fact King Emmanuel of Portugal requested and received from Julius II (the Pope) the Bull *Ea Que* (1506), which endorsed the Tordesillas meridian and thus rendered it more binding upon Spain."²

The other European powers were also very concerned over what was taking place in this area. On March 5, 1496 – the day which is described as the birthday of the British Empire – Henry VII, King of England, instructed John Cabot to "subdue, occupy and possess" all foreign lands not covered by "Christianity". He was further authorised to "sail under the royal flag and to set up the king's banner as his officers". From the King of France, Francis I came the sharp retort:

The sun shines for me as others. I should very much like to see the clause in Adam's will that excluded me from a share of the world.

Decades later, in 1580, when Holland declared independence from Spain, she also joined the opposition to Spanish monopoly in the so-called New World.

The Protestant Reformation was also used to good effect in opposing Spanish or Catholic (the words were sometimes used interchangeably) domination in America. Greed and the clamour for

¹ Earl Parker Hanson in *South From the Spanish Main*, Delacorte Press, U.S.A. 1967, p. 6.

² Charles Gibson, *Spain in America*, Harper Torchbooks, the University Library, Harper and Row, New York, 1966, p. 18.

wealth in the "newly discovered" lands had stimulated a nationalism that at times even took precedence over loyalty to Catholicism. This was particularly exemplified by France, which, although decidedly Catholic, opposed the Papal decree and Spanish monopoly in the area.

The "Great Hunt" had commenced, and in 1680, the Germans joined the pack. Denmark and Sweden also received a chunk of the carcassee. The echo of the words of Francis Drake aptly epitomised the feeling of the era when he said: "Blame nobody but yourselves if you go away empty". He described the Caribbean as "the Treasure-House of the World".

Latin America, with the Caribbean one of its components, had become the favourite hunting ground of the Spanish, Portuguese, British, French, Dutch and Germans. They were later to carve out their portions of land and men as they went on the rampage on the continent.

EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE TO SPAIN – THE SPREAD OF COLONIALISM

In the sixteenth century, the main challenge to Spanish and Portuguese monopoly in the Americas manifested itself in the freebooter, privateer and illicit trader, but not in effective and permanent settlement. However, the turn of the century ushered in a new era. The Dutch, English, French and Germans embarked on a policy of colonialization in the area. To accomplish this was not too difficult. The Spanish empire was too vast for its weakened military forces to garrison, particularly after the defeat of the Armada in 1588. Also, the north-east of South America and all the eastern Caribbean from the Virgin Islands to Tobago were unoccupied, apart from the indigenous Indian inhabitants.

Spain's rivals, especially England in 1604, submitted an ingenious argument against Spain's right to the area. They emphasised that prescriptive rights did not exist unless supported by effective occupation of the lands. Nothing that Spain could say or do would be adequate to ward off her European rivals. The persistent attacks and campaigns of the English – Francis Drake, John Hawkins, Walter Raleigh – were too hot for Spain to handle. Consequently, from the seventeenth century onward history was to

record the founding of colonies by England, Holland, France and Germany in Latin America and the Caribbean. Only Sweden failed in her attempt to establish a colony in the area.

Thus, it was from this international rivalry, plotting and scheming for possessions and power that Caribbean and Latin American history took shape. The colonialists were constantly on the move for new conquests, new sources of wealth – more lands to be colonised, more gold to plunder, more wealth to acquire. No colonial empire was really secure, and colonies changed hands at regular intervals.

During the thrust of European expansion into the area, the most barbarous wars were launched against the inhabitants of this hemisphere. The thirst for wealth and the search for it resulted in the massacre of Indian men, women and children on a tremendous scale. The period 1519-1521 saw the Aztec Empire headed by Montezuma laid low by the treacherous Spanish conquistador, Hernando Cortes and his plundering forces. Today, there is hardly a trace of the original Aztec Capital, Tenochtitlan, in Mexico City where it once proudly stood.

A similar fate awaited the Inca Empire and its capital Cuzco. Between 1531-1535, another Spanish conquistador, Francisco Pizarro, imitating Cortes in the worse demonstration of treachery, lured the unsuspecting Inca leader, Atahualpa, into false security, executed him and shattered the Inca Empire. The Spanish conquistadores had succeeded in destroying the two great empires of the "New World." They paved the way for permanent Spanish and eventually European occupation of the region. With the Aztec and Inca Empires destroyed, their civilisations rapidly declined and decayed. Deliberate efforts were undertaken to supplant Aztec and Inca cultures with Spanish culture and Christianity blessed the Spanish exploitation of the Indians.

It was the Spaniards, too, who introduced the encomienda system which wretchedly enslaved the Indians. This was a vicious system and the Indians – the indigenous people of the area – were almost completely exterminated by it. As has been pointed out by a recent historian, the Indians;

"were unaccustomed to long hours of forced labour and were driven beyond endurance by their taskmasters. They fell easy victims to European diseases such as smallpox...."³

³ F.R. Augier. *The Making of the West Indies*, Longmans, 1967, p. 13. Augier,

It is estimated that between 1492 and 1496 about two-thirds of the Indian population – some 300,000 persons – died. So terrible was the decimation of the Indians by the Spanish conquistadores and encomenderos that "by 1509 there were only 40,000 survivors. By 1514 these were further reduced to about 13,000".⁴

The brutality was so appalling that certain sections of the Church were forced to denounce it in strong language, an illustration of this being Montesinos' sermon in 1511 when he enquired of his fellow Spaniards:

Tell me, by what right and justice do you keep these Indians in such cruel and humble servitude? Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, not giving them enough to eat nor taking care of them in their illness? For with the excessive work you demand of them they fall and die, or rather you kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold everyday. Are these not men?⁵

Later, other former supporters of the encomienda system, for example, las Casas fought for a better deal for the Indians, though not necessarily from all forms of exploitation, at the hands of the Spaniards.

TRADING, PIRACY AND PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION

During the early period of colonial expansion in the "New World", the European colonialists relied mainly on trading, at most times illicit, naked plunder, and piracy or buccaneering in their efforts to accumulate wealth. These forms of thievery yielded enormous wealth for the European expansionists. For example in 1532, when the Spanish conquistadores, led by Pizarro, attacked the Inca Empire and captured their leader, Atahualpa, they demanded a huge ransom for his release. The ransom was paid – "a room 22 feet by 17 feet piled 7 feet deep with gold and silver articles"⁶ and thereafter taken to Europe. Again in 1628, a Dutchman, the celebrated Piet Hein (later admiral), captured a Spanish treasure fleet off Cuba on its return trip from stealing from the Indians, and

⁴ A Garcia. *History of the West Indies*, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London 1965, p. 30

⁵ F.R. Augier – *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁶ L.S. Stavrianos, *Man's Past & Present*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood, Cliffs, 1971, p. 223.

plundered their mines in Cuba. The Dutch loot is said to have consisted of "117,357 pounds of silver; 135 pounds of gold; 37,375 hides; 2,270 chests of indigo; 7,961 pieces of logwood; 735 chests of cochineal; 235 chests of sugar; together with pearls and spices".⁷

In 1668, the English buccaneer Morgan entered Porto Bello and left with a quarter million "pieces of eight"; soon after, he raided Maracaibo and plundered it. In 1673, the English stormed Trinidad taking with them 100,000 "pieces of eight", and ten years later laying their hands on Vera Cruz, then the richest city in this part of the world, confiscated the equivalent of six million dollars. Ultimately, buccaneering became a nuisance to the governments which had encouraged it. In 1668, France and Spain signed the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to be followed two years later by the Treaty of Madrid outlawing this form of plunder. But having gained honour and status by this occupation, many of those involved were not prepared to abandon their practices. As the dates of the raids quoted earlier show, buccaneering continued for sometime after it was outlawed.

With buccaneering officially outlawed, the primitive accumulation of wealth by illicit and legal trading became inadequate, and energies were channelled into new avenues founded on permanent settlement and the growing of crops, the most profitable at that time being tobacco and cotton. But with the lapse of time, the tobacco and cotton economies ran into difficulties. At that time too, the European sugar market was booming. For this and other reasons the tobacco producing countries of the Caribbean were in due course given over to the production of sugar which became the principal source of wealth. As one contemporary put it: "It is conceived there is a silver mine at St. Christophers.... such an enterprise would require a great stock, and an infinite number of slaves. The true silvermine of that Island is Sugar".⁸ This was how sugar and its relationship to slavery was seen in the seventeenth century.

In the Caribbean, the mere mention of sugar elicits another word – slavery. The switch from tobacco to sugar as the main crop in the Caribbean ushered in the socio-economic system of slavery.

The European planters' attempt to enslave the indigenous Indians under the encomienda system, first introduced by the Spanish, was unsuccessful. Even in these early days therefore, the demand for a reliable labour source was striking. The failure of the encomiendas – the failure of Indian slavery – and the coming of the

⁷ Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro*, Andre Deutch, London, 1970, p. 84.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 111.

sugar revolution institutionalised the slave-trade in the area. And the slave-trade in the Caribbean meant trade in African slaves.

The African slave trade was introduced in the "New World" by the Portuguese in 1542. In 1562, the English buccaneer, John Hawkins, brought 300 slaves from Sierra Leone and sold them to planters in Hispaniola, now the Dominican Republic. Not long after, the French, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish slave-traders brought millions of African slaves to the Caribbean as the production of sugar swiftly increased. Louis XVI, king of France, in a decree on August 26, 1670, admitted that: "There is nothing which contributed more to the development of the colonies and the cultivation of their soil than the laborious toil of the Negroes." This view was widely held by seventeenth century Europeans. Therefore, in order to furnish as much of this cheap labour as possible, they embarked on a terrible orgy of looting and murder. Of this period of early colonial expansion, slave trade exploitation and primitive accumulation, Karl Marx wrote:

The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These idyllic proceedings are the chief momenta of primitive accumulation....

The Colonial system ripened, like a hothouse, trade and navigation... The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement and murder, floated back to the mother country and there turned into capital.⁹

In their great quest for wealth, the slave-traders committed unspeakable crimes against other human beings. Vast numbers of black men, women and children perished in the "Middle Passage".

RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY

Slave-trading in particular and slavery in general were oppressive and repressive in innumerable ways. The victims of this vicious system resisted in every possible manner. There have been

⁹ Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, Ch. XXXI, cited in R. Palme Dutt, *Crisis of Britain and the British Empire*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1957, p. 22.

thousands of runaways as well as innumerable revolts in the Caribbean, some recorded and others not. But among the best known are the Saint-Domingue Revolution in 1791, the first and second Maroon Wars of 1734 and 1795, and the Berbice (now part of Guyana) slave rebellion of 1763.

The Berbice Slave Rebellion of 1763 led by Cuffy went close to becoming the first successful slave revolt. The slaves almost completely drove the Dutch out of the country. Their seat of government was seized and a new government of ex-slaves was formed. The ex-slaves held the territory under their control for about one year before reinforcements from the Dutch colony of Surinam and from British-controlled Bermuda arrived to put down the revolt. Dissension and vacillation among the leaders of the revolting slaves also assisted to a great extent in defeating their own cause.

The Maroon War of 1734 (the first Maroon War) in Jamaica although not successful in overthrowing the slave system in that country, forced the British sugar planters and slave-owners to respect the right of the runaway slaves to occupy the area chosen by them. But it was the Saint-Domingue Revolution of 1791 that stands out as the first and only successful slave revolution in the "New World". Led by the great revolutionary, Toussaint L'Ouverture, it was aided by the shifting international alliances and the fluid international situation.

At an earlier period, England and France were at one in opposing the Papal decree in the "New World". But, in 1756, the two were crossing swords in the Seven Years' War which ended in victory for Britain in 1763. In that war, the British North American colonies fought on the side of Britain against France. However, when the American War of Independence was declared in 1776, it is reported that nine-tenths of the arms used by the American colonies in the crucial battle of Saratoga in 1777 were of French origin. In 1778, France and the American revolting colonies signed an official alliance.

But the pendulum was to swing the other way very soon. In August 1791, following on the heels of the French Revolution of 1789, the slaves of the French colony, Saint-Domingue revolted. Apart from the positive effects of the French Revolution, the Saint-Domingue or Haitian Revolution was aided by the confusion caused by the entry of British and Spanish troops to assist the Saint-Domingue slave-owners against their revolting slaves. Both Britain

and Spain were probably hoping to annex the colony from France if they could put down the revolt. France was thus faced with not only the problem of extinguishing a slave revolt, but also the even more pressing demand of driving out the British and Spanish invaders from her richest colony.

There was even greater confusion among the colonial powers, especially when in 1795 the second Maroon War broke out in Jamaica. This required the presence and attention of British troops stationed in the Caribbean. It meant that British troops fighting in Saint-Domingue had to be despatched specially to rebellious Jamaica. Thus, while British soldiers, "seasoned" to Caribbean conditions, were being transported away from Saint-Domingue to fight with the maroons, new "unseasoned" troops had to do battle with the revolting slaves of the French colony – a distinct advantage to the fighting slaves of Saint-Domingue.

SLAVERY, INDENTURESHIP AND CAPITALISM

Slavery could not endure the test of time. The deep-seated class contradictions and the dynamic processes of society were forces which the various facets of the slave system could not contend with and resolve. And so the socio-economic stresses and strains in slavery eventually worked to the detriment of the system. Even though it was a "society" introduced by the metropolitan powers to maximise the exploitation of their colonies, the class contradictions inherent in it and from which wealth flowed to Europe sowed the seeds of the society's ultimate destruction. The endless runaways and revolts, the attacks by humanitarians, and the developing capitalist system in Europe, especially in Britain, hastened the death of slavery in the Caribbean. Slavery, as a Caribbean institution could not proceed beyond the nineteenth century. In August 1838, the last of English-owned slaves in the Caribbean were released. Before two-thirds of the century had passed, almost every vestige of old European slavery was abolished from the Caribbean.

But the British sugar planters in the Caribbean could hardly do without the cheap labour of the slave system. After unsuccessful experiments with white contractual labour, the system of "indentureship" was embraced. Small numbers of Portuguese, African,

Chinese, Black American and other free immigrants were brought, but they were not sufficient to fill the vacuum left by the emancipated African slaves. Between 1838 and 1845 in Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica, the planters first experimented with and finally settled for East Indian indentured labour which became the most reliable supply especially in Trinidad and Guyana for the next seventy years.

Indian indentureship was a contractual labour scheme, of a 5-year duration in the first instance. It had certain features which were similar to slavery, and also some which were present in feudalism. It was a hybrid of slavery and feudalism and was perhaps unique to British-owned colonies. In fact, what was being witnessed was a swift transformation from slavery to capitalism in the Caribbean, particularly in the British territories. The Caribbean transformation from primitive communism to slavery to semi-feudalism to capitalism was really a telescoped version of the socio-economic development and transformation of Europe which took place over a longer historical period. Slavery and feudalism were distinct socio-economic systems which developed over fairly distinct periods of time, with the latter displacing the former until it became a fetter and was replaced by capitalism.

In the British Caribbean, "chattel" slavery in the sugar plantations was replaced by imperialist wage slavery. The indentured immigrants became wage labourers, not peasants in the full European sense. On the termination of their contracts, they were granted land in lieu of return passages to India. This had to be done in the context of a persistent labour shortage. But in Guyana for example, the planters saw to it that land was inadequate and difficult to cultivate; often it was without water control. By these and other means the planters were able to ensure the availability of a continued and cheap source of labour power.

The contact of the Caribbean with Europe and the United States made possible this speedy transformation from slavery to capitalism. But while Europe and North America proceeded to a highly-developed and integrated economy under state-monopoly capitalism taking full advantage of the scientific and technological revolution, the Caribbean economy stagnated with a deformed and dependent type of capitalism and with clear vestiges of semi-feudalism in the countryside.

INDEPENDENCE OF CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

The wars of independence in Central and South America led by the patriots – Tupac Amaru (Peru); Toussaint L'Ouverture (Saint Domingue); Miranda and Bolivar (Venezuela); Tiradentes and Pedro (Brazil); Hidalgo, Moreles and Iturbide (Mexico); San Martin (Argentine); O'Higgins (Chile) – were greatly assisted by the manoeuvrings of the colonial powers in the hemisphere. By the eighteenth century, Spain had been outdistanced by England and France as a world power. Motivated by different considerations the Spanish King, Charles III, attempted to meet the challenge to Spanish trade in America by harassing England and allying herself with France in support of the English colonies in their War of Independence. But England also did likewise, each colonial power was always seeking a means by which it could gain an advantage over the other.

In Venezuela, on April 19, 1810, the war of liberation against Spain broke out. Anticipating England's support, Simon Bolivar went to London in the same year seeking assistance. Indeed, Francisco Miranda, another Venezuelan, described as a "Precursor of Independence" spent several years in London lobbying the support of the British government for Venezuela's independence. And José de San Martín, a great liberator of Argentina and the Latin American continent, equal in stature to Bolivar, also spent some time in London seeking British support. They had recognised the fact that successive British governments saw in the dissatisfaction of the Spanish colonies "a stick with which to beat their perennial rivals" (Spain and Portugal).

Although in 1810, Bolivar did not obtain the help he needed from Britain, he was to receive very vital assistance some years later. In 1814, retreating from one of his battles, Bolivar was given temporary asylum in the British colony of Jamaica. In 1817 and 1819, he was assisted with the supply of over 4,000 troops from England, they proved to be his best fighters and very useful aides in drilling raw recruits. History records that:

A British legion fought for Bolivar in Colombia; the Argentine Navy was founded by Admiral Brown of County Mayo, Ireland; the Chilean Navy by Admiral Lord Cochrane (also responsible for the glengarries worn by Brazilian marines); and an Irishman called Bernardo O'Higgins became Chile's first Chief of State.

England did not really intend to assist Bolivar and San Martin as much as to complicate matters for Spain, Portugal, and eventually the USA. It was the old imperial trick of setting the colonies against the colonial power and hoping to fill the vacuum created. Nevertheless, Bolivar and San Martin were able to free Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile and other areas in this hemisphere from Spanish colonialism. Liberators like Bolivar and San Martin were successful in utilising the imperialists' envy and jealousy for each other in order to secure the independence of vast expanses of territory for the peoples of America.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

During the second decade of the nineteenth century when Latin American and Caribbean colonies were fighting for and winning independence, the United States was demonstrating expansionist tendencies. Recognising that the rapid decay of Spanish colonialism in the American continent had already commenced, the US began to see a rosy dawn for itself; but for the peoples sharing the same continent with it, it was the beginning of cruel exploitation and oppression.

It was in this atmosphere that John Quincy Adams enunciated the doctrine of "Manifest Destiny". At a cabinet meeting in 1819, the US Secretary of State observed that the absorption of all North America was "as much a law of nature... as that the Mississippi should flow to the sea". It was "a physical, moral and political absurdity" that European colonies "should exist permanently continuous to a great, powerful and rapidly-growing nation".¹⁰

It was in recognition of this doctrine that Louisiana and the Florida peninsula passed into the possession of the United States.

Later, the Monroe Doctrine was conceived. On December 2, 1823, President Monroe of the United States in his message to Congress said:

¹⁰ Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy*. Prentice Hall, Inc. N.J. 1965, p. 75.

... the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

One part of his message was aimed at preventing the perceived expansion of Russia on the Northwest Pacific coast. Another part of Monroe's message concerned Latin America and was actually aimed at the European monarchies and their plans with regard to the Western Hemisphere. The President's message continued:

We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

Any such attempt would be considered "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States".

Monroe attempted to create the impression that he and the USA were all for the prevention of European intervention in the Americas and for the sovereignty of Latin America. But many had reservations about his position, seeing it as a pretext for safeguarding future US expansionism. Bolivar saw early in the Monroe Doctrine the danger of exchanging the "Mother Country" for the "Big Brother". He was not to be influenced by Monroe's overtures. Therefore, in 1826, he summoned the Amphictyonic Congress in Panama of Spanish-American nations and deliberately excluded the United States. Actually, the Monroe Doctrine was enunciated at a time when it was being rumoured that Spain was about to dispose of Cuba, and perhaps Puerto Rico as well, to either England or France. Thus, US Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams wrote on April 28, 1823, to his Ambassador in Spain:

... There are laws of political, as well as of physical gravitation; and if an apple, severed by the tempest from its native tree, cannot choose but fall to the ground, Cuba, forcibly disjoined from its own unnatural connexion with Spain, and incapable of self-support, can gravitate only towards the North American Union, which by the same law of nature, cannot cast her off from its bosom.¹¹

Because the United States was a young and still relatively weak nation, Adams desired that "the apple should remain on the tree

¹¹ Julius W. Pratt, *A History of United States Foreign Policy*, Prentice Hall, Inc. N.J. 1965, p. 75.

until the day of its ripening". At that time, having expanded from 1788 to 1824 with the annexation of Florida and Louisiana and the occupation of American Indian territory, the United States fell back on a limited form of isolationism from 1824 to 1844 "determined by the need to absorb the newly acquired territory and by a defensive attitude toward the European monarchs grouped in the Holy Alliance who wanted to re-establish or expand their colonial empires that had been dismantled due to Europe's weakness as a result of its continental wars".¹²

The 1844-1871 interventionist period witnessed the seizure from Mexico of California and Texas, and the rivalry between the industrialised northern states and the slave-owning South which led to the Civil War.

In the 1871-1891 period, the final territorial plunder of the American Indians was completed internally, and a new phase – speaking with a silken voice – was opened externally. In 1889, the idea of Pan-Americanism, the family of American states, was born, and the first Pan American Conference was summoned with the hope of creating a customs union which would remove customs duties to Americans and increase them to Europeans: a *Zollverein*. But the Argentinian delegate, Roque Saenz Pena was quick to point out: "Considering the *Zollverein* in its political aspects, it would be difficult to ignore that it involves a substantial loss of sovereignty."¹³ It was a perceptive remark, the wisdom of which was to be made abundantly manifest in future relations, economic and political, between the United States and the peoples of the hemisphere.

¹² Roberto Consalves Gomez, "Isolationism or Neo-Interventionism", *Tricontinental* 90, OSPAAAL, Havana, 1974, pp. 3 – 17.

¹³ Juan Jose Arevalo, *The Shark and the Sardines*, Lyle Stuart, New York, 1961, p. 110

CHAPTER II

ERA OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

The day to occupy Cuba was to come. By the close of the nineteenth century a whole new set of circumstances favourable to the expansionist designs of the United States had emerged. By 1800 the US, although still a debtor nation, had built up enormous capital surpluses and began to export capital. By the turn of the century, around 1898, the industrial base of its economy was solidified, its expansion within its own geographic boundaries more or less completed, and its appetite for raw materials – minerals and foods – growing. The time had come to put into practice the declaration of intent of US expansionism abroad enunciated in the "Manifest Destiny" and the "Monroe Doctrine".

By this time, the USA had displaced Britain as the leading industrial nation. Steel output for the three leading imperialist nations were as follows:

	STEEL PRODUCTION		
	million	tonnes	
	1880	1900	1913
U.K.	1.3	4.97	7.7
U.S.A.	1.2	10.2	31.3
GERMANY	0.7	6.4	18.9

In the period between 1891 and 1919, the requirements of the US economy demanded the acquisition of new territories in the Caribbean. This led to the US acting under McKinley's "Big Sister" policy, pretending to help the Cubans to drive out the Spanish during their War of Independence in 1895. But behind the pretence was cold calculation. Senator Albert J. Beveridge spelt this out when on April 27, 1898, he stated:

American factories are making more than the American people can use. American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. And we shall get it as our mother, England, has told us how. We will establish trading posts throughout the world as distributing points for American products. We will cover the ocean with our

merchant marine. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. Great colonies, governing themselves, flying our flag and trading with us, will grow about our posts of trade. Our institutions will follow our trade on the wings of our commerce. And American law, American civilization, and the American flag will plant themselves on shores beautiful and bright.¹

A year later, in 1899, Whitelaw Reid, who was to be later Peace Commissioner to the Paris Treaty ending the Spanish-American War, observed:

The statesmanship of the past has been to develop our vast internal resources by the protective policy. The statesmanship of the present and future is to extend our commercial relations and secure markets for our marvellous surplus productions.... New York, not London, is to be the money centre of the world.²

This imperialist clarion call, based on nationalist superiority and chauvinism, militarism and intervention, justified in the name of civilisation the war against Spain in 1898. Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam were invaded and taken over. Cuba also fell under U.S. domination "for the protection of life, property and individual liberty".

From the very beginning Cuba's sovereignty was impaired by the Platt Amendment of February 1901, under which the USA was permitted military and naval bases and Cuba could not, without US consent, enter into treaties "nor seek loans beyond certain limits".³

The Platt Agreement stipulated:

"1. Cuba was not to enter into any agreement with a foreign power such as would impair her independence, or to grant permission to any such power to secure a foothold on the island.

2. The USA had the right to intervene to protect Cuba's independence and to maintain a Government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty.

3. Cuba agreed to sell or lease to the USA lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points. (Later the number of stations was limited to one).

¹ Victor Perlo, *American Imperialism*, International Publishers, New York, p. 11-12.

² North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) *Yanqui Dollar*. New York and San Francisco, p. 4.

³ *Ibid*, p. 5.

4. The USA was authorised to supervise the financial affairs of the Republic".⁴

The Spanish-American war also permitted the seizure of the territory of Panama from Colombia, the establishment of a puppet government in Panama, and formal colonial rule over the Canal Zone. It also secured the urgently needed canal route by the Panama Canal Treaty of 1903. When on December 2, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt had stated that the "Congress has wisely provided that we shall build at once an Isthmian Canal, if possible, through Panama", it was the fulfilment of a prophecy of President Rutherford Hayes who in March 1881 had told the US Congress that the "Canal will be a great ocean route between our Atlantic and Pacific coasts and will, in effect, constitute a part of the shoreline of the United States".

And as Juan Jose Arevalo put it:

Since 1914 that shoreline has surrounded, in Yankee territory and waters, the five republics of Central America, plus Mexico, Cuba, Haiti and Santo Domingo. The fate of the ten nations was resolved according to the standards of businessmen and the resources of piracy.⁵

For the Canal Zone \$10 million was paid to Panama, and later \$25 million to Colombia. But handsome profits were made. In 28 years, \$554 million was collected in Canal tolls, of which \$272 million was profit.

With the Roosevelt Corollary of 1904, "protection" gave way to "aggression". President Theodore Roosevelt, justifying US intervention in the domestic affairs of "unstable" countries on the ground that instability was a threat to "civilisation", stated that "the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly.... to the exercise of international police power".

It did not take long for the US under the new "Big Stick" policy to undertake armed intervention in the Caribbean – in the Dominican Republic in 1904 and in Cuba in 1906. And despite Woodrow Wilson's avowed policy of non-intervention under the "New Freedom" policy, marines were sent later to Cuba and the

⁴ A Garcia, *op. cit.* p. 226.

⁵ Juan Jose Arevalo, *op. cit.* p. 57

Dominican Republic. In 1917, US oil interests stage-managed a military coup, overthrowing President Gonsalves of Costa Rica who had refused to legalise an oil concession to an American company on the ground that it was inimical to the national interests.

US expansionist role and methods in this era of the foothold of US imperialism in the Caribbean were summed up by Major General Smedley P. Butler, a former US Marine Commander, in *Common Sense*, November 1955, when he wrote:

I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force – the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a second lieutenant to a major general. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism. Thus I helped to make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Bros. in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic from American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1923.⁶

In this period, the USA established a *de facto* protectorate over the Caribbean. The military, in the interest of big business, virtually ran the governments and economies of several countries, the so-called protectorates – Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras and Panama. *U.S. imperialism – thus successfully thwarted the political independence of several nations by instituting neo-colonialism for colonialism.*

A classic example was Nicaragua, interference in which also provided the possibility for the building of a canal. Lest it should pose a threat to the US monopoly in Panama, the US government engineered the removal of President Jose Santos Zelaya, who consistently refused to sell out his country. His successor, the puppet Adolpho Diaz, who had been "re-elected" with the help of American arms, approved the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1914-16 and amended the Constitution to give the USA the right "to intervene in our internal affairs, in order to maintain peace and the

⁶ Victor Perlo, *op cit.* p. 13.

existence of lawful government, thus giving the people a guarantee of honest administration".⁷ A treasonable act was embellished as honesty. That Treaty provided for the forced surrender of sovereignty. Nicaragua ceded to the United States "in perpetuity and for all time, free from all taxation or other public charge, the exclusive proprietary rights necessary and convenient for the construction of a canal, by any route over Nicaraguan territory".

Even some spokesmen of US imperialist interests were shocked by the crude methods used. Elihu Root, Secretary of State, in a letter published in *Century* after the signing of the Treaty in 1914 wrote:

I am assailed by anxieties and fear when I consider the question whether the Nicaraguan government that celebrated the treaty is really the genuine representative of the Nicaraguan people, and whether that government can be regarded in Nicaragua and in Central America as a legitimate and free agent to authorize the Treaty. I have read the report of the head of our Marines in Nicaragua and I find in it these words:

"The present government is not in power by the will of the people. The elections were in their greater part fraudulent".

And further on I have read in the same report the statement that those who oppose that government can make up three quarters of the country.

Can a treaty which is so serious for Nicaragua and in which perpetual rights are conceded in that territory, be celebrated with a President who, we have just cause to believe, does not represent more than one-fourth of those governed in the country, and who is kept in his position by our military forces and to whom, as a consequence of the treaty, we would pay a considerable sum of money so that he could dispose of it as President? It would cause me disgust to see the United States place itself in such a situation.⁸

And Senator Borah in a speech in January 1917, after the ratification of the treaty by the US Senate in 1916, said: "The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty is a downright violation of the most elementary principles of international decency. That treaty was made with ourselves. The so-called government of Nicaragua has neither power nor authority to contract it"?

⁷ Juan Jose Arevalo, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 83

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 93-94.

WORLD WAR I AND ITS AFTERMATH

American supremacy was established particularly after World War I. By 1914, as has been observed above, Germany and the USA had overtaken Britain as industrial powers. But industrial strength did not correspond with imperial strength, foreign colonial ownership and control. In the ensuing struggle by German imperialism for *Lebensraum* (living space), US monopolists teamed up with the British Empire. But the war, having exhausted the old imperialist antagonists, helped to elevate the USA into a position of dominance as a major exporter of capital, as the following table shows:

PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENTS¹⁰
(billions of dollars)

	1900	1913	1930	1949
United States	1/2	3	17	19
United Kingdom	12	17	19	12
France	6	12	7	2
Germany	2 1/2	9	1	
	21	41	44	33

The new era was noted in the words of President Woodrow Wilson in 1916:

These are days of incalculable change.... we must play a great part in the world whether we choose it or not. Do you know the significance of this single fact that within the last year or two we have.... ceased to be a debtor nation and have become a creditor nation.....? We have got to *finance* (emphasis added) the world in some important degree.

The US was now a financially powerful nation – so powerful that it was able to buy the Caribbean Islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix from Denmark in 1917. *Those were the days when for the first time the US dollar was badly needed for effective world trade. Pushed on by Presidents Taft and Wilson, the dollar became a diplomat. The period of "dollar diplomacy" defined by President*

¹⁰ Victor Perlo, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

Taft as a "policy... characterised as substituting dollars for bullets" was ushered in. It was the logical amplification to the Monroe Doctrine in the era of the export of capital for the exclusion of competitors and the staking out of hegemonistic claims; earlier, in the era of export of goods, there was the "open door" demand for "equal rights" in Asia and the Arab world.

Financial investment in the form of loans and the establishment of branch plants replaced trade as the main vehicle for penetration and profit-making in Latin America and the Caribbean. US banking interests succeeded in wresting dominance in the bond and loan markets. And US investments increased from 17 per cent of all investments in Latin America in 1914 (second only to Britain) to 40 per cent in 1929. U.S. direct investments, the bulk of which were made in mining, agriculture, railways and petroleum, increased from \$ 1.6 billion in 1914 to \$3.5 billion in 1929. In 1913, Cuba (second to Mexico) and the Caribbean accounted for 20 per cent of direct investment capital in Latin America.¹¹

And in this era of dollar diplomacy, foreign investment was given protection under the Evart doctrine, which stated that "the person and property of a citizen are part of the general domain of the nation, even when abroad". President Coolidge had pointed out that "there was a distinct and binding obligation on the part of self-respecting governments to afford protection to the persons and property of their citizens, wherever they may be".¹²

Serious opposition developed against the interventionist policies and practices of the "Colossus of the North" even to Woodrow Wilson's indirect method of withholding recognition of revolutionary governments. A meeting of the Inter-American Commission of Jurists in Rio de Janeiro in 1927 resolved that "no state can interfere in the internal affairs of another". However, that principle was not accepted by the Sixth International Conference of American States in Havana in 1928. Under strong US prodding in an atmosphere tailor-made for imperialistic arm-twisting, it was decided to review the question of intervention at the next (seventh) conference: the Peruvian delegate, supported by others, had proposed a resolution which called on all countries to recognise the

¹¹ NACLA, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹² Julius Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

independence of each state, and that no control or intervention by another should be tolerated.

Because of growing opposition to intervention and revolutionary successes in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Panama and Peru in 1929-30, there were changes in US policies which led to an improvement in US-Latin American relations. President Hoover made a "goodwill tour" of Latin America in November 1928, during which the term "good neighbour" was often used. Soon after his inauguration, on the question of intervention, he declared:

I can say at once that it never has been and ought not to be the policy of the United States to intervene by force to secure or maintain contracts between our citizens and foreign States or their citizens.

Prior to that, in 1930, the *Memorandum on the Monroe Doctrine*, prepared by Secretary of State, J. Reuben Clark, repudiated the Roosevelt Corollary. It had pointed out:

The doctrine states a case of United States vs Europe, not of United States vs Latin America. Such arrangements as the United States has made, for example, are not within the Doctrine as it was announced by Monroe.

Earlier, in 1923, Secretary of State Hughes had stated that the Monroe Doctrine did not justify US superintendence or overlordship in the Western Hemisphere. *And with the inauguration of President F.D. Roosevelt and his "New Deal" policy at home and "Good Neighbour" policy for Latin America, there came a formal renunciation of the right of intervention, and the "intermeddling or interference" in the Caribbean and Central and South America.* In his Inaugural Address on March 4, 1933, Roosevelt said:

In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour — the neighbour who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others.

Not long after, on December 28, 1933, at a Woodrow Wilson Foundation dinner, he declared that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."¹³

Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, also performed creditably as the head of the US delegation to the Montevideo Inter-American Conference of 1933 and at the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, held in Buenos Aires in 1936, for hemispheric defence, when the issue of sovereignty was high on the agenda. At Montevideo, the Convention on the Rights and Duties of States declared: "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another". More firmly at Buenos Aires, a protocol was signed which proclaimed:

The High Contracting Parties declare inadmissible the intervention of any one of them, directly or indirectly, and for whatever reason, in the internal or external affairs of any other of the parties.¹⁴

Removed was the reservation inserted at Montevideo that the United States reserved the rights under "the law of nations as generally understood". Under Hull's sponsorship, the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act providing for the lowering of trade barriers was passed by Congress in 1934.

In Puerto Rico, under the progressive governership of the New Dealer, Rex Tugwell, certain reforms in consonance with New Deal practices inside the United States were carried out. The Foraker Act of 1900, which had limited land holdings to no more than 500 acres but had been ignored, was reinstated. And to initiate the process of industrialisation, US \$160 million, the proceeds of excise duty on Puerto Rican rum sold in the United States, was made available from 1941 to 1946.

Also with the establishment of Puerto Rico Industrial Development Company in 1942, within five years, the following state enterprises were set up: the Puerto Rico Glass Corporation, Puerto Rico Paper and Pulp Corporation, Puerto Rico Shoe and Leather Corporation, Puerto Rico Clay Products Corporation, a textile mill and a hotel. Public enterprises in the manufacturing sector, it was felt, would accelerate industrial development.

But the legacy of the past still acted as a dead weight on the

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 371.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 372.

progressive Roosevelt administration. Sumner Welles, in contrast to Cordell Hull's observance of the spirit of the Good Neighbour policy, wielded the "big stick". As Ambassador in Cuba at the time of the Batista coup in 1933, he urged the show of force by US warships and the weapon of non-recognition to bring about the downfall of the newly-elected president. After his replacement by Mandieta in 1934, Welles advocated the recognition of the Mandieta regime. The abrogation of the Platt Amendment and a preferential treaty for the purchase of Cuban sugar followed. According to Robin Blackburn, "the abrogation of the Platt Amendment in 1934 was almost as interventionist an act as its institution, since it was intended to strengthen Batista's newly-installed regime.... The special mission of Sumner Welles, a trouble-shooter for President Roosevelt, had a more avowedly political purpose: first removing the unpopular dictator, Machado, and then winding down the popular insurrection of 1933-34, which ensued without any loss of US power or possessions."¹⁵

President F.D. Roosevelt's administration had all the strengths and weaknesses of a progressive bourgeois-democratic regime. Even though he was opposed by the monopolists for his New Deal proposals, in his own way he served their interests. While his methods differed radically from the openly interventionist ones of President Theodore Roosevelt, his objective was the same. He held the view that "in order to develop sources of raw materials needed in the United States", it was necessary to increase investments in Latin America and the Caribbean.

But there was little capital available for export because of the decline by 42 per cent in industrial production in 1930 and the demand for money inside the USA during the Depression. The establishment of the Export-Import Bank, in 1934, followed by the "World Bank" in 1944, filled the gap and investments were maintained through these public institutions. The Export-Import Bank favoured US capital. But with the stipulation that the money borrowed must be used for the purchase of US equipment and materials, a form of aid deemed packaged unemployment, the loan money never left the United States.

In the 1930's and 1940's under state-monopoly capitalism, this

¹⁵ Robin Blackburn, *Cuba and the Super-powers*, in *Patterns of Foreign Influence in the Caribbean*, edited by Emmanuel de Kadt, Oxford University Press, London, 1972, p. 126.

form of aid helped to displace European firms and to strengthen US economic hegemony, a process accelerated in the 1940's by the confiscation and appropriation of German investments. By the end of 1949, US private investments worldwide were more than the combined amount of all the other imperialist powers.

FASCISM AND US MILITARY HEGEMONY

The post-depression period in the 1930's witnessed the intensification of inter-imperialist rivalry in the Caribbean and Latin America. The rise of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco in Europe led to the development of fascist movements in Latin America – the Integristas in Brazil, the Sinarquistas in Mexico, the National Socialist Party in Chile – and many Latin American military leaders sympathised with the Axis powers. Also with the outbreak of World War II, the impetus was provided for the growth of militarism in the Caribbean and Latin America.

Adolf Hitler in a conversation on November 19, 1937, with Lord Halifax complained that while England, France, Belgium, Spain and Portugal had colonies, "only Germany was told that under no circumstances must she have colonies";¹⁶ further that "Germany's colonial demands were not prompted by imperial or military ambitions.... she wanted colonies solely for economic reasons, as a source of supply of agricultural produce and raw materials".¹⁷ Hitler then threatened: "As to the colonial question, it was not for Germany to express any wishes. There were two possibilities. First, the free play of forces. What colonies Germany would take in this case could not be foretold. The second possibility was a reasonable settlement".

Conscious of the fact that the Latin American armies were trained almost exclusively by European military missions (Germany in Argentina, Chile and Bolivia; France in Peru, Ecuador, Brazil and Guatemala), and also of the intensive activities of the Germans in the economic and ideological fields, President Roosevelt in a

¹⁶ *Documents and Materials Relating to the Eve of the Second World War*, International Publishers, New York, 1948, Vol. 1, pp. 26-28: Cited in *Political Affairs*, October 1972, p. 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

telegram to Hitler on April 15, 1939, offered a junior partnership. But the offer was rejected by Hitler.¹⁸

With the rise of Hitler in Europe and alliance with fascism threatening to break the US stronghold in Latin America, the US government moved to integrate the military, and thus the economy, of North, Central and South America.

Military solidarity through a defense pact was embodied in the Declaration of Lima of 1938. A year later, the first meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Panama, approved a General Declaration of Neutrality of the American Republics and agreed to the creation of a hemispheric security zone which permitted the military patrolling of waters around the Americas three hundred miles out to sea. *In the name of continental unity and security, sovereignty was jettisoned and the idea of a super state led by the USA was formulated. As a leading spokesman of Pan Americanism, Leo S. Rowe, on the eve of Pearl Harbour, put it:*

Now a traditional base of Inter-American co-operation will not be enough. Even the strict idea of national sovereignty will have to undergo modifications.¹⁹

With the second meeting of Foreign Ministers in Cuba in 1940 came the acceptance of Cordell Hull's "no transfer" principle and the adoption of resolutions for mutual defense. Fearing that the Caribbean territories of France and Holland might fall into the hands of the fascist belligerents, the meeting agreed that in the event of such a danger an "emergency committee" of one member from each republic should set up a provisional administration of the territory. Agreements were also made with Greenland and Iceland for transit rights and military bases, and with Britain in 1940 for military bases in the Caribbean under 99-year leases in British Guiana, Bermuda, Bahamas, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Lucia and Trinidad in exchange for 50 over-age destroyers.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941, the opportunity was presented to the United States to displace the Germans and to obtain complete dominance in the military sphere. Prior to

¹⁸ Daniel Mason, "US Foreign Policy in Latin America", *Political Affairs*, Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., New York, October 1972, p. 27-28.

¹⁹ Juan Jose Arevalo, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

that, its attempts to secure military bases, despite warnings of the Nazi menace, were largely unsuccessful. Many Latin Americans argued that US bases on their soil would endanger the sovereignty of their countries and expose them to attacks. And there was skepticism also about US military aid. When in 1937, Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, proposed the possibility of loans of warships to some countries, Eduardo Santos, the Liberal Party leader of Colombia replied:

Don't do this evil to us. The use of armaments is like the vice of morphine. Once begun, the cure is almost impossible. You will ruin us with cruisers and create for us new problems.... because there is always someone with the desire to try out the armaments and obtain from them some advantage.²⁰

The war on American soil in the Western Hemisphere and the Lend Lease Act, under which US arms could be provided, completely transformed the situation. The Caribbean and Central American countries and Brazil declared war. And in 1942, bases were obtained under bilateral agreements by the United States with Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Panama and Ecuador.

The full co-operation sought by the United States, which had not been obtained at the Conferences at Lima in December 1938 and at Panama in 1940, became a reality at Rio de Janeiro in January 1942. All the republics agreed to speed up the production of raw materials for the US war machine and to "consider any act of aggression on the part of a non-American state against any one of them as an act of aggression against all of them." The institutions created soon after the Rio Conference to achieve the stated objectives were the Inter-American Commission for Political Defence, and the Inter-American Defence Board.

Under the Lend Lease Act, Latin America was earmarked to receive US\$400 million worth of war goods. The arms buildup, military bases and transit rights, though intended to achieve hemispheric invulnerability and a united front against fascism, initiated in fact, the process of removing European military presence from the Caribbean and Latin America and consolidating US military hegemony.

²⁰ Edwin Lieuwien, *Arms And Politics in Latin America*, Frederick Praeger, New York, 1960 p. 236.

The end of World War II marked the beginning of US supremacy in the era of imperialism. Whatever goodwill was created by the "Good Neighbour" policy of Roosevelt was soon dissipated and gradually destroyed. The close relationship and cooperation which had been developed in the fight against fascism was changed after the death of Roosevelt in 1944 into an anti-communist crusade and cold war. The USA embarked on a course, contrary to its own anti-colonial tradition, to prevent by whatever means at its disposal national and social revolutions and became the international policeman in defence of the old order and the maintenance of the status quo.

Wartime cooperation was abruptly brought to a halt. During World War II, the Soviet Union, USA, Britain and France together fought successfully against Germany, Italy and Japan. In the fight for freedom and democracy, the equation was liberal capitalism and communism against fascism (decadent capitalism). In the subsequent cold war period, the equation changed. Fascism was no longer the enemy for the West; it became an ally. Communism became the common enemy; it was regarded as a "disease" which had to be "contained".

This ideological conception by the US was the main motivating force governing its foreign policy and therefore the way it reacted to events all over the world. At home, the enemy was communism; overseas, it was the Soviet Union. The policy of "containment" – containment of communism, of socialism, of revolution, of any radical movement or challenge to "the free enterprise system" and Western ideas of democracy – was first mooted by Winston Churchill in his speech at Fulton, Missouri early in 1946, and a year later by the "Truman Doctrine" enunciated by President Harry Truman.

Churchill set the tone for Truman when he made a call for a western alliance against socialism and revolution, which had its origins in the success of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Then, he had called for a strangling of the "infant in its 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 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.²¹

At Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946, Churchill referred to the "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".²²

Lest the subjective nature of these statements make it appear that they were merely the personal expressions of opinion of one important leader of the western world, the following quotation is reproduced from the book *Winston Churchill* (first published in 1978) by V.G. Trukhanovsky of Moscow University and Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

In the winter of 1945/46, Churchill spent several months in the United States. He met President Truman, the heads of the State Department and other officials. During these meetings the idea came up that Churchill should make a speech on world policy problems, and its general line was determined. The main propositions were drawn up in agreement with President Truman on 10 February. Churchill spent several weeks in a health resort in Florida, where he perfected and polished his speech. When everything was ready, he and Truman went to Fulton, Missouri, where, at Westminster College on 5 March, he delivered the address that was to be the cause of so much uproar.

As is known, Attlee, Bevin and also President Truman and US

²¹ 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".

²² For a full account of the background to the cold war, see Carl Marzani, *We Can Be Friends*, Topical Book Publishers, New York, 1952, pp. 113-287, and D.F. Fleming, *The Cold War And Its Origins*, Doubleday and Company, Inc., New York, 1961, pp. 348-362 on Churchill's Fulton Speech, and pp. 433-476 on the Truman Doctrine.

Secretary of State Byrnes²³, knew that the speech was to be made and had given their agreement. Truman even travelled a long distance to introduce Churchill to the audience. All these facts prove that Churchill did not only express his personal views, but promulgated the anti-Soviet programme of the power elite both in Britain and in the United States of America.

Harry Truman and Ernest Bevin put into practice the plans of Churchill, the architect of the cold war. Truman followed up Churchill's lead when he sought to present the already developing conflict between the Soviet Union and the USA as a struggle between "two ways of life" with the Soviet Union cast in the role of the enemy.

At Baylor University on March 6, 1947, Truman 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".

The Truman Doctrine was promulgated to deal with a social revolution in Greece. Even before the end of the war, the British in Greece were setting out to crush the force most representative of the Greek people and the organisation which had fought with the Allies against the German occupation of their country, and EAM (National Liberation Front). 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.²⁴

²³ D.F. Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 351 Byrnes denied that he had been consulted about the Churchill speech.

²⁴ According to Roberts Gonsalvez Gomes, *op. cit.*, p. 5: Worth recalling is the message sent by Ernest Bevin to the US Government, expressing England's inability

Requesting from Congress on March 12, 1947, aid for Greece and Turkey, President Truman attacked the Communists, "a militant 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 US to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure".

Earlier in a rabble-rousing speech on October 27, 1945, he had said that US foreign policy was based on "righteousness and justice", that there would be no "compromise with evil". And issuing a warning to the Russians as regards its position in Europe, he roared: "We shall refuse to recognise any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power".

This was the language of the big stick with the zeal of the Crusades, a "get tough" policy towards the Soviet Union, socialism and national liberation. The attitude behind it captures and epitomises one side of a curious ambivalence observable in US foreign policies almost from the birth of the Republic.

As a nation which had thrown off the British yoke with its declaration of Independence in 1776, the US was disposed to be sympathetic with and even actively to encourage national liberation movements and to support national self-determination. These lofty sentiments, however, came in conflict with, and could not stand up to, the pervasive need for fulfillment of the basic ideology of capitalist expansion – the belief that the functions of economic enterprise is the pursuit of profit.

Writing on the question of US intervention in Russia after the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, William Appleman Williams states that "... American decision-makers viewed economics as of extremely great, if not of literally primary, impor-

ty 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". For a full account of the antecedents of US cold war position, see William Appleman Williams below.

tance in the dynamic operation of the American system.... And all of them viewed overseas economic expansion as essential to the continued successful operation of the American free-enterprise system.²⁵ Earlier, he quoted Woodrow Wilson: "If America is not to have free enterprise, then we can have freedom of no sort whatever". Wilson saw the US inexorably involved in a struggle to "command the economic fortunes of the world". The prize was control of the overseas market to soak up the surpluses – "the market to which diplomacy, and if need be power, must have an open way". Americans, according to Wilson, were "the custodians of the spirit of righteousness, of the spirit of equal-handed justice". He was candidly prejudiced in favour of "those who act in the interest of peace and honour, who protect private rights, and respect the restraints of constitutional provisions". According to Williams, the competing demands of Christian ethics and national expansion created tremendous moral tension, and Wilson's commitment to the principle of self-determination served only to intensify the dilemma.

Like most liberals, Wilson resolved the dilemma by making a sharp distinction between those who were fit to govern and those who had merely a claim to vote. He noted that "when properly directed, there is no people not fitted for self-government." Intervention in the USSR and elsewhere was justified on the ground of unfitness. It was the duty of the United States to discipline, educate and guide. According to Williams, Wilson thus set about to "teach the South American republics to elect good men" and to establish a government in Mexico "under which all contracts and business and concessions will be safer than they have been". And if governments persisted in being non-conformist and revolutionary, then the weapon of non-recognition was utilised.

It was this reversion to type that Truman was regurgitating under the euphemism of "containment" of communism which soon led under "liberation" to intervention by successive administrations in Korea, Guatemala, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Vietnam and elsewhere. General Dwight Eisenhower spelt out the mood of US cold warriors during the 1952 election campaign. An exponent of "peace through strength", he called for war. "The government with cold finality", he declared, "must tell the Kremlin that we shall

²⁵ William Appleman Williams, "American Intervention in Russia": 1917-20", p. 31, in *Containment and Revolution*, edited by David Horowitz, Beacon Press, Boston, 1967.

never recognise the slightest permanence of Russia's position in Eastern Europe and Asia". He read out a long list of countries which he said were "suffocating from the Russian pall" and added: "The conscience of America can never know ease until these people are restored to the society of free men".

Commented the *Eastern European Observer* of August 30, 1952:

Even the British Press showed its anxiety at this outburst and tried to dismiss it as electioneering. But Eisenhower was saying in public what the architects of the Atlantic Pact have been saying in private for years. This is the US counterpart of Churchill's demand for the 'liberation of the ancient capitals of Europe'.

Militarisation of the economy and the arms drive began in earnest. A new draft law was enacted in 1948 and the strength of the armed forces grew from 1,350,000 in 1948 to 3,630,000 in June 1952.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNISM AND THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

The Great October Socialist Revolution was hailed by progressives the world over. But the ruling circles of world capitalism, alarmed at the historic event, launched a counter-revolutionary attack. After the failure of the military intervention, other forms of aggression – non-recognition, economic and trade blockade – were used in an attempt to strangle the young socialist state. In time, these also failed. From being the sixth power in Europe, the Soviet Union is today the first and has surpassed the USA in many sectors.

In the meantime, the ideology of the Revolution, Marxism-Leninism, gained ground throughout the world. A few years after 1917, communist parties were established in many countries in the Western Hemisphere. The communists succeeded in getting 600,000 votes in Brazil in the 1945 elections and were a decisive factor in the 1946 elections in Chile. In Uruguay, they held a strong position in the trade union movement. In Cuba and Guatemala also, they exerted strong influence on the trade union and political fronts. Particularly after the depression in the 1930's, their strength was far greater than their actual party enrolment indicated.¹

Socialist ideas were current in the British Caribbean territories in the early 1920's especially as a result of the influence of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). UNIA's leader Marcus Garvey at the beginning worked:

in close alliance with the Communists and socialists, and indeed his debut on the public platform was under the auspices of Hubert Harrison's anti-war Afro-American Liberty League, a left wing organisation.

When the New York Division of the UNIA was launched in 1917, Harrison became a member. Garvey also worked closely with Philip Randolph who at that time enjoyed a reputation as a militant socialist agitator. Cyril Briggs, the Communist, brought his African Blood Brotherhood into the organisation where it operated as a sort of cadre

¹ See Edwin Lieuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 54, for Communist Party membership in Latin America in 1957.

group. W.A. Domingo, a Marxist and a member of the American Socialist Party was editor of the UNIA's *Negro World*.²

On returning from a visit to the Soviet Union in 1932, Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow spoke highly of the developments that had taken place in the interests of workers in the USSR as a result of its socialist revolution. The reactionaries in British Guiana branded him a communist and one local newspaper, the *Daily Chronicle*, said:

We are very interested in the account Mr. Critchlow brought back to the West Indies of his activities in the Soviet Union. We believe all he said of his experiences and wish to assure him that if and when it suits him we will accommodate him in a cell.³

A message from the Indian National Congress to the first British Guiana and West Indies Labour Conference held in British Guiana in 1926, requested the Indians "to organise with workers of other nationalities to build a Socialist State".

In Barbados, there was a clash in the early 1930's between Grantley Adams' type of 'Asquithian liberalism' and the 'Rights-of-Man Socialism' of the Democratic League of Duncan O'Neale, Chennel Wickham and others'.⁴ Clement Payne, under whose leadership mass demonstrations took place in 1937, was regarded as a "wide-eyed misguided importer of foreign ideas", and the radical Hubert Seale was depicted as an anarchist.

Nationalist and Socialist tendencies also developed among the young military officers. In Brazil in 1924, Captain-Engineer Luis Carlos Prestes led a column of insurgents which fought for two and a half years and covered nearly 30,000 kilometers. After the internment of his column in Bolivia in 1927, he headed the National Liberation Alliance and in 1935 guided an uprising which was brutally suppressed. While he was in prison in 1943, he was elected in his absence General Secretary of the Communist Party of Brazil.

² Richard Hart, "From Garvey to Black Liberation", *Thunder*, PPP Quarterly, Freedom House, Georgetown, Guyana, April-June, 1974, pp. 8-9.

³ Ashton Chase, *A History of Trade Unionism, 1900-1961*, New Guyana Co. Ltd., Georgetown, Guyana, p. 76.

⁴ "Grantley Adams – The Man and the Myth", *Tapia*, Tunapuna, Trinidad, July 21, 1974.

In 1926, Cesar Augusto Sandino, known as the General of the People, led a revolt against the US invaders in Nicaragua and was the first to form an army of a new type, a partisan army with anti-imperialist ideals.

In 1932, Colonel Marmaduque Grove led a successful uprising in Chile and declared it a Socialist Republic. However, the junta Grove headed was overthrown soon after by the reactionary section of the armed forces.

In Argentina, Colonel Juan Domingo Peron, an adjutant to General Uriburu who had been influenced by profascist propaganda and had seized power in 1930, headed the group of United Officers which seized power in 1943. In 1946, he was elected President in the face of strong US opposition. His Justalista Party developed close links with the workers and instituted a constitutional system. The government recognised the right of workers to strike and to engage in trade union activities, and like Mexico in 1924, established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Because of these activities, Peron was deemed a radical reformer by the ultra-rightist military circles.

In Venezuela, the left and democratic forces, led by Romulo Gallegos, won a popular electoral victory in 1945.

The Marxist-led revolutionary-democratic People's Progressive Party scored a decisive victory of 18 out of 24 seats in the elections in British Guiana in 1953.

In Guatemala, a left group of young army officers led by Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, overthrew the rightist military regime of General Frederico Ponce on October 20, 1944, and placed in power the left-of-centre intellectual, Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo.

Like Arevalo, other leftist leaders, particularly in Venezuela, Peru and Costa Rica, came to the forefront helped by the objective situation triggered by the Depression, the reform-oriented New Deal Roosevelt administration, the great contribution made by the Soviet Union in the defeat of the fascist Axis powers, and other factors.

THE RIO PACT

These positive developments in the hemisphere and the changed balance of world forces caused by the fact that socialism had emerged from a single country into a world socialist system, alarmed the capitalist ruling circles.

On the fiction that the Soviet Union was preparing to launch a war and that Latin America was threatened by communist aggression from within and without, President Truman, in the ensuing hysteria, called in May 1946 for the military unification of the continent.

Reacting to this call, General Gois Monteiro, Brazilian Minister of War declared in August 1946:

The outbreak of the Third World War is a serious possibility that threatens the peace and security of the hemisphere.

At the February 1945 Conference of the American States in Mexico City, the Act of Chapultepec was adopted which declared that an attack on any American state would be considered as an attack against all and that collective measures would be taken to repel the aggression. *The Conference also decided that the Inter-American Defense Board, established in 1942, should be made a permanent organization. Soon after it recommended a permanent unified military command of the twenty-one republics, including the standardisation of equipment, training and organisation. This resulted on September 2, 1947, in a military pact, the "International Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance" known as the Rio Pact which would provide for "collective self-defence" and would "tend to serve as a guarantee to peace in the Americas".*

The Rio Treaty established, in violation of the norms of international law on freedom of navigation and on territorial waters, a "security zone", three times larger than the "neutral zone" set out by a conference in Panama in 1939. The new zone included a vast region stretching to the east of Greenland about 1000 miles across the Atlantic Ocean from the American coast, and on the west an area 1200 miles off the Pacific exit of the Panama Canal. The Treaty provided for joint action against "any unprovoked armed attack by a State against the territory, the people, or the land sea and air forces of another State", or "invasion by the armed forces of a State of the territory of an American state." It became a model for other Western military blocs – NATO, SEATO etc. So sweeping and provocative was the Rio Pact in relation to the Western Alliance and US global strategy that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs commented (Pravda 29 January 1949):

The State Department regards the implementation of the Western Alliance in Europe and the fact that the Inter-American Treaty has become effective.... as an important condition that paved the way to the realisation of US policy on a world scale. The North Atlantic Treaty is intended as the principal link in the realisation of this policy and will have to be based on the already existing groupings of countries in Europe and America.

In March-May 1948, the Ninth International Conference of American States in Bogota drew up the Charter of the Organisation of American States (OAS), highlighting the necessity for increasing hemispheric solidarity in political, economic and military matters.

Military aid was stepped up for the oligarchy in the Caribbean and Latin America on the argument that every country should cooperate in meeting the so-called communist threat. It was argued that it was the responsibility of all the states to protect the strategic areas of the hemisphere and the inter-American lines of communication as these were vital for the security of every American Republic.

Actually, Latin America and the Caribbean faced no such threat. At the time of the Rio Pact (1947) and the US National Security Act of 1957, it was certainly one of the most isolated and protected areas, far removed from the centres of international cold-war conflict. And as regards border conflicts and wars between the American states, the OAS was specifically created to cope with that problem. And if the threat was merely internal, the strengthening of the police and not a big military build-up would have been adequate.

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. Through this “mutual security” plan, the USA, with 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”.⁵ Eleven other countries signed similar MDA agreements – Cuba, Colombia, Peru and Chile in 1952; Brazil, Dominican Republic and Uruguay in 1953; Nicaragua and Honduras in 1954; Haiti and Guatemala in 1955.

Military aid for Haiti was requested in 1954 by Henry F. Holland, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs because “she feels left out since the Dominican Republic is included... Haiti has a fairly large army (4,000) and is strategically located in the Windward Passage where many ships were sunk during World War II.”⁶

There was also reimbursable military aid for all the twenty Latin American republics. Between 1946 and 1970, US\$1.3 billion went into Latin America to shore up the armed forces of 20 Latin American countries; as at July 1, 1971, there were 448 representatives of US Military Assistance Advisory Groups; between 1950 and 1970, 54,290 military students were trained and indoctrinated in the USA and in US overseas bases. Between 1956 and 1970 AID “public safety” programmes in support of Latin American puppet regimes threatened by popular insurrection spent US\$ 38,967,000 for specialised police training. Guyana in the earlier period under the Burnham government received motor cycles, jeeps, communication equipment and a naval craft. And police officers and military personnel had been trained in the United States.

In return for military aid, the United States obtained military bases. Apart from those previously established at Guantanamo in Cuba and the Canal Zone in Panama, missile-tracking stations were set up in the Dominican Republic and Fernando de Noronha Island. 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.

The military build-up was justified on the ground of hemispheric security. But in fact, it was based on military and strategic considerations – the suppression of national liberation movements and

⁵ Edwin Lieuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁶ *Ibid* – p. 220-221.

the maintenance of the traditional status quo. This was pointed out by Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, Roy R. Rubottom Jr., in his evidence before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Defending the MDA Program, he stated:

On the political side, our objective is to do all we can to help develop the friendliest possible relationships between ourselves and our neighbours in Latin America, and to encourage and bring about support for the United States policies both in this hemisphere and elsewhere in the world.⁷

Several years later, Robert McNamara, the then US Defense Secretary, justifying the use of military assistance to corrupt, pro-American regimes told the Congress in 1967:

Probably the greatest return on our military assistance comes from the training of selected officers and key specialists at our military schools in the United States and overseas. These students are hand-picked by their countries to become instructors when they return home. They are the coming leaders, the men who will have the know-how and impart it to their forces. I need not dwell upon the value of having in positions of leadership men who have first-hand knowledge of how Americans do things and how they think. It is beyond price to us to make friends of such men.⁸

The United States needed the support of the military-cum-latifundist oligarchy, especially in the United Nations⁹, rights to bases and access to raw materials.

Apart from the surrender of sovereignty, the poor Latin American countries were also forced to spend about US\$2,000 million annually on their armed forces because of the "communist aggression" myth. This was not only at the expense of the people's welfare; it also favoured in the political sphere not the democratic and progressive politicians but the reactionary military.

From 1953 to 1958, military men who had taken the anti-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

⁸ Haslemere Group and Third World First, *Get Off Our Backs*, Oxford, England, August 1972, p. 10.

⁹ In 1945, Latin America had 39 per cent of the votes at the UN. With increased membership from "third world" countries, its percentage declined to 24 per cent in 1959 and 20 per cent in 1973.

Communist pledge and had been given arms and equipment ousted the legal governments and seized power in fourteen Latin American republics. And the liberation movements and the working class bore the brunt of the repression. "In 1957 the Ibanez government used MDAP tanks in the streets of Santiago to break a strike. In that same year Rojas Pinilla in Colombia and Batista in Cuba were using MDAP equipment to quell internal opposition that could hardly be defined as a communist threat from within".¹⁰

General Manuel Odria carried out a successful coup in Peru in October 1948, to be followed a month later by Perez Jimenez in Venezuela. Getulio Vargas was overthrown soon after substantial aid was given to the military in Brazil. In a parting suicide note in 1954, Vargas told the Brazilian people:

I follow the destiny that is imposed on me. After years of domination and looting by international economic and financial groups, I made myself chief of an unconquerable revolution. I began the work of liberation and I instituted a regime of social liberty.....

A subterranean campaign of international economic groups joined with national groups revolting against the regime of workers' guarantees. The law of excess profits was stopped in Congress. Hatreds were unchained against the justice of a revision of minimum salaries.....

I assumed the government during the inflationary spiral that was destroying the value of work. Profits of foreign enterprises reached 500% yearly... I saw the coffee crisis increase the value of our principal product. We attempted to defend its price and the reply was a violent pressure upon our economy to a point of being obliged to surrender....

I cannot give you more than my blood. If the birds of prey wish the blood of anybody, they wish to continue sucking that of the Brazilian people.

I offer my life in the holocaust. I choose this means to be with you always. When they humiliate you, you will feel my soul suffering at your side.... My sacrifice will maintain you united, and my name will be your battle flag....

I fought against the looting of Brazil. I fought against the looting of the people... I gave you my life. Now I offer my death.

¹⁰ Edwin Lieuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

What is taking place in the Caribbean and Latin America was part of a world-wide plan. Following the Rio Treaty, other treaties were signed – Atlantic Treaty (NATO) on April 4, 1949; South-East Asia Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO) on September 8, 1954; Baghdad Pact (Later called Central Treaty Organisation after the Iraq revolution of 1958 led to Iraq's withdrawal) on February 24, 1955 – under which an "iron ring" of military bases in US-client states was established to "contain" the Soviet Union and the world socialist system. By January 1, 1972, 781,000 US troops were deployed overseas – 21,000 in Latin America; 216,000 in Southeast Asia; 207,000 in the Far East and Pacific; 287,000 in Europe and 50,000 in other areas.

From aid to the fascists in Greece and Turkey, it was a "short" step to aid for Chiang Kai-Chek in China, the French in Indochina, the British in Malaya (now Malaysia) and the Dutch in Indonesia; intervention in Korea in 1950; the overthrow of the Romulo Gallegos government in Venezuela (1948), Mossadegh government in Iran (1953), the PPP government in British Guiana (1953), the Arbenz government in Guatemala (1954), the attempted overthrow of the Nasser government of Egypt (1956); the forced resignation of the Quadros Government in Brazil (1960); the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba (1961); the overthrow of the Patrice Lumumba government in Congo in 1961; the removal of the Goulart government of Brazil and the PPP government of British Guiana (1964); the massive intervention in the Dominican Republic (1965) and in Vietnam (1965-1973); the overthrow of the Sukarno government of Indonesia (1965), the Nkrumah government of Ghana (1966), the Allende government of Chile (1973), the Makarios government of Cyprus (1974) and others.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Colonialism, one of the manifestations of capitalism, came to an end by the latter part of the first half of the nineteenth century in the Hispanic Caribbean and South American territories except in Cuba and Puerto Rico. By 1830, the independent states projected themselves into the international arena.

Cuba became independent in 1902 but until 1959, like most other independent Caribbean countries, experienced the status of neo-colonialism, "the last stage of imperialism".

The non-Spanish-speaking Caribbean territories remained non-self-governing until the early 1960's when independence came to Jamaica (1961), Trinidad (1962), British Guiana and Barbados (1966), Bahamas (1973), Grenada (1974), Suriname (1975), Dominica (1978) and St. Vincent and St. Lucia (1979). Belize and Antigua became independent in late 1981 and St. Kitts Nevis in 1983. Still with dependent status are Montserrat, Anguilla, Turks and Caicos Islands, British Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, US Virgin Islands and the French and Netherlands Antillean territories.

The independence movements of the Caribbean territories were generally related to the world-wide struggle for colonial freedom. At the end of World War II, there were 103 territories with a population of about 700 million which were colonial or non-self-governing. Of these, 10 with about 5% of the total population were Trust territories.

The colonialists couched their roles of economic plunder and racial subjugation with pious philosophical pronouncements. For the British it was "the white man's burden", for the French "la mission civilisatrice" and for the Americans "manifest destiny". With these self-serving slogans, they committed the worst crimes in the history of civilisation. Among the common examples were the killing of millions of Africans in the "middle passage", indiscriminate slaughter of colonials as at Amritsar in India, the British War Office practice of selling blankets infected with smallpox to American Indians, the head-hunting of communists in Malaya and the use of mobile gallows in Kenya.

In spite of these acts, the colonialists were unable to stem the

tide of national liberation which developed particularly after World War II. This was because the international situation was changing in favour of the oppressed peoples, for whom moral, and in many cases material, help from socialist countries was forthcoming: socialism was on the upsurge while imperialism was entering the stage of ever-deepening crises.

U.S.A. AND COLONIALISM

The US attitude to colonialism was clearly demonstrated during and after World War II. As a country which was founded on a war of independence in 1776, it had a basic sympathy with the colonial underdog; it was disposed to encourage and support the right to national self-determination. But in the era of imperialism, when the export of finance-capital had supplanted the export of goods of the old colonialism and the USA had achieved the status as the main exporter of capital and had developed a voracious appetite for raw materials, it assumed neo-colonialist policies.

The United States worked with the other imperialist states for the preservation of the colonial status quo, but at the same time it undermined in the colonies the position of the metropolitan states which had built up a closed system of protectionism and trading preferences.

When independence came, it wanted to be in a commanding position; it had learnt that neo-colonialism was less irksome and equally profitable.

The anti-colonial tradition was clearly enunciated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt during World War II. On February 22, 1942, repudiating Winston Churchill's stand, he declared that the Atlantic Charter, which accepted the principle of respect for "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live", applied "not only to the parts of the world that border the Atlantic, but on the whole world".

Churchill who wanted the exclusion of the British Empire had earlier on September 9, 1941, stated:

At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind primarily the restoration of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under the Nazi yoke.¹

¹ R. D. Dutt, *The Crisis of Britain and the British Empire*, Lawrence and Wishart, London 1957, p. 92.

He observed that point three of the Charter referring to self-determination "was not meant to apply to India, or Burma or to affect in any way the constitutional arrangements within the British Empire".

John Foster Dulles, addressing the United Nations General Assembly in 1947, declared that "the colonial system is obsolete and should be done away with as soon as possible".

At the International Conference of American States in Bogota, Colombia in 1948, an important resolution was passed no doubt under US influence for "putting an end to colonialism and the occupation of American territories by extra-continental countries". An American Commission of Dependent Territories was also set up "to find an adequate solution" to the problem of colonialism in the Western Hemisphere.

But while the USA was proclaiming the right of political independence, it maintained Puerto Rico as a colony and supported the colonial wars of the British in Malaya, the French in Indochina and the Dutch in Indonesia.

The experience of Guyana is deeply relevant in this context. United States hypocrisy became apparent when it applauded the Churchill-led British government for forcibly removing the popularly-elected PPP government after only 133 days in office in 1953. And a decade later, US interference by the Kennedy administration blocked the independence of British Guiana, as was pinpointed by British Tory Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod. In a debate in the House of Commons in June 1964, he said: "There is an irony we all recognise in the fact of America urging us all over the world towards colonial freedom except where it approaches their own doorstep. When I was last in America.... I discussed with many people, including President Kennedy, this particular question which weighs anxiously on their minds. I myself think their fears (about Dr. Jagan) are exaggerated. The American attitude seems dangerous because in my experience if you put off independence because you fear you may get left-wing government, the most likely thing to happen is that you will get a government even further to the left". Iain Macleod, who had chaired the 1960 British Guiana Constitutional Conference, knew that the denial of independence and the imposition of the electoral system of proportional representation in October 1963 was a breach of the formula agreed upon in 1960 for independence.

The nominal independence offered to the Philippines² was refused Puerto Rico. From 1898, when the USA captured it from Spain, to 1952, it was an "unincorporated territory". Its Commonwealth status, then achieved, was nothing less than a colonial status as was later pronounced in August 1972 by the United Nations Special Committee on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Territories and Peoples, the so-called decolonisation "Committee of Twenty-Four".

In 1939, a bill passed by the Puerto Rico House of Representatives "to create an industrial Development Company was vetoed by the Governor".³ And in keeping with the tenets of the Truman Doctrine, the process of industrialisation through public enterprise was halted and the factories established earlier were sold to the private sector. Land reform initiated in 1941 under the Foraker "500-acre" Act was terminated by the end of that decade. Only seven of the 33 corporations owning more than 500 acres had been made into public enterprises; five others had sold part or all of their lands to the colons, the peasant cane farmers.

Puerto Rico also provided a string of military bases and installations – the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base, the Ramey Air Force Base, installations at Vieques and Culebra. These in turn provided a link in the chain of bases including Florida, Guantanamo

² According to Victor Perlo, *op. cit.*, p. 21: The Tydings-McDuffie Act provided "independence" on the following terms: retention of United States military bases, retention of all United States private property rights, honoring of all debts to United States bankers, adoption by the Philippines of a constitution satisfactory to Washington, and ending of the duty-free status of Philippine goods in the United States markets.

It was so clear that this represented not a liberation of the Philippines, but merely a change in the form of rule, that Professor J.R. Hyden, one-time vice-governor of the Philippines, wrote: "The Tydings-McDuffie Act provides for the separation of the United States from the Philippines under conditions which would make probable the early ruin of one country, and, consequently, the dishonor of the other".

³ Ved P. Duggal's *Two Papers on the Economy of Puerto Rico*, The Caribbean Institute and Study Centre for Latin America, Inter-American University of Puerto Rico, San German, p 11, quotes David F. Ross, *The Long Uphill Path, a Historic Study of Puerto Rico's Program of Economic Development*, p 33, to say that from 1898 when the USA captured Puerto Rico from Spain to 1952, it was an "unincorporated territory".

Bay (Cuba), St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands and others for the control of the Caribbean-Gulf of Mexico area, surveillance of all shipping and "protection" of the Panama Canal.

THE FRENCH CARIBBEAN

The peoples of the Caribbean who comprise the French dependencies were not permitted to determine their own destinies in the immediate postwar period: the First Imperial Conference of Free France, held in Brazzaville in June, 1944 saw to that. According to Herbert Leuthy's summary⁴ of the Conference, it decided among other things, that any ideas of autonomy, of development outside the French Empire, or of the attainment of self-government even in the most distant future, must be excluded.

De Gaulle, the war-time leader of the Free French Forces against Hitler, had emerged as the "Saviour of France" and the scourge of the Vichyites. He had presided over the Conference. Brought to power after the war, he laid down the Policy of the "Right" at home and overseas. This was demonstrated by his refusal to permit the Communists to head the government after they had won the largest number of votes at the October 1945 elections. But he resigned in January 1946 because, according to Alexander Worth (France 1940-1955, Holt, New York), "he realised that the left continued to hold the initiative".

In June, 1946 the French Government sought to deflect or bypass "ideas" of freedom by legislating that:

all subjects of overseas territories, including Algeria, possess the quality of citizens with the same rights as French citizens in the home country and overseas territories.

With the launching of the Cold War, French politics fell into line and moved to the right. The Marshall Plan brought France

⁴ Victor Perlo, *op-cit.*, p. 227. The full quotation in Leuthy's *FRANCE AGAINST HERSELF* reads: "The final resolution of the Brazzaville conference announced imperatively 'that the aims of the work of colonization which France is pursuing in her colonies exclude any idea of autonomy and any possibility of development outside the French Empire bloc: the attainment of self Government in the colonies even in the most distant future must be excluded'".

more and more under U.S. influence. There was set up a committee of leading American and French bankers "to stimulate and facilitate development of overseas territories of the French Union". France became the headquarters of NATO. The "left" were removed from the United Front Government and the Communist Party, with nearly 5 1/2 million voters in the 1946 elections⁵, was debarred from government participation. And with a large part of the \$11 billion in loans received from the U.S. between 1946 and 1960, France conducted its suicidal colonial wars in Indo-China and Algeria.

The shattering defeat of France at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the debacle of the Israel-British-French attack on Nasser's Egypt in 1956 and the drain of French manpower, resources and prestige in the Algerian war made it easy for De Gaulle's return in a putsch in 1958. He demanded, and got, unlimited powers in a new Constitution. The French Chamber of Deputies voted 569 to 80 for the destruction of the Republic and the establishment of a neo-fascist regime. 139 of the 175 socialist deputies voted affirmatively with only the Communist Party opposing. Here the social democrats behaved in the same way as their counterparts in Germany who had paved the way for German fascism under Hitler.

But even De Gaulle with unlimited powers could not crush the Algerians: France, like the USA later in Indo-China and Portugal in Africa, learnt the painfully expensive lesson that subsequently forced her to sue for peace with the Algerians and to crush the "rightist" generals and French Algerian colons who had brought him to power.

When in 1958, De Gaulle transformed the French Empire into the French Community, Guinea under Sekou Toure was the only country that opted for independence. That struggle was still in its embryonic stage in the French Caribbean territories; the level of political consciousness among the masses was rising but still comparatively low, and sections of the working class and the emerging local petit bourgeoisie revered De Gaulle as the "Liberateur" who had rescued France from the Vichy regime.

Three factors were largely responsible for De Gaulle moving more and more to an independent, even anti-American position in foreign affairs. These were firstly the growing dominance of U.S. foreign capital in France; secondly, U.S. support for a strongly re-

⁵ The Gaullists had 5 million and the Socialist Party 3 1/2 million votes.

armed and economically powerful Germany; and thirdly, the need to preserve French control and resources in former colonies and the existing colonies.

Aroused nationalism in France under De Gaulle and the continuous agitation of its working-class led by the Communist Party (which had played a dominant role in the resistance during the war) brought about the removal of NATO headquarters from France; support for a neutral Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; breach in the diplomatic blockade of the People's Republic of China and the creation of greater interest in the French Caribbean territories, which had been transformed into overseas departments of France in March, 1946 by a unanimous vote in the French Parliament. This last development gave the French colonies the right to each to elect a deputy to sit in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. Winning a seat many times, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe used this vantage point to demand the rights of the people it represented, as well as to press for the right to self-determination of the French Caribbean peoples.

The new French Overseas Department includes Martinique, Guadeloupe, French Guiana and Reunion in the Indian Ocean which, however, remained colonies of France. The right to self-determination continues to be refused, but various French governments have employed diverse subtle and covert methods for maintaining imperialist domination. In the case of French Guiana, famous for its prison fortress Devil's Island, a deliberate policy of blunting the liberation struggle was mounted. Resort was made to imprisoning or exiling militant freedom fighters, and at the same time, to changing drastically the composition of the population by the introduction of reactionary French and former Indochinese settlers. However, with new international developments, particularly the shedding of their African colonial possessions by Portugal and Spain, and the growing strength of the national liberation movement world-wide, the right to self-determination is likely to be realised in the not too distant future.

Within the past decade, "social departmentalisation" – the integration of capital, labour and institutions (especially social services) – has been successful in extending colonial bondage and dependence of the population on France for their relatively good standard of living vis-à-vis the English and Spanish-speaking neighbouring territories. The right of the population of the French

Caribbean to the same rights enjoyed in France – maternity benefits, unemployment relief and other forms of social assistance, the flooding of the markets with French commodities, the so-called safety valve of emigration to the metropolis to attend institutions of higher education as French citizens and to look for jobs – have created a dependency mentality not only in the local bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie but also in sections even of the working-class.

The bourgeoisie have in the past preferred to remain under the control of France and to be identified as French citizens and profit from the privileges that accrue from French transnational domination. In recent times, the petty-bourgeoisie have begun to realise that the crisis of capitalism and the erosion of the agricultural and industrial base by the multinationals have affected their way of life and reduced their opportunities for expansion.

The flight of thousands of young people to the metropolis in search of jobs has had a two-fold effect. While it relieves to some extent the economic pressure in the territories, on arrival in France they are confronted with lower wages than the French workers and the different forms of racism and discrimination, and they become involved in the powerful and militant French working-class movement: they thus attain a higher level of consciousness which many translate to the struggle for their homelands' independence. The economic crisis in the metropolis, suffering from its own intense problem of unemployment, cannot absorb the number of migrant workers, and this in turn intensifies the struggle for the right to work in the face of the destruction of the sugar and banana industries in Martinique and Guadeloupe. While attempts have been made by the Mitterand government to decrease unemployment in the metropolis, no comparable efforts have been made to rejuvenate the economics of the French Caribbean nor to protect them from the exigencies of the multinational corporations.

Traditionally, the posts at the top of the colonial administration are filled by personalities close to or from the ruling party in France: this is a cause of frustration for the local bourgeoisie who feel blocked from participation at important levels of society. Monopolization of external transportation, tourism, insurance and banking, the energy sector and Public Works in the hands of transnational corporations and state agencies have led to the further destruction of the economy and under-development.

The Department of Justice and organisations, called "socio-

professional", such as the Chamber of Commerce and Chamber of Agriculture are controlled by the local bourgeoisie.

France continues to use the French islands as bases for their naval forces in the region. At the time of the Union Island rebellion in December, 1980, French warships were on stand-by while the Barbadian Police Force invaded.

The Reagan doctrine provides for military intervention in the Caribbean against Cuba and any other country which the American Administration conceives as posing a threat to its interests in the region: and this includes the cooperation of French military forces using the French islands as bases for any moves. The newspaper of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, *L'Etincelle*, of May 7, 1983 reported the threat of installation of nuclear bases closest to these islands. It also reported that the present French government is moving even closer to the views of NATO. The military budget in the Overseas Department has increased from 412 million francs in 1975 to 941 million in 1979, an increase of 128 per cent.

The Mitterand government has instituted mild reforms in the former colonial administrative bodies which have led to victories for the progressive forces. In Martinique, an alliance was formed between the Progressive Party of Martinique (PPM), the Federation of the Socialist Party (FSM) and the CPM, and at the February 20 elections in 1983 they won 55,727 votes and 21 seats while the right won 52.47 votes and 20 seats. Unity for election purposes was forged against the forces of the right on the issues of the fight for decentralisation, for a democratic assembly, co-operation of the left and a common platform for economic development for the next five years. Aime Cesaire (PPM with 12 seats) is the newly elected President of the Regional Assembly and Georges Gratiant (CPM with 4 seats) is the Third Vice-President. The FSM gained 5 seats.

In Guadeloupe attempts to form an alliance of the left forces were not successful due to the lack of a common platform to take to the people. Yet the Communist Party of Guadeloupe won 22 per cent of the votes and 11 elected members to the Regional Council. Overall, the right forces won 50.19% of the votes, and the left 48.97%. The electoral results in French Guiana were not as clear cut; the reactionary forces in coalition with the Union of Independent Workers (UTG) defeated the Socialist Party and the new Presi-

dent is a member of the UTG. In Reunion, the Communist Party (CPR) won 32.7% of the votes and the new President of the Regional Council is Mario Hoareau of the CPR.

NETHERLANDS TERRITORIES

The Netherlands, too, like France was caught in the same game of domination and dependency at one and the same time. Prostrate at the end of the war, she was incorporated into the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Coal and Steel Community and later the European Community (EEC). US capital expanded not only in the Netherlands, but also in its overseas territories. The United States undermined the near-monopoly British and Dutch position in natural rubber in Indonesia. In 1949, 49 per cent of Indonesian tin went to the Texas City tin smelter. Dutch Guiana and British Guiana in the immediate postwar period produced mainly through the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA) nearly three-quarters of the bauxite requirement of the North American aluminium industry. This ore was of a high grade and of strategic importance and was used to combine with low-grade ore in the USA. In the Dutch Islands of Curacao and Aruba were established US-owned oil refineries to refine crude oil imported from neighbouring Venezuela but produced mainly by Standard Oil. At the same time, there was a shift from European to US banking capital; the British pound sterling was replaced by the US dollar.

At the political level, the Netherlands, after the attempt to re-colonize Indonesia had failed soon after World War II, followed the French lead with their West Hemisphere territories. In 1949, it constituted the Dutch Realm with the Netherlands, Surinam (Dutch Guiana) and the Netherlands Antilles (Curacao, Aruba Bonaire, St. Maarten, St. Eustatius and Saba) as co-equal partners. But they were equal only in theory. Constitutionally, real political control rested in the hands of the Netherlands government; economically, Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles were virtually US colonies.

Surinam opted for independence in 1975 under the leadership of the Nationalist Republican Party. With independence, Dutch colonialism was replaced by US neocolonialism. In early 1980, a group of young non-commissioned officers, with a military coup,

put an end to petty-bourgeois racialist politics and set the country on a progressive course.

In the Netherlands Antilles, automation in the oil refineries has caused increasing unemployment which stands at about 25 per cent. This led to serious labour unrest and a sharpening of the liberation struggle. However, constitutional development has been somewhat retarded by parochialism among the Islands and intrigues of Dutch imperialism. Aruba with the greatest potential as an oil producer, wants a separate independent status. This is opposed by the other territories of the Netherlands Antilles. Curacao in particular fears that the financial burden on her would be too great if Aruba became independent and ceased to make a contribution to the budget of the regional government in Willemstaad, the capital. These internal divisions suit the metropolitan government in Holland, enabling it to continue to maintain colonial rule, while portraying an image of liberalism; namely, its willingness to concede independence but to a unitary body embracing all the separate territories in the Netherlands Antilles. In the meantime, to placate Arubans, some constitutional concessions are being made on the tortuous road to independence.

THE COMMONWEALTH CARIBBEAN

The British connection in the Caribbean was first established in the early part of the 17th Century. And by the first quarter of the 19th Century through inter-imperialist rivalry and wars, Britain succeeded in occupying 17 territories.

African slaves and indentured immigrants, mainly from India, provided the labour for the plantations which were predominantly sugar plantations.

The constitutions "granted to the settlers in the majority of Britain's dependencies provided for a form of government which was representative, but which represented, substantially, the interests of the settlers only".⁶

But with the intensification of the national liberation and class struggles, and the fear of virtually unlimited powers passing out of

⁶ *Britain and the Developing Countries - the Caribbean*, prepared for the British Information Services by the Central Office of Information, London, January 1973, No. 5941/73.

the hands of the plantocracy, the constitutions were changed to provide for a Crown Colony system with wholly nominated organs of government. Although the system was modified from time to time by the inclusion of elected members, effective power remained in the hands of the British government through its representative, the Governor, who was provided with unlimited powers of veto and certification – he could veto any measure passed by the legislature and certify any measure which the latter failed to pass. The British, of course, justified the new system on the ground that it provided for “the direct protection by the Crown of the unrepresented classes, which takes the place of representation”.

In Jamaica, after slave revolts and the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, the Crown Colony system was imposed in June 1866 and elections were abolished. Similarly in British Guiana, after labour disturbances and the shooting of workers at Pln. Ruimveldt in 1924, and electoral successes in 1926 of candidates⁷ backed by the British Guiana Labour Union⁸, the plantocracy was so alarmed that the liberal constitution handed down by the Dutch was suspended and replaced by a Crown Colony Constitution.

But constitutional manipulation could not stem the tide of revolt. The Depression of the early 1930's had its impact in widespread poverty throughout the Caribbean. Professor MacMillan, in his book *Warning from the West Indies*, wrote: “Any social and economic study of the West Indies is necessarily a study of poverty”. In *Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean* (MacMillan Company, 1947), Paul Blanshard, a former US State Department official wrote:

The labouring population of almost the whole area lives at a level below human decency. The outward signs of Caribbean poverty.... ragged clothing, bare feet, children with bloated bellies, shacks made of flattened cans, and lines of unemployed workers waiting at closed gates.

⁷ Because of the limitations of the suffrage, candidates for elections were drawn mainly from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois businessmen and professionals.

⁸ The British Guiana Labour Union, founded in January 1919 by the militant water-front worker, Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, was the first registered union in British Guiana.

Depression and discontent led to mass demonstrations and strikes on the trade union and political fronts under nationalist leaders – Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley in Jamaica; Vere Bird in Antigua; Marryshaw in Grenada; Grantley Adams in Barbados; A.A. Cipriani, Uriah Butler and Albert Gomes in Trinidad; Hubert Nathaniel Critchlow, Theo Lee, C.R. Jacob and Ayube Edun in British Guiana; and others in St. Vincent, etc., – led to the appointment on August 5, 1938 of the Royal Commission headed by Lord Moyne and including the labourite Sir Walter Citrine.

The commencement of World War II temporarily forced the rising discontent in the Caribbean into the background. But it surfaced immediately after the war ended, and in order to understand the thinking in at least one centre of international power (Britain, still the arbiter of the fate of millions in the British Colonial Empire), it is necessary to take a look at what was being said in, and what was happening to that Empire during that interval.

Shortly before the outbreak of the War, British imperialism, forced on the defensive in the region, played for time and indulged in pious declarations. But time was not on the side of imperialism; the sun was already setting on the British Empire.

It is an interesting fact that during this period there was little difference between the Conservative Party and the “socialist” Labour Party. Malcolm MacDonald, the British Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a speech at the Oxford University Summer School on Colonial Administration, in August 1933, said:

What is the main purpose of the British Colonial Empire? I suggest that it is the gradual spread of freedom among all His Majesty's subjects, in whatever part of the Empire they live... Even among the most backward races of Africa, our main effort should be to try and help these peoples to stand a little bit more securely on their own feet... We can see that process going on, and we can say confidently that the trend is towards the ultimate establishment of the various colonial communities as self-supporting and self-reliant members of a great Commonwealth of Free peoples and nations.

In July, 1942, Viscount Cranbourne, Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a speech in the House of Commons, declared: “We are pledged to guide the colonial people along the road to self-government within the framework of the British Em-

pire". And in a speech at Leeds in January 1944, Colonel Stanley, Conservative Secretary of State for the Colonies pointed out: "Politically our declared aim is gradually to bring the Colonies to a position of self-government within the British Empire."

With the end of the War and India and other territories in the Far East on the boil, Clement Attlee, Labour Prime Minister, in a speech in the House of Commons, said that "We do not desire to retain within the Commonwealth and Empire any unwilling peoples. It is for the people of Burma to decide their own future". On July 29, 1947, Arthur Creech-Jones, Labour Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons: "Our object is to transform the dependencies in the Colonial Empire to responsibility, and to exercise a trust so that each blossoms into a partnership of disinterested service and friendship".

But there is a wide gap between promise and performance. The Atlantic Charter, proclaimed during the war to rally peoples everywhere, including the colonies, to fight against fascism and for democracy and freedom, became a dead letter. As regards its applicability particularly to India so that that country could join the war against fascism, Winston Churchill made his picturesque declaration on November 10, 1942, that he had "not become the King's first minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."

India, Burma and Ceylon which became independent in 1947 (with India dismembered) were exceptions to the general rule, not because of Britain's altruism and generosity but because there was no alternative. It was done to avert revolutions. According to the Editor of the *Daily Mail*, "it would have needed an occupation force of 500,000 men" to hold down India.

P.J. Griffiths, leader of the European Group in the Indian Central Legislative Assembly, in a speech to the East India Association in London on June 24, 1946, said: "India in the opinion of many was on the verge of a revolution before the British Cabinet Mission arrived. The Cabinet Mission has at least postponed if not eliminated the danger".

Alan Campbell-Johnson in his *Mission with Mountbatten* (1951) cited the position of Lord Ismay, Mountbatten's Chief of Staff: "India in March, 1947, was a ship on fire in mid-ocean with ammunition in the hold. By then it was a question of putting out the

fire before it reached the ammunition. There was, in fact, no option before us but to do what we did".

As regards Burma, the *Times* Rangoon correspondent on March 28, 1947, wrote: "The mood of the British officials I have talked to is one of resignation. They have been unanimous in declaring that British policy in Burma has been the only one that our resources permit, and that the Anglo-Burmese Agreement was the only alternative to a widespread rebellion with which we could not have coped."⁹

The colonies had been a lucrative booty for Britain, no less than for the other colonial powers. Successive British government spokesmen saw colonial plunder as a pre-requisite for high living standards and "welfarism" at home. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, Winston Churchill in a budget speech in the House of Commons on April 15, 1929, said:

The income which we derive each year from commissions and services rendered to foreign countries is over 65 million pounds. In addition, we have a steady revenue from foreign investments of close on 300 million pounds a year... That is the explanation of the source from which we are able to defray social services at a level incomparably higher than that of any European country or any country.

Fourteen years later, in 1943, Lord Cranborne as Dominions Secretary reiterated Churchill's viewpoint:

Those who could not look beyond their personal interests should remember that employment and standard of living depended mainly on the existence of the Empire.

With Labour, it was the same. Ernest Bevin, Labour Foreign Secretary in a speech in the House of Commons on February 21, 1946, said:

I am not prepared to sacrifice the British Empire because I know that if the British Empire fell... it would mean the standard of life of our constituents would fall considerably.

Thus, despite the fact that the Charter of the United Nations in 1945 proclaimed the principle of international accountability of the

⁹ References in this section are found in R. Palme Dutt's *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

colonial powers for their non-self-governing territories and the UN General Assembly had set up a Committee of 16 member-states (8 being administering) to examine and make reports¹⁰, the Colonial powers had at the end of the war embarked on a course to preserve the pre-war colonial status quo. The British, French and Dutch, who had been rudely removed from their seats of power in the Far East by Japan, returned to re-establish their authority in their possessions – the British in Malaya, the French in Indochina and the Dutch in Indonesia.

On the pretext of capturing a “handful of communists, bandits and terrorists” the British embarked immediately after the war on a savage and ruthless protracted war in Malaya with the help of Gurkha troops, Dyak headhunters, napalm and terror¹¹. The war was fought because Malaya was a large rubber producer and thus “our principal dollar earner”, as Prime Minister Anthony Eden declared in 1955, and as one British member of parliament, L. Gammans, picturesquely put it: “If we lost Malaya, people in this country would have to go without breakfast”.

With Britain having an annual dollar deficit of about \$500 million, the policy was framed to hold down the colonies and the instrument – the Colonial (later Commonwealth) Development Corporation – was created to tailor their “development” for the production of foods and raw materials, which were required by the United States.

In this historical context must be viewed the rejection by the British Labour government of the demand by the Caribbean Labour Congress (CLC)¹² at its historic Montego Bay meeting in 1947 for a West Indies Federation with dominion status and internal self-government for each constituent unit.

Present at that historic meeting was the Labour Government’s Secretary of State for the Colonies, Fabian-socialist Arthur Creech-Jones. So gradual was his Fabian-socialism that the CLC’s

¹⁰ The motion in the UN General Assembly in 1947 inviting colonial powers to turn their colonies into trust territories was defeated by a tie-vote of 24 for an 24 against.

¹¹ The methods of limited war successfully tried out by the British in Malaya were later put into practice by the Americans in Vietnam.

¹² Formed in 1946 by regional trade unions and political parties with Grantley Adams (Barbados) as President, Richard Hart (Jamaica) as Secretary and Hubert N. Critchlow (British Guiana) and Norman Manley (Jamaica) as vice-presidents.

proposals for constitutional reform for the Windward-Leeward Islands and the minority constitutional proposals of Dr. Patrick Solomon and Victor Bryan for Trinidad and Tobago, which he had previously supported, were not implemented. In British Guiana, there was grave dissatisfaction because of Creech Jones’ agreement to the nomination of Sir Frederick Seaford, the head of the Booker’s sugar monopoly, to the Legislative Council after his defeat at the 1947 elections.

But the advent of the cold war was to have a shattering effect in the British Caribbean colonies. Because most of the principal colonial leaders, mainly petty-bourgeois nationalists, had been ideologically moored to British liberalism, Fabian socialism and social democracy¹³ through their close links with the British Labour Party and the British Trades Union Congress, they conformed to the changed position of the Labour Government.

The Labour Government at first had not been happy about the objectives of the cold war. Its organ, the *Daily Herald*, had found the Truman doctrine “grave”, “disturbing” and “frightening” and went on to state on March 15, 1947: “Our first reaction to President Truman’s speech was one of uneasiness. Our second thoughts are no happier”. But under “dollar” pressure from the United States, it lined up behind Washington in the cold war. This was admitted by Winston Churchill who told the House of Commons on March 20, 1950, that “in all the main issues of foreign policy, the opposition (the Tories) in the late parliament, supported, sustained and even pointed the course which Bevin (Labour Foreign Secretary) has pursued”. Earlier, on February 13, 1949, General George C. Marshall, United States Secretary of State, commenting on the British government’s acceptance of United States proposals, had said:

¹³ Sir Grantley Adams, who in 1958 became the first Prime Minister of the West Indies Federation, was according to his biographer, F.A. Hoyos in *Grantley Adams and the Social Revolution*, McMillan Education Ltd., London 1974, converted to “Asquithian Liberalism” during his student days at Oxford University in the early 1920’s; and “The Fabian Society was in due course in the 1930’s to effect a radical change in his political thinking. It began the process of conversion to the ideas of Democratic Socialism and he was merely speaking the truth when he said some years later that ‘the Fabian Society has more or less made my political life’.....” (p. 70.)

On the recent proposals of Mr. Bevin, they have passed beyond agreement for economic co-operation to the constitution of a Western European Union. This development has been our greatest hope.¹⁴

Apart from dollar support from the USA, Britain needed to hold Malaya, "the biggest dollar earner". Its war in Malaya put the British Trades Union Congress (TUC) in a real dilemma. On the one hand, the British government which it backed was waging the Malayan war; on the other hand, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) which it also backed was supporting the Malayan patriots, who had been forced to wage a war of national liberation. It resolved the dilemma in favour of imperialism by joining the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.) in engineering the split of the WFTU and the creation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

*This decision was to have a catastrophic effect. Influenced by the British TUC, trade union leaders throughout the Caribbean, including the veteran H.N. Critchlow, took part in the ICFTU founding conference in 1949. Previously in 1945, with the President and Secretary of the British Guiana TUC, Caribbean trade union leaders had gone to Paris for the inaugural meeting of the WFTU.*¹⁵

Actually, the rot had set in earlier than 1949. A year before, Grantley Adams, the leader of the Barbados Labour Party, the President of the Barbados Workers' Union and the President of the Caribbean Labour Congress had defended British colonialism at the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris, while the British representative to the United Nations, Sir Hartley Shawcross, did the same in New York. For his defence of colonialism, Adams was roundly attacked. The *West Africa Pilot* wrote in October, 1948, a caustic editorial:

... When a ... group of black men join hands together in order to see to it that a new day dawns for all men of our colour, there is always a

¹⁴ For a fuller account of the role of the Labour Party, particularly in Guyana, see Chapter "The Labour Party, the Cold War and the Colonies", in Cheddi Jagan's *The West On Trial*, Michael Joseph, London, 1966, pp. 170-184.

¹⁵ For a full account of the formation and split of the WFTU, see extracts from Allen Hutt's *A Short History of British Trade Unionism (1800-1961)* quoted in Ashton Chase's *A History of Trade Unionism in Guyana, 1900 to 1961*, New Guyana Company Limited, Georgetown, Guyana. pp. 113-115.

willing Negro to join the forces of the enemy. Our readers... should mark and digest the news published.... about the activities of one Mr. G. Adams of Barbados, in the UN sitting in France, and judge for themselves the type of African 'leader' that Britain loves to advertise to the world... it is most distressing to note Mr. Adams' every word. But we in this part of the world should not have bothered had Mr. Adams not, without consulting us, without even knowing Africa, gone to array his sentiments before the UN. We have never said that the British are not any good at all; no Negro of worth has ever said that. But Mr. Adams ought to have known that the over-all policy of the Colonial Office stands condemned before all men of good will. Mr. Adams, by his irresponsible and inspired utterances... has dealt a wicked blow to all suffering peoples. We can assure him that neither history nor African conscience will be kind to him, when, at long last, the black men of the world come to their own.

In Jamaica, the Jamaica Trades Union Congress was ordered by the Norman Manley-led People's National Party to dis-affiliate from the WFTU, and left-wingers, Ken Hill, Frank Hill, Richard Hart and Arthur Henry were expelled from the Party in 1952.

Soon after, the militant CLC was disbanded. The right-wing social democrats Grantley Adams and Norman Manley were not happy about its general orientation and with left-wingers holding the strategic positions – Richard Hart as General Secretary and Billy Strachan as Secretary of the influential London Branch.

*The betrayal of the Caribbean national liberation movement was fully demonstrated during the 1953 crisis in British Guiana when the social democratic leadership applauded the bipartisan imperialist policies and actions of both the Labour and Conservative parties.*¹⁶

Because of political agitation by the People's Progressive Party (PPP) universal adult suffrage had been achieved and one of the most "advanced" colonial constitutions with an elected majority in the policy-making Executive Council had been framed for British Guiana. But soon after, on October 9, 1953, only 133 days after the PPP had won a resounding but unexpected (by the British) victory of

¹⁶ That betrayal was also evidenced in the acceptance in 1958 of a West Indies Federation on the basis of a crown colony constitution – collective colonialism – a far cry from the resolution passed at Montego Bay in 1947, calling for federation with dominion status. The Federation collapsed in 1962.

18 out of 24 seats, the British government landed troops, suspended the Constitution, imposed a Colonial Office dictatorship with the help of local puppets and ruled with emergency regulations, restrictions, detentions and imprisonment.

The British Government led by Winston Churchill declared that the removal of the PPP from the government had been done "to prevent Communist subversion of the government and a dangerous crisis both in public order and economic affairs... The faction in power have shown by their acts and their speeches that they are prepared to go to any lengths, including violence, to turn British Guiana into a Communist state". The Chief Secretary, John Gutch reading from the *White Paper* over the local radio said: "From actions and public statements of these extremists it is clear that their objective was to turn Guiana into a state subordinate to Moscow and a dangerous platform for extending communist influence in the Western Hemisphere". A few days earlier, the Colonial Office in London had issued a statement alleging that it was necessary to send naval and military forces "in order to preserve peace and the safety of all classes".

But the reports of British newspapermen¹⁷ at the time did not bear out any of the allegations made. One such allegation, about a plot to burn down Georgetown, was allegedly made known to the Governor on Wednesday, October 7, but since the Order suspending the Constitution had been signed on October 3, the alleged fire plot could not have been one of the reasons for justifying the suspension. One British Member of Parliament said that the *White Paper* was "scraping the barrel for evidence".

The usual proclamations followed. The movements of the PPP leaders were restricted, meetings banned and, in due course, a Commission of Inquiry was set up to white-wash the suspension. Later, too, some PPP leaders were imprisoned.

Many reasons for the suspension had been advanced. But there can be little doubt now that the compelling reason and the one which made the British government take action to remove the revolutionary-democratic PPP government from office was pressure

¹⁷ *The Times* of October 31, 1953, found that "the Communist plot.... is not exposed in the *White Paper* with the clarity and completeness that many in this country expected". The *Manchester Guardian* of the same date concluded that "the charge of Communism, so much bandied about the early days of the crisis in Guiana, now seems rather a red herring".

from the USA. The US was quick to give its blessings to the British gun-boat action. The US Assistant Secretary of States, Henry Byroade, was reported in *The Times* (London) of November 2, 1953, as follows:

It is significant that it should have been an American spokesman who on Saturday felt compelled to issue a warning against the hasty shedding of their responsibilities by the Imperial powers... Mr. Henry Byroade, the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, Asian and African Affairs, while declaring that his country will use its influence to help colonial peoples towards self-government - thereby in most cases seconding the efforts to which the suzerain powers are pledged - adds a clear declaration of the perils of 'premature' independence.

*The same Henry Byroade, after the CIA-influenced and-financed overthrow in August 1953 of the nationalist Mossadegh government in Iran which had nationalised the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951, and the US takeover of 40 per cent of the exclusive British monopoly in Iranian oil, had lyrically commented: "Out of the black cloud, white rain has descended. His Majesty the Shah and Prime Minister Zahedi are producing sweet remedies. Zahedi's advent to power is a repudiation of the sterile policies of the past."*¹⁸

And as in Venezuela (1948) and Iran (1953), so too in British Guiana there was little concern for the democratic process. Anti-communism was merely the cover to hide predatory strategic and business interests.

The first case of direct military aggression in the British Caribbean territories was not an isolated event. It formed part of a general imperialist cold-war policy. When Oliver Lyttleton, the British Government spokesman on colonial affairs, told the House

¹⁸ David Wise and Thomas B. Rose, *The Invisible Government*, Random House, New York, 1964, p. 110 stated that 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".

of Commons on October 22nd, 1953, that "Her Majesty's government is not willing to allow a Communist state to be organised within the British Commonwealth", he was merely parroting what the Churchill-Truman axis had formulated in 1946-47.

The place of British Guiana within the overall strategy was noted by other spokesmen of US imperialism. After the sweeping PPP victory at the polls, the American syndicated columnist, Drew Pearson, commented that while the US was trying to preserve "democracy and freedom" in the Far East, Korea and elsewhere, it was allowing a communist government to be established at its backdoor. And *Time* magazine referred to the PPP government as the first communist government to be set up in the British Empire. It was the publisher of *Time* and *Life*, Henry Luce, who earlier in 1941, had proclaimed "the American Century", and in 1947 included the Caribbean and Latin America in the "American World Empire".

British Guiana demonstrated that the 20th Century had indeed become "the American Century", with Britain as a junior partner dancing to the tune of US imperialism as had been noted by Virgil Johnson, President of the National Industrial Conference Board of the USA, when in a speech to the Investment Bankers' Association in December 10, 1940, he had said:

Whatever the outcome of the war, America has embarked on a career of imperialism in world affairs and in every other aspect of her life.... At best, England will become a junior partner in a new Anglo-Saxon imperialism, in which the economic resources and the military and naval strength of the United States will be the centre of gravity... The sceptre passes to the United States.¹⁹

¹⁹ Earlier in 1930, Ludwell Denny, in his book *America Conquers Britain*, had stated: "We were Britain's colony once. She will be our colony before she is done: not in name but in fact. Machines gave Britain power over the world and Britain.... Of course, American world supremacy is rather horrible to think about. But American supremacy can hardly be worse than British and other gone before.... What chance has Britain against America? Or what chance has the world?" R. Palme Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 18. notes that even earlier on October 25, 1913, Ambassador Page, US Ambassador to Britain in a letter to President Wilson had observed: "The future of the world belongs to us. These English are spending their capital... Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands? And how can we use the British for the highest use of democracy?"

As regards British Guiana's strategic importance, it is significant to note that one month before the suspension of the Constitution, the Governor had as house guest an American Congressman, D.L. Jackson²⁰, who observed on the eve of his departure that the territory was within the strategic zone of the United States. In the early 1960's, the country was attacked as "the second Cuba", as Chile was a decade later.

British Guiana also had valuable resources. Its bauxite, like Suriname's, is a high-grade ore, which during the Second World War had been of critical importance to the war effort of the western allies. The US was, and still is today, dependent on this high grade ore for 'sweetening' its own and imported low grade ore. Also present are deposits of manganese, iron ore, columbite-tantalite, the raw material used for producing a high heat-resisting metal used in the manufacture of jet aircraft, and traces of uranium.

About iron ore, the *Church Times* on October 16, 1953, wrote:

Iron ore deposits covering 75 square miles have been discovered in Venezuela, near the British Guiana border. On the British Guiana side of the frontier, iron ore deposits have also been discovered which may well be a continuation of those in Venezuela. They are claimed to be the biggest in the world. The frontier between British Guiana and Venezuela, moreover, in the region where the new iron ore deposits have been discovered, is in dispute. This is one reason for the American interest in the deterioration of the situation.

This should be considered against the background of the 1952 Report of the Materials Policy Commission, headed by William S. Paley, which had noted that the "United States appetite for raw materials is gargantuan - and so far, insatiable". In 1900, US produced 15 per cent more raw materials than it consumed; by 1950, the position was reversed - it consumed 9 per cent more than it produced. And it was projected that the position would worsen later; by 1975, it consumed about 20 per cent more!

²⁰ Congressman Donald L. Jackson, Chairman of the Sub-Committee on the Western Hemisphere of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs visited British Guiana on September 26, 1953. On his departure a day after, he said: "The United States considers British Guiana very strategic from the standpoint of hemispheric defence".

Nelson Rockefeller, referring to the importance of Western Hemisphere resources to the US economy, on March 17, 1955, stated:

North American industries every day depend more and more on the raw materials of the Western Hemisphere. These sources are indispensable for the US to maintain industrial production that amounts to more than half of the total goods manufactured in the free world.²¹

And Oliver Lyttleton's anti-communist crusade must be seen in the context of Britain's faltering economy and dollar deficit. Addressing the British House of Commons on March 17, 1952, he had said:

In the development of the resources of the colonial empire lay our great hope... But we could not invest a deficit in developing the colonies... We must be able to attract capital in the next few years from outside the sterling area, because our own surplus would not be enough for the job.²²

Of course, the surplus was to come from the United States – Marshall Plan for Europe²³, Colombo Plan for Asia, and Point Four Programme for the rest of the underdeveloped territories. As Truman put it in his Inaugural Address of January 1947:

We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advance and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas... We should foster capital investment in areas needing development....²⁴

Truman expressed the intention in humanitarian terms – to help the colonial peoples “to produce more food, more clothing, more material for housing and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens”.

²¹ Juan Jose Arevalo, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

²² R. Palme Dutt, *op. cit.* p. 287.

²³ The Marshall recovery plan for Europe had strategic and political as well as economic objectives. According to the Harriman Report of 1947: “The interests of the United States in Europe cannot be measured simply in economic terms. It is also strategic and political”. *Ibid*, p. 112.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 289.

But that was merely the cover to achieve the expansionist aims of US imperialism for world domination.²⁵ It is significant that of the US\$7,000 million voted in 1951 for Point Four aid, the bulk was for military assistance; only \$418 million was for economic help. And as *The Times* (March 3, 1952) put it: “What is called economic aid is merely a cheaper form of military assistance”.

The Rockefeller Report of 1951, *Partners for Progress* recommended the doubling of US private investments. Consequently, US investments increased in Latin America from US\$3 billion (book value) in 1946 to \$8 billion in 1961; by 1969, total investments abroad amounted to \$70.8 billion, of which about 2/3 (\$47.7 billion) was invested in the developed countries and 26 per cent (about \$20 billion) in the underdeveloped countries.

By 1952, the United States signed “treaties of technical co-operation with 33 countries”. And in the Caribbean, the Caribbean Commission²⁶, established in 1942 and renamed Caribbean Organisation in 1961 when it was sited in Puerto Rico, was strengthened to achieve greater co-ordination between the United States, Britain, France and the Netherlands.

But side by side with cooperation, there was inter-imperialist competition and rivalry, the result of the unequal development of capitalism. Thus new tactics were devised.

Britain had become aware by the late 1950's from its own experience in the war in Malaya and that of the French in Indochina and particularly from the failure of the 1956 Anglo-French-Israeli Suez adventure in Egypt that military might alone could not sustain her in maintaining her imperial interests. She was also aware that these were being undermined. In August 1954, after the overthrow of the Mossadegh government, the US had obtained a 40 per cent share in Iranian oil, formerly an exclusive British preserve, and under the “Eisenhower Doctrine” of January 1957 had strengthened

²⁵ As regards the British Empire, the Gray Report of 1950 stated: “Not only is the sterling area an indispensable source of raw materials, but the position of Britain as a banker and trading centre of the world's largest currency area makes Britain's trading and currency policies of great importance to the realisation of United States Foreign economic objectives”. *Ibid*, p. 296.

²⁶ Dr. Eric Williams of Trinidad and Tobago, alleging racial discrimination, launched out into a political career in 1956 after he had been refused promotion to the top post of Secretary-General of the Caribbean Commission.

its relative position in the Middle East compared with the weakened position of British and French imperialisms.

Against the background of the sharpening of the national liberation struggle, the Soviet offer of rockets and other military aid to Egypt during the Anglo-French-Israeli attack in 1956 and the condemnation of the aggression by 62 states at the United Nations, the failure of the French war in Algeria, the opting out of Guinea in 1958 from the French Community, the Kassim revolution in Iraq and its breakaway from the Baghdad Pact, Soviet presence in the Middle East and Africa, the 1959 Cuban revolution and the 1960 Soviet decolonisation resolution in the United Nations, the British government began with Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" speech to hasten the process of decolonisation which it had started in Africa with the independence of Ghana in 1957.

In his famous speech delivered to the Assembly House in Cape Town, South Africa on February 3, Macmillan said:

The most striking of all the impressions I have formed since I left London a month ago is the strength of this African national consciousness... The wind of change is blowing through the continent... We must all accept it as a fact. Our national policies must take account of it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so, we may imperil the precise balance of East and West... As I see it, the great issue in this second half of the twentieth century is whether the uncommitted peoples of Asia and Africa will swing to the East or West. Will they be drawn into the communist camp.²⁷

The new tactics called for a relaxation of the hated policy of *Apartheid* in South Africa and constitutional manipulation first with federation and later independence in the colonies.

Apart from the new objective international situation and the changed world balance of forces, the British had learnt from her own and particularly US experience in Latin America that independence, properly managed, was no hindrance to investments and profits. India had shown also that profits from investments in 1960 were greater than before independence.

Donald MacLean, a former top British Foreign Office official in his *British Foreign Policy Since Suez*, wrote: "As part of the

²⁷ Quoted in *Labour Monthly*, London, July 1971, p. 296.

process of 'preparing the colonies for independence', wide use was made of federation of hitherto separate colonies, protectorates, emirates and other territorial units"²⁸ The purpose was to yoke and "contain" the progressive forces, who did not want the colonial status in any form, with the reactionaries who were prepared to "cooperate" with Britain.

One of the objects of the West Indies Federation mooted in the early fifties and launched in 1958 was the inclusion of British Guiana and the containment of the PPP; another was to ensure that when independence came later, there would not be separate entities which like the former Spanish territories would fall under US domination. Unfortunately for the British, the Federation collapsed in 1962.

In the circumstances, independence was granted to the major British Caribbean territories, with the exception of British Guiana which became nominally free only after the PPP had been removed from the government.

Britain's subservience to the United States became apparent in the case of British Guiana. Although committed to the proposition that the victor (PPP) of the 1961 election would have led the country to independence, and despite its view that "Forbes Burnham was... an opportunist, racist and demagogue, intent only on personal power"²⁹, nevertheless, it succumbed to US pressure, "a stiff letter early in 1962" from Dean Rusk, and changed the electoral system in favour of Burnham in accordance with the wishes of the Kennedy administration.

With independence has come, according to William P. Rogers, US Secretary of State in his report UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, 1972, "a growing and aggressive nationalism" with "racial and anti-American overtones". But the US is not greatly concerned as "The leaders of the English-speaking Caribbean are uniformly of a moderate political persuasion". Its influence in the area has also grown.

²⁸ Donald MacLean, *British Foreign Policy Since Suez*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, p. 148.

²⁹ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days, John F. Kennedy in the White House*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1965, p. 668.

COLD WAR INTERVENTIONS

British Guiana was not the only cold war victim. In the same period, there were other interventions in the Caribbean.

In 1948, the Venezuelan Government of Romulo Gallegos, the renowned patriot and novelist was overthrown by three colonels headed by Colonel Marcos Perez Jimenez. Gallegos had come to power through an election in 1947, two years after the dictatorship of General Isaias Medina Angarita had been overthrown.

In April 1948, prior to the elections in Colombia, the popular leader of the Liberals, Dr. Jorge Elecier Gaitan, "the most important man in the Republic" was murdered, resulting in demonstrations and disturbances. After brutal suppression, a Franco-type dictatorship under Laureano Gomez, a Falangist, was set up in 1949, and Colombia became "part of the Madrid-Buenos Aires axis". US Secretary of State, George Marshall, ascribed the riots to the communists. But according to the Soviet *Literary Gazette*: "The Colombian uprising has been plotted by the United States to frighten South American countries into an anti-communist bloc. The United States' delegation to the Pan American Conference arranged the shooting of Gaitan to drag out the bugaboo of a communist danger."¹ In November 1949, another Falangist and friend of Mussolini, Arnulfo Arias seized power in Panama.

In 1954, the democratically-elected government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz of Guatemala was overthrown by Colonel Castillo-Armas with the help of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which had been set up in 1948 as a cold war instrument for the purpose of intelligence, propaganda, subversion and para-military covert operations.

And because Cuba after the 1959 revolution embarked on an anti-imperialist, pro-socialist course, the same method – indirect aggression under the direction and control of the CIA and the Pentagon – so successfully utilised in Guatemala, was attempted to

¹ Quoted in D.F. Fleming, *The Cold War and Its Origins*, Doublday & Company, New York, 1961, p. 502.

dislodge the Castro government. On January 3, 1961, President Eisenhower broke off relations with Cuba. And on April 17, 1961, was launched the Bahai de Cochinos (Bay of Pigs) invasion of Cuba, which proved a fiasco.

Senator J. William Fulbright, head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had warned in a memorandum to President John F. Kennedy against the meticulously-planned and prepared (in Guatemala) CIA operation. According to David Wise and Thomas Ross: "Fulbright also suggested that 'even covert support of the Castro overthrow' probably violated the Treaty of the Organisation of American States as well as United States neutrality laws".² But President Kennedy approved the invasion plan.

A meeting of American Foreign Ministers in San Jose, Costa Rica in late 1960 resulted in a declaration condemning outside intervention in the Americas and providing for the isolation of Cuba. An unexpected outcome of this meeting was a near crisis in the Venezuelan government. The Democratic Republican Union (URD) was forced to withdraw from the Betancourt-led coalition after one of its leaders, Foreign Minister Dr. Arcaya, had refused to sign the San Jose Declaration. It would appear that with the exception of the URD, the two other coalition parties – the Democratic Action (AD) and Social Christian (COPEI) – had succumbed to US pressure. Earlier, about six months before, when the Americans had tried at the Conference for Democracy and Freedom in the Americas at Maracai, Venezuela to attack Cuba indirectly³, they were opposed by all the Venezuelan political parties – A.D., COPEI and URD in the government and the Communist Party in the opposition.

At another meeting in Punta del Este on January 22, 1962, the American Foreign Ministers declared that "the principles of communism were incompatible with the Inter-American system" and excluded "Cuba from membership in the Inter-American Defense

² David Wise & Thomas B. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 43

³ The Conference proposed a resolution condemning rightist dictatorships in the Caribbean. The Americans, with Cuba in mind, wanted an amendment to include "left dictatorships". But with the strong support of the then 4 parties in Venezuela, the Conference defeated the US manoeuvre. The Americans had hoped that with the indirect condemnation of Cuba by democratic Latin American public opinion, the ground would have been better prepared for firm action at the official level at San José later on in 1960.

Board".⁴ By a vote of 14 to 1 with abstentions by Mexico, Ecuador, Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Bolivia, Cuba was expelled from the OAS.

In March 1964, Thomas Mann, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, elaborated at a secret meeting of US ambassadors in Latin America the "Mann Doctrine" which "confirmed the need of US imperialism to use force to prevent the advance of the democratic movement in Latin America".⁵ Soon after on April 1, 1964, under this hard-line, big-stick policy, the government of Joao Goulart in Brazil was overthrown.

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 British Guiana. A little later 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 pounds. For the colony, British Guiana, the result was about 170 dead, untold hundreds wounded, roughly 10 million pounds worth of damage to the economy and a legacy of racial bitterness". The CIA money was channelled through the dummy Gotham Foundation and its agents, Gerald O'Keefe and William McCabe posing as trade unionists, for an 80-day strike, strife and riots, which according to Drew Pearson, gave the British government the excuse to withhold independence and change the electoral system.

In his syndicated article "Castro and Jagan", Pearson on March 22, 1964, wrote:

The United States permitted Cuba to go Communist purely through default and diplomatic bungling. The problem now is to look ahead and make sure we don't make the same mistake again. We are already on the way of making it in Haiti. But in British Guiana, President Kennedy, having been badly burnt in the Bay of Pigs operation, did look ahead.

Though it was never published at the time this was the secret reason why Kennedy took his trip to England in the summer of 1963. He had promised Premier Fanfani and Chancellor Adenauer to go to Rome and Bonn, but London was added to the itinerary only because

⁴ Julius W. Pratt, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

⁵ Longino Becerra, "US Imperialism in Latin America", *Thunder*, Guyana, Oct-Dec, 1969, p. 15.

of 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 in 1964 and if at that time a Communist Guiana began seizing the Reynolds Metals aluminium operation and other American properties, Kennedy knew the political effect would be disastrous.

It wasn't in the communique issued by the United States and England after the Kennedy-Macmillan meeting, but the main thing they agreed on was that the British would refuse to grant independence to Guiana because of the general strike against pro-communist Prime Minister, Cheddi Jagan.

That strike was secretly inspired by a combination of US Central Intelligence Agency money and British Intelligence. It gave London the excuse it wanted.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., special assistant to President Kennedy, wrote that after the PPP's success at the crucial 1961 election⁶, he saw L.F.S. Burnham in May 1962 in Washington, D.C. and his "visit left the feeling as I 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'. And the way was open to bring it about, because Jagan's parliamentary strength was larger than his popular strength: he had won 57 per cent of the seats on the basis of 42.7 per cent of the vote. An obvious solution would be to establish a system of proportional representation. This, after prolonged discussion, the British government finally did in October 1963: and elections held finally at the end of 1964 produced a coalition government under Burnham."⁷

It should be noted that the subversive CIA methods perfected in Iran in 1953 and in British Guiana in 1962-64 – strikes, demonstrations, riots, economic blockade, mass media incitement – were successfully used also in the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in 1973, and the Manley government in Jamaica in 1980.

The Dominican Republic was the next victim in the Caribbean.

⁶ The British government had agreed at the 1960 Constitutional Conference in London that the party which won the 1961 election would lead the country to independence.

⁷ Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. *op. cit.*, p. 668.

With the failure of indirect military aggression in Cuba in 1961, the Johnson administration resorted to direct aggression in the Dominican Republic in 1965 when it appeared that the revolutionaries, the "Constitutionalists", led by Col. Francisco Caamano Deno, would succeed in restoring the democratic 1963 Constitution and in installing in power the progressive forces around Juan Bosch who had won an election in December 1962, but had been deposed by a military coup on September 25, 1963. The intervention which "saved" the country from becoming a "second Cuba" brought to power Jaouquin Balaguer,⁸ disciple and colleague of the dictator General L.R. Trujillo, who, after the latter's assassination had become president for a brief period.

Balaguer's *neo-Trujillista* regime ruled virtually with the same methods and ideas of Trujillo under whose regime of over 30 years, there were, according to the report of June 8, 1960 of the Inter-American Peace Committee of OAS, violations of human rights including "the denial of free assembly and of free speech, arbitrary arrests, cruel and inhuman treatment of political prisoners, and the use of intimidation and terror as political weapons".⁹ And as under the Suppression of Communism Act of South Africa, any criticism was deemed communist and subversive.

In British Guiana, Guatemala, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Chile and elsewhere, there was little concern about the niceties of parliamentary democracy and the verdict of the ballot box. Strategic and business interests and profits, not democratic principles and free and fair elections, underlined US policies and support for dictators such as Jimenez, Batista, Somoza, Trujillo, Castillo-Armas, Duvalier, Balaguer and others. Behind the dictators and colonels were the powerful United States monopolies. "The bananas of Central America", cried Romulo Gallegos, "the oil of Venezuela, and, to sweeten the pill, the sugar of San Domingo and Cuba bring the fortune-seekers greater profits when they rely on

⁸ In a letter to *The New York Times* in 1958, Balaguer wrote: "It is no secret to any Dominican that I am solely an intellectual creation of Generalissimo Trujillo and if there is any merit I have as a member of the spiritual and political family of this illustrious government it is for the fidelity which I employ in reflecting, in my modest interventions as a publicist, the thinking of the man who personifies actually the Dominican life." Quoted in Juan de Onis, "The Hispanic Caribbean" in *The United States and the Caribbean*, Prentice - Hall, N.Y. 1971, p. 166.

⁹ E.W. Kenworthy, *The New York Times*, June 30, 1960.

the big stick than on the polling booth where the people can express their own will".

After the overthrow of the Gallegos government, taxes imposed on the oil companies headed by the Rockefeller interests were reduced from US\$9.09 per cubic metre to \$7.33 causing Standard Oil to make in 1954 alone a super-profit of US\$331 million and the Venezuelan Treasury to lose \$1,366,000 in the six years prior to 1955. No wonder Perez Jimenez was rewarded by President Eisenhower with the highest US decoration, the Legion of Merit.

In 1948, US private investments in Latin America were yielding a profit of 22 per cent as compared with only 13 per cent in the United States. During the decade 1946-56, US companies extracted \$3.17 for every dollar invested; by the 1970's, the amount increased to \$4 for \$ 1 invested.

As in Venezuela, communism was given as the pretext for the overthrow of the democratically-elected nationalist government of Dr. M. Mossadegh in Iran in August 1953, through CIA subversion and a tanker blockade imposed by the oil monopolies. Actually, his government had nationalised the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company after the latter refused to revise an archaic agreement under which Iran was receiving a little over one-third of what the Venezuelan government received at that time from the oil companies. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had become immensely wealthy at the expense of the Iranian people. In 50 years, with an original investment of only 21.5 million pounds, it made nearly 800 million pounds profit. The British Government minister was able to boast on February 15, 1955, that "the value of the government's 5 million pounds investment went up to nearly 200 million pounds".

Similarly, in British Guiana in October 1953, US strategic and business interests were behind the overthrow of the PPP government.

Like Perez Jimenez of Venezuela, Castillo-Armas, who toppled Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954, was rewarded by the Eisenhower administration¹⁰, he was also given an honorary doctorate degree by the University of Columbia during Eisenhower's term as President of the institution - an award which so infuriated Romulo Gallegos that he renounced the doctorate degree conferred

¹⁰ The dictator Manuel Odría of Peru was also given a Legion of Merit award on the same day as Perez Jimenez by President Eisenhower.

on him by the same university. Castillo Armas was rewarded because, like so many other traitors, he had sold out his country. On the third anniversary of the overthrow of the Arbenz government, the US State Department celebrated the "liberation" of Guatemala. In its Bulletin No. 6465, April 1, 1957, it listed "the glories of this liberation" as follows:

1. The conclusion of an agreement with a United Fruit Company subsidiary providing for the return of property expropriated by the Arbenz government (i.e., 234,000 acres);
2. the repeal of laws affecting remittances and taxation of earnings from foreign capital;
3. the signing of an Investment Guarantee Agreement with the United States;
4. the promulgation of a new and more favourable petroleum law (since which 27 US oil companies have obtained exploration concessions covering all of Guatemala).¹¹

For the same economic and strategic considerations, the Geneva Agreement on Vietnam (1954) was not respected by the administration of Dwight Eisenhower. This was made clear a year before, when, addressing the Annual Conference of Governors, President Eisenhower had bluntly stated:

You have seen the war in Indochina described variously as an outgrowth of French colonialism and the French refusal to treat indigenous populations decently. You find it yet described as a war between the Communists and the other elements in Southeast Asia, but you have a confused idea of where is located Laos or Cambodia or any of the other countries that are involved.

You don't know really why we are so concerned with the far-off South-East corner of Asia. Why is it?

... Now let us assume that we lost Indochina. If Indochina goes, several things happen right away. The Malaya Peninsula, the last little bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten we so greatly value from that area would cease coming....

All of that position around there is very ominous to the United States, because finally if we lost all that, how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia?

So you see, somewhere along the line, this must be blocked and it must be blocked now, and that's what we are trying to do.

So when the United States votes \$400,000,000 to help that war, we are out to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the USA, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesia territory and from Southeast Asia.¹²

President Kennedy, addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors on the last day of the Bay of Pigs fiasco (April 20, 1961), denounced communism as alien to the Western hemisphere. He promised that the USA "regardless of the cost and regardless of the peril" would fight against that ideology to prevent it from succeeding in any part of the hemisphere. What Kennedy did not mention was the strategic and economic importance of Cuba, that in Cuba, in 1956, as the US Department of Commerce had noted: "The only foreign investments of importance are those of the United States". By 1959, US investment in Cuba was approximately US\$2 billion, or one-sixth of all US investments in Latin America. The invasion was an attempt to protect these investments and to halt the revolutionary process which had begun with the signing of a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in February 1960 for the sale of one million tons of Cuban sugar per year for five years, and US\$100 million low-interest Soviet credit for development and industrialisation.

This event caused consternation in cold war circles, taking place as it did in the context of the overthrow of the dictatorships of Manuel Odria in Peru (1955), Rojas Pinilla in Colombia (1956), Perez Jimenez in Venezuela (1958) and Trujillo in the Dominican Republic (1961) in the Western Hemisphere, and the breach of the cold war policy of containment and Soviet presence in the Middle East and Africa after the Anglo-French-Israeli fiasco in Egypt in 1956, the Guinea declaration of independence from the French Community in 1958 and the Kassim Revolution in Iraq in 1958. As Philip W. Bonsol, the then US Ambassador in Cuba, in his book *Cuba, Castro and the United States* put it: "The economic arrangement between Cuba and the Soviet Union seemed intolerable to

¹¹ Herbert Aptheker, *American Foreign Policy and the Cold War*, New Century Publishers, New York, 1962, p. 101.

¹² *The New York Times*, August 5, 1953, quoted in *The Vietnam Profiteers*, New Outlook Publishers, New York, 1960, pp. 5-6.

people accustomed to a dominant position in Cuba" (page 34). Almost immediately, Washington took a decision to overthrow the Castro government. According to Bonsol:

The top-level decision (for nine months advocated by Vice President Nixon) was taken to allow the Central Intelligence Agency to begin recruiting and training anti-Castro Cuban exiles for military services. The economic measures in the American program for the overthrow of Castro included the advice given the oil-refining companies in June to refuse to process Soviet crude oil acquired by the Cuban government, the total suspension of Cuba's sugar quota in July, and the removal of key American and Cuban personnel from leading American companies in such a manner as to create serious difficulties for the Cuban economy. (p. 135).

The next step in the invasion plan was in June 1960 when Soviet crude oil (30 per cent cheaper than oil obtained from the US companies operating in Venezuela) in payment for deliveries of sugar arrived in Cuba. The oil companies, which had been asked to refine it, were willing in their own capitalist interests to do so under protest. But the State Department in the broader strategic interest of imperialism instructed them to refuse. This is how Bonsol related the behind-the-scenes intrigue:

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 4, I received a visit from the Chief Executive in Cuba of a major American oil company who had just returned from Washington. He said that he was calling on me at the request of the Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, Mr. Rubottom, in order to bring me up to date on recent developments with regard to the Guevara demand that the refineries in Cuba handle Soviet crude oil. After confirming my impression that until very recently the companies' position had been that of going ahead with the operation under protest and attempting to secure recognition of their rights through the Cuban courts, he added that this position had been predicated on the assumption that the United States government would not wish to take a stand on the matter. This assumption had now proved to be contrary to the fact. My visitor went on to tell me that on the previous day representatives of the two American companies with refineries in Cuba had been summoned to the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, Robert Anderson, and had been informed by the Secretary that a refusal to accede to the Cuban government's request would be in accord with the United States government's policy toward Cuba and that the companies would not

incur any penalties under American anti-trust laws should they take a joint stand in this matter. They were further told that the situation was being discussed in London with the Shell Company along the same lines. My informant added that there had been a representative of the Department of State present at the meeting conducted by the Secretary of the Treasury. He concluded that the companies had decided to conform their policies to that of their government and that they would refuse the Soviet crude; they understood that the Anglo-Dutch company would follow suit — as indeed it did. (p. 149).¹³

"REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY" FICTION

In the pursuit of US expansionist aims, behind the rhetoric of upholding democratic institutions and working within the framework of "representative democracy", there was always a great deal of sanctimoniousness and outright deceit.

In 1948, after the overthrow of the Gallegos government in Venezuela, Truman wrote to the ex-President:

I believe that the use of force to effect political change is not only deplorable, but also contrary to the ideals of the American peoples. The government of the United States proposes to do everything possible, in accordance with its international obligations, to fortify the democratic forces in this hemisphere.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson, a year later in 1949, said that "we deplore the action of any group in substituting its judgment for that of the electorate". Yet after Truman had launched the Korean war, US Ambassador, Ralph H. Ackerman expressing appreciation for the guided-missile-tracking base facilities in the Dominican Republic, praised the Trujillo dictatorship. On June 2, 1952, he told the Dominican people:

¹³ Quoted in a review, "The United States and Cuba", by Barry Cohen, *Political Affairs*, October 1972, New York, pp. 65-72 of Philip W. Bonson's book *Cuba, Castro, and the United States*, University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburg, 1971.

All western nations today are striving... for the amelioration of mankind. Governments are taking interest in the welfare of peoples... Your own illustrious President.... Trujillo... gave illustration of this trend when, in a speech he made only a few days ago, he reiterated an aspiration he has often voiced before, to raise the standard of living of the Dominican Republic so that his people may benefit from a fuller life. No one can gainsay the great benefits he has already succeeded in bringing about.¹⁴

President Lyndon Johnson also made hypocritical comments. A year before he reverted to the "big stick" and "gunboat diplomacy" in the Dominican Republic, he had on May 4, 1964, told Latin American ambassadors and Alliance for Progress leaders of US dedication to political democracy and "a peaceful, democratic social revolution across the hemisphere". However, he sought to justify the massive armed intervention on the pretext of saving lives and of stopping the communist takeover. Actually, of the State Department list of alleged communists, many were not communists, some were not in the Dominican Republic and one was a 14-year-old boy. And the "1,000 to 1,500 bodies that are dead in the streets" turned out to be only six.

On this foundation of lies was built the Johnson doctrine, under which the USA appropriated the right to intervene in any country "threatened" by communism¹⁵ And in September 1965, resolution No. 560 was passed by the US House of Representatives giving the "right" to the United States to use its armed forces in any country in the Americas.

This was similar to the Lyttleton doctrine which in 1953, after the landing of troops in British Guiana, had stated that the British government was not willing to allow a communist state to be organized within the British Commonwealth.

President Dwight Eisenhower was concerned about "the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex", but in the interest of big business, he sanctioned CIA operations in Guatemala, Iran and Cuba. He cancelled elections planned for 1956 under the 1954 Geneva Agreement to unite North and South Vietnam, and installed

¹⁴ Edwin Lieuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

¹⁵ President Johnson decided to intervene massively in Vietnam after the successful intervention in the Dominican Republic.

the corrupt Ngo Dinh-Diem as head of South Vietnam, although he was aware, as he wrote in his book *Mandate for Change, the White House Years, 1953-56* that "had elections been held as of the time of the fighting, possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State, Bao Dai".

During the 1960 US election campaign, both John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon misinformed the nation about the invasion plans against Cuba. Kennedy attempted to gain an electoral advantage by declaring that nothing was being done to help the forces against the Castro government. On October 20, a press release by him stated:¹⁶

We must attempt to strengthen the non-Batista democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far these fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our government.

Vice President Nixon, however, responded that Kennedy's attitude was "dangerously irresponsible", that to give aid to the anti-Castro forces "would violate 'five treaties' between the United States and Latin America as well as the Charter of the United Nations".¹⁷

This same Nixon, however, according to Wise and Ross, in his book *Six Crises* admitted that the covert training of Cuban exiles by the CIA was due "in substantial part at least, to my efforts", and that what Kennedy was calling for "was already the policy of the American government - covertly - and Kennedy had been so informed ... Kennedy was endangering the security of the whole operation.... There was only one thing I could do. The covert operation had to be protected at all costs. I must not even suggest by implication that the United States was rendering aid to rebel forces in and out of Cuba. In fact, I must go to the other extreme: I must attack the Kennedy proposal to provide such aid as wrong and irresponsible because it would violate our treaty commitments".¹⁸

¹⁶ D. Wise and T.B. Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* - pp. 342-343, See page 96 for a list of the many occasions when US leading spokesmen deliberately tried to deceive the American people and world public opinion.

Kennedy's biographers, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Theodore C. Sorenson tried to absolve him from blame for his approval of the invasion by insisting that the plans had been set in train by the previous administration and he "was a prisoner of events".

In late 1961, President Kennedy, after attacking the communists for subversion and condemning Fidel Castro for refusal to hold elections, declared:

... 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 States doesn't object because that choice was made by honest elections, which he won.

Writing in 1962, to the former President Betancourt of Venezuela, President Kennedy spoke in similar terms:

I should like, through you, to extend my congratulations and those of the people of this country to the people, government and armed forces of Venezuela for the action in preserving constitutional democracy against those who have attempted to overthrow your freely elected government. The preservation and strengthening of freely elected constitutional government is the aspiration of all the peoples of the Americas and progress in this continent under the Alianza para el Progreso depends in large measure on effecting change through peaceful and democratic means and avoiding violent interruptions of the constitutional process.¹⁹

But that did not prevent the Kennedy administration from intervening in British Guiana. Schlesinger disclosed that the State

¹⁹ After the Romulo Betancourt-led Accion Democratica government of Venezuela had revised in the late 1960's its previous pro-Castro policy, the Betancourt doctrine was proclaimed under which diplomatic recognition of regimes which did not come to power by the constitutional democratic process was withheld. That same government, however, no doubt under US pressure raised Venezuela's border claim on Guyana when it appeared after 1961 that the PPP would lead British Guiana to independence. Prior to that, in 1958, all the four main Venezuelan parties had given an undertaking to the PPP government-led goodwill mission to Venezuela that they would neither raise nor renounce the claim.

Department at first thought of trying to work with the PPP, "then Rusk personally revised this policy in a stiff letter early in 1962".²⁰

The justification of the 3-pronged attack – CIA subversion and riots inside the country, diplomatic pressure on the British government and diplomatic pressure on the Venezuelan government – on the PPP government was that the PPP would have abandoned parliamentary democracy. According to Schlesinger, "the President went on to express doubt whether Jagan would be able to sustain his position as a parliamentary democrat. 'I have a feeling', he said, 'that in a couple of years he will find ways to suspend his constitutional provisions and will cut his opposition off at the knees.... Parliamentary democracy is going to be almost impossible for Jagan to concentrate the energies of his country on development through a parliamentary system'."

Similar concern was expressed about the preservation of democracy in Chile. US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in September 1974, that Allende "set about to establish what appeared to be a one-party government; he set about to throttle the opposition press". That was the justification for the CIA US\$8 million operation to make it impossible for Allende to govern. According to Kissinger, the CIA activity was designed to prevent the establishment of a one-party state by a minority government. "Our concern", he continued, "was the election in 1976 not the coup in 1973".

Actually, a military coup was resorted to because the reactionary forces – the opposition parties, the CIA and the military – saw it as the only means to remove Allende. They not only had failed to secure the increase in popular support in the April 1973 Congressional elections to enable them to impeach Allende, but also had lost support. With the increase of electoral strength for the Popular Unity from 36 per cent in 1970 at the Presidential elections to 43 per cent in 1973, despite the economic sabotage and strife, they came to the conclusion that Popular Unity could not be defeated in 1976. Kissinger is reported to have told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the purpose of the CIA operation was merely to keep the Allende opposition alive and "not to destabilize or subvert" his government.²¹ This statement must be weighed against all the known pressures exerted on the Allende government, and also the denials in 1973 about US involvement in

²⁰ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *op. cit.* p. 669. The first riots and disturbances occurred in February 1962 against the PPP government on its budget proposals.

²¹ *Time*, September 30, 1974, p. 18.

the coup, which caused Senator Stuart Symington to observe that the disclosures of CIA involvement "certainly does not coincide with the testimony that this committee (Foreign Relations) had received".²² Whatever was US concern, the fact is there is a bloody dictatorship in Chile today.

Similarly, the Kennedy administration's ostensible concern about the PPP government's ability to maintain democracy in an independent Guyana led to its ouster and the installation of the PNC in government and the establishment of an authoritarian regime. In 1966, it enacted the National Security Act, far more vicious than the US National Security Act (1951) which spawned McCarthyism in the USA. This measure resulted in and continues to permit detention without trial and other violations of the rule of law. The press is muzzled while the regime monopolises the mass media. Civil liberties are denied and thugs, reminiscent of the Hitler youth, are employed to break up political meetings and beat up leaders and activists of opposition parties. And elections are routinely rigged.

The extensive fraud in the 1968 and 1973 elections and the army intervention, seizure and tampering with ballot boxes in 1973 were thoroughly exposed by Granada Television (UK) documentaries, "The Trail of The Vanishing Voters" and "The Making of a Prime Minister" (1968) and "Mr. Burnham Has Done it Again" (1973).

In "the Making of a Prime Minister", Humphrey Taylor, Director of Opinion Research Centre, who conducted an independent survey in Britain of overseas voters (overseas voting was first introduced in 1968) said: "Obviously, I don't know what happened in Guyana, but so far as Britain is concerned, the compilation of the register was a totally dishonest and corrupt operation. And, as we have clearly established, the great majority of people listed do not exist. This I would think is unprecedented for a Commonwealth country, as far as I know; and it's, you know, a pretty awful and disgraceful episode". In the transcript of the film, its research editor, Gus Macdonald, pointed out: "It's my firm conclusions that the election inside Guyana was neither free nor fair".

"Mr. Burnham Has Done It Again" shows a Jamaican family including a 6-year-old boy and a 7-month old baby girl in England registered as Guyanese voters!

The *Caribbean Contact*, a monthly printed in Trinidad by the Caribbean Christian Communications Network in its editorial of August 1973, stated:

²² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Watergate is not an American experience only. Wherever men battle for power, we can expect to find contempt for other people's rights... the same corrupt determination, the same despicable logic that the end justifies the means, appears to be behind every electoral tactic of the PNC government and it is this cynical pragmatism which has discredited the results of the general elections of 1968 and again this year.²³

Ric Mentus, editor of the *Sunday Graphic*, in his Sunday Opinion "The Mind Boggles", wrote:

In an election that was remarkable for the spate of controversy it generated from the initial stages of registration of voters right through to the final counting of ballots, both the nature and scope of the irregularities reported are serious enough to demand an impartial inquiry into the entire electoral process.... the whole nation is perplexed over the double standards being applied to the election procedure and results. The people cannot stretch credibility far enough to embrace both the details of irregularities that they have experienced and the persistent suggestion and indoctrination that has been coming from all official and semi-official circles. The mind boggles at the enormity of the task and the Guyanese after the election is sadder and a bit more fearful of the future.

If he dares to think about the matter at all, he cannot help coming to the conclusion that whatever was responsible for the stunning victory we have witnessed, it was not fairplay. He will most likely then ask himself, what is there in this two-thirds majority that made it necessary to go to such lengths to get it? And what kind of nation-building are we going to move into from a beginning as suspect and tense as this.

The Editor of the *Catholic Standard*, Father Wong, in his editorial "Fairy Tale Elections", stated: "The July 16 election results, to say the least, puts a severe strain on one's credibility. No one seriously believes it. That this is so must be laid firmly at the door of the government.

"The conduct of the Election arrangements has been most unfortunate. The public and the Opposition parties were treated in cavalier fashion. Information which must be provided under law,

²³ Quoted in Janet Jagan's *Army Intervention in the 1973 Elections in Guyana*, New Guyana Company Limited, Georgetown, Guyana, 1973, p. 89.

was withheld until the last moment and was often given in an incomplete form....

"To top it all the Government ignored the straight-forward and commendable request that representatives of the Opposition parties should accompany the ballot boxes to the counting centres.

"In the circumstances, the failure to seal boxes, the harassment of election personnel of the other parties who tried to follow the boxes, the wholly inexplicable detention of the boxes in the Guyana Defence Force compound for a long period – all these circumstances are bound to attract suspicion....

"Whatever the Opposition parties do, they will have to reckon with the feeling among some of their supporters that power can no longer be secured through the ballot box".

Journalist Rickey Singh exposed the padding of the voters' lists. In a feature article in the *Sunday Graphic* on July 22, 1973, he pointed out that "highly qualified statisticians in government employment have data which shows that on April 7, 1973, the voting population of Guyana 21 years and over was 314,564". Yet, despite extensive emigration of adult Guyanese, the list of voters inside Guyana at May 31, 1973 was 384,434.

Soon after, as a result of government pressure, Ric Mentus, Father Harold Wong and Rickey Singh were relieved of their jobs.

By increasing its votes from 41 per cent in 1964 to 71 per cent in 1973, the PNC minority, authoritarian regime placed itself in a position to make constitutional amendments for the further erosion of fundamental rights. This was done in the so-called socialist Constitution of 1980 after the rigging of the Referendum in July 1978 in order to postpone the general election.

"VIETNAMISATION" – LATIN AMERICANS TO KILL LATIN AMERICANS

Soon after the intervention in the Dominican Republic, President Johnson called for an Inter-American Peace Force on the basis that independence must give way to interdependence, that sovereignty with its concept of "geographical frontiers" was obsolete and should be replaced by "ideological frontiers". This, he argued, was necessary for the preservation of freedom and democracy. As under the Truman Doctrine, democracy and peace

were equated with the free enterprise capitalist system. "The American way of life" was presumed to be what the Caribbean and the Americas needed, and there must be a collective force to defend the "collective community".

The Johnson administration, abandoning the "silken glove" technique of the Kennedy administration, had previously in August 1964 sanctioned the overthrow of the Goulart government in Brazil, which had embarked on a programme of radical reforms and had restricted the amount of profits foreign companies were permitted to send abroad. US military aid was largely instrumental in ensuring the success of the coup. The Chairman of the House of Foreign Affairs Committee underlined this on May 24, 1965, when he stated: "Every critic of foreign aid is confronted with the fact that the armed forces of Brazil threw out the Goulart government and that US military aid was a major factor in giving these forces an indoctrination in the principles of democracy (sic!) and a pro-US orientation. Many of these officers were trained in the United States under the AID programme".²⁴

It was significant that after US troops departed from the Dominican Republic following the massive intervention in 1965, Brazilian troops were sent to fill the vacuum. The technique adopted by Johnson was the use of military aid to overthrow progressive regimes and then to use a client state as its instrument against the national liberation struggle, a policy later to become known under the Nixon administration as "Vietnamisation" – the USA providing the guns and the Asian, African, Caribbean and Latin American peoples providing the manpower and the lives.

Richard Nixon, the then Vice-President who had been booted and spat upon in Venezuela during his Latin American tour in 1958, proposed in the early 1970's an "Action for Progress" and adopted a "low profile" towards Latin America. He called for an "equal partnership" and a firm commitment to the inter-American system... as exemplified by the Organisation of American States and for aid "on a multilateral basis within the American system".

But the verbiage was only a cover for traditional big stick methods. Despite the characterisation of the new policy towards the region by the head of the South American department, Mr.

²⁴ Haslemere Group, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Kubisch, as "mature partnership", it was the Nixon administration which supplied arms to the unpopular PNM regime and ordered US warships into Trinidadian waters during the February-April 1970 uprising in Trinidad, bombed Haiphong and Hanoi and mined the waterways of North Vietnam's ports, secretly and illegally attacked Cambodia, sanctioned the CIA operation in Chile and gave military aid to its armed forces while economic aid was drastically cut.

The main partners in the Caribbean and Latin America playing the role of the American gendarme were Nicaragua under the Somoza dictatorship for Central America and Brazil under the rule of military generals for South America. 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".²⁵

What this signified could be gleaned from the mouth of one of Brazil's main spokesmen, Defence Minister Costa e Silva, who was reported to have said on April 23, 1965, after a meeting of military leaders with the then President Castelo Branco that "any candidate in the 1966 gubernatorial or presidential elections will be officially recognized only with the approval of the armed forces".²⁶ This meant naked fascist dictatorial rule with detention and torture inside Brazil as had been disclosed by Amnesty International and other international organisations, and intervention in the internal affairs of other states – Paraguay, Bolivia, Uruguay. The Brazilian dictatorship helped in the overthrow of the leftist Torres government in Bolivia in 1971.

The Guyana and Brazilian governments signed in 1970 technical and cultural cooperation agreements and agreed to cooperate in fighting "terrorism" and in preparing and co-ordinating plans for the design of a bridge over the Takatu River separating the two countries. Brazil would be provided with duty-free warehouse facilities in Georgetown, the capital. In turn,

²⁵ Brazil was also designated to play a reactionary role in the projected "South Atlantic Treaty Organisation" (SATO) which was to comprise of the racist Republic of South Africa and several other reactionary regimes in South America including Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile. Since the mid-seventies however, the Brazilian dictatorship has adopted a policy of "opening the door to democracy" and in 1981 disassociated itself from the projected SATO.

²⁶ Longino Bacerra, *op. cit.* p. 18.

Guyanese army officers would receive military training in Brazil, and Guyana was to get aid of G\$6 million for the interior highway from Georgetown to Lethem which adjoins Brazil.

As regards the latter project, Alfredo Tarre Murzi, leading Venezuelan Congressman and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Chamber of Deputies declared in November 1968 when General Jose da Cunha Garcia became Brazilian Ambassador to Guyana that the highway from Boa Vista to Georgetown would be "enormously useful" to Brazil's "aspirations of domination and control over the north-east flank of the South American continent", and would "be a road of political, economic, technical, cultural and military penetration into the heart of Guyana".

President Gerald Ford also sanctioned intervention. He too, like Johnson, presumed to know what was good for the Caribbean and Latin American peoples. When asked as regards Chile: "Under what international law do we have a right to attempt to destabilize the constitutionally-elected government of another country?" He replied:

I am not going to pass judgement on whether it is permitted or authorized 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.²⁷

Fortunately, the call for a joint flexible military force to combat national liberation revolutions anywhere was rejected by the majority of the Latin American states: only five of the countries with the most vicious dictatorial regimes – Brazil, Nicaragua (under Somoza), Paraguay, Bolivia and Argentina (Argentina later withdrew) – agreed to participate.

Fortunately also, President Ford's assertion that the United States reserved the right to intervene whenever it thought it was necessary was rejected by many in Congress. Senator Walter F. Mondale said it was "unbelievable". Democratic Senator Frank Church called it "unsavoury and unprincipled... tantamount to saying that we respect no law save the law of the jungle".

²⁷ *Time*, September 30, 1974, p. 16.

CHAPTER VI

ECONOMIC AGGRESSION

The direct and indirect imperialist aggression recounted above was always accompanied by 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, as in Ghana, where imperialism dropped the price of cocoa.

In so far as the region we are considering is concerned, beginning in 1960, the United States government embarked on a policy of economic blockade of Cuba – refusal to buy sugar and to sell spare parts for the American-manufactured sugar factories; exerted pressure on other Latin American states to break off diplomatic, trade and other relations with Cuba, and put pressure on Canada not to sell wheat or flour, and Britain not to sell buses, to Cuba. Dollars earned by Cuba were frozen in US banks. Even the Dutch KLM airlines suspended its flights to Havana. After the PNC regime was installed in British Guiana in December, 1964, with the help of the CIA, the new government broke off trade and cultural links which the PPP government had established with Cuba. And during the 1963 80-day strike, also fomented and financed by the CIA, the supply of fuel oil from neighbouring Trinidad was cut off.

Similar economic pressures were used against the Allende government of Chile – spare parts were cut off; the price of copper dropped from 68 cents in 1970 to 59 cents in 1972; foreign credits fell from about US\$200 million in 1970 to US\$32 million in 1972.

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 leftsocialists 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. In Britain also, with the shortage of US dollars and the need for US aid, the right-wing social-democrats in control of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC)

and the Labour Party succumbed to the cold-war blandishments of Winston Churchill and the Truman administration – all this despite the fact that Labour had received an overwhelming mandate for socialism from the British people in the first postwar election in 1945.

These developments in North America and Europe seriously affected the English-speaking Caribbean countries, the majority of whose leaders were under the ideological influence of the British social-democrats, i.e., the Labour Party; and they had repercussions at various levels.

In the economic sphere 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, 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.

The basic premises underlying this strategy were that foreign capital was indispensable for progress; that there was a world shortage of capital; that to attract capital there must be created an investment climate with incentives to capital.

These incentives took various forms:

1. Tax holidays – the non-payment of income taxes for periods from 5 years and over. In some countries, such as the Bahamas and Bermuda, foreign investors pay no income taxes;
2. Duty free importation of factories, raw-materials and building materials;
3. Subsidies of various kinds – low rentals in industrial estates; cheap prices for land; low rates for services such as water, gas and electricity;
4. Anti-labour measures which did not encourage the growth of strong, democratically-run trade unions, and which do not provide for workmen's compensation, severance pay, minimum wage and factory safety, etc. Even anti-strike laws are enacted in some territories like the Industrial Stabilisation Act of Trinidad and Tobago and the proposed (late 1960's) Trades Disputes Bill of Guyana;
5. Repatriation of capital in the form of profits, debt repayment and interest charges.

These incentives in their aggregate were to be such as would facilitate the investors to recover their investments in three to four years. This was the advice tendered by the head of the Puerto Rico Planning Board in the early 1950's to the Jamaican planners.

The investments, however, were channelled in such a way so as to maintain the colonial economic and social structures.

FAILURE OF PUERTO RICAN MODEL

The Puerto Rican model of planning for development is now an admitted failure. It has failed even in Puerto Rico which has certain distinct advantages over the other "third world" countries - US runaway capitalists have the advantage of low wages in Puerto Rico; goods produced in Puerto Rico enter duty-free into the United States; Puerto Ricans can migrate without restrictions into the USA; millions of dollars collected from duties on rum are returned to Puerto Rico.

However, Puerto Rico is still plagued with poverty and unemployment and all the ills of a colonial society. According to Jamaican economist Owen Jefferson:

The Puerto Rican programme got underway in 1947. During the first 10 years, 446 new plants were established and 35,000 jobs were created. But despite this degree of success and the added factor of emigration of 500,000 persons to the United States, unemployment still amounts to 14% of the labour force at the end of the period.

Despite the ballyhoo and the US attempt to make Puerto Rico into a show-piece, the basic problems of the people remain unresolved. The national income per head of population is lower than the poorest US State. Wages are far lower than in the USA, but the cost of living in 1971 was estimated to be 18 per cent higher than in Washington, D.C. According to official estimates, three-quarters of the population earn less than the average income; one-quarter of the latter category does not earn enough for human survival. Their income is described as truly "sub-human... since... it does not include more than basic animal necessities, and almost no specifically human necessity".¹ It is estimated that one out of every five rural

¹ Ved P. Duggal, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22.

Puerto Ricans live on inadequate welfare in poverty-stricken families. In the "New Deal" era, Governor Tugwell had stated that in the slums, "the shacks were in rows... which left some open spaces for filth to accumulate and the tide lifted the piles of garbage and deposited them again in the same place, twice daily".

In the 1960's, the position hardly changed. A big business management newsletter *News Front* was forced to admit:

Yes, there are the arrabales, slums of almost unimaginable dreariness. And there are untold numbers of citizens who have not advanced beyond that 1940 per capita (income) rate, and there is a great deal of grubbing around for mere existence, and there is a very serious drug problem, and some class resentment, and more prostitution than the Catholic Church is comfortable with. But Puerto Rico, for all its industry and its population density and its Americanization and its modernization, is still a place in which to live, to breathe; a place to move around in.²

For the people, Puerto Rico meant foreign domination, hardships and emigration; for the businessmen a paradise - in "Puerto Rico, manufacturers average 30 per cent on their investment".

In 1974, US industrial and trade investments in Puerto Rico ran to US\$6,112 million. Direct investments amounted to 5.5 per cent of all foreign investments throughout the world, which then totalled US\$110,240 million, 20 per cent of US investments in all other underdeveloped countries, and 46 per cent of all investments in Latin America. *Profits raked out of Puerto Rico by the transnationals and agencies were more than from the European Common Market and comprised half of all profits from Latin America. In 1925, profits taken out of Puerto Rico were only \$25 million; by 1968, they were over \$300 million.*

Consequently by 1975, despite new taxes, the budget deficit of nearly US\$200 million was not closed. The economy showed a minus 3 per cent growth rate in the previous fiscal year. With closure of firms such as Fibres International, a Philips Petroleum subsidiary which was a key link in the petro-chemical industry, nearly 10,000 jobs were estimated to be lost in fiscal 1978, while

² Quoted by Gus Hall "Why Puerto Rico is the most profitable address in USA", *Political Affairs*, October, 1972.

only about 2,000 new jobs were created. The jobless rate in February 1975 rose to 17.1 per cent, the highest since 1955.

In the study, "The Southern Connection", by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Latin America, the Transnational Institute, in February 1977, it is stated:

... As a result of the recent global inflation and recession, Puerto Rico's economic situation has deteriorated alarmingly... Despite... (or because... of) "Operation Bootstrap", Puerto Rico's unemployment is now higher than it was 20 years ago, and more than half its households receive subsidized food coupons.

To compensate for lack of employment in the private sector, the Puerto Rican government expanded its bureaucracy to employ 30 per cent of the national work force. Because of corporate tax exemption and limited development of the national economy, the Puerto Rican government has had to sell Puerto Rican Government bonds on the US market to pay for this huge expenditure. The Island's government has accumulated a \$4 billion debt and its bonds are increasingly difficult to sell – factors that nurture economic and political instability.

Jamaica and the other Commonwealth Caribbean countries which adopted the Puerto Rican model of economic development are also plagued with growing tensions and problems, chief among which are unemployment, inequality of income and balance-of-payments deficits.

Between 1950-1960, it had been expected that the unemployment problem in the British Caribbean Islands would have been solved with the creation of 413,000 jobs. But this was not achieved. According to the economist Lloyd Best, "the unemployment rate – in even the most successful cases of industrialisation – has been approaching 15 per cent".

In Jamaica, unemployment was 19 per cent in the urban areas, and 10 per cent in the rural sector. And the problem was growing. Although 140 factories built in 14 years up to 1966 under the various incentive laws provided about 9,000 jobs, more than 10,000 jobs were lost in the sugar industry through mechanisation. At the same time, the labour force was growing by at least 20,000 annually. By 1981, the unemployment rate was 30 per cent.

Commenting on the grave unemployment situation in Trinidad, the *Trinidad Guardian* on August 9, 1967 wrote:

One hundred jobs in Canada. The possibility of three hundred in Puerto Rico. A steady trickle of domestics to North America. A fairly large flow of skilled and professional peoples to Canada. These are the avenues being used or explored in a society where the rate of unemployment may not be the worst in the world, but is nonetheless unbearable.

In Guyana, while the cost of living soared in the late 1960's, unemployment approached 25 per cent of the labour force. About one-third of the youths was unemployed, and another third underemployed in a country where 60 per cent of the population was below age 20. And the G\$300 million 6-year (1966-72) development plan collapsed at the end of 1969 – it had been formulated by economist Sir Arthur Lewis who had earlier introduced the Puerto Rican model to the Commonwealth Caribbean, and implemented it with the help of US economic adviser to the Prime Minister, W. Davenport and the West German Governor of the Central Bank of Guyana, Horst Bocklemann.

Commenting on the grave situation, one-time Economic Adviser to the government, Dr. Wilfred David, disclosed just prior to his sudden departure in early 1971: "We have had growth without development. The problem has been exemplified by the high level of unemployment and foreign dependency".

By 1974, the crisis had deepened. The regime warned of a calamity not felt since the Depression Years of the 1930's. And in an understatement of the year during the 1974 budget debate in the National Assembly, Dr. Kenneth King, Minister of Economic Development, stated: "I do not wish to minimise the seriousness of the state of the economy".

Other "third world" countries suffered the same fate – underdevelopment and vast drain of profits. In the 15-year period (1950-65), there was a net outflow from US investments from Latin America of \$7,500 million; from Asia and Africa \$9,100 million.

Foreign capital also perpetuated the status of dependency between the colonies and semi-colonies and the metropolitan countries. For instance, US investments to the developing countries were for raw materials, mainly minerals. Fifty-nine per cent of the total investment to these countries in 1948 went into extractive industries as compared with the same 59 per cent into the developed capitalist states for manufacturing and merchandising. In 1964, of US in-

vestments totalling US\$1,629 million in Africa, \$860 million was invested in oil and gas, mainly in Libya; \$225 million in manufacturing of which \$192 million was put into South Africa, the imperialist outpost on the continent.

Of the \$20 billion of US investments in the underdeveloped countries up to 1969, \$13.8 billion was put into Latin America – mainly for the extraction of minerals and other raw materials. Consequently, the Caribbean and Latin American countries “developed” a lopsided economy with dependence of its export income on one crop and/or one mineral. Like the rest of the “third world”, they also suffered from trading and monetary losses. They were caught in the “price scissors” of buying dear and selling cheap. The policy of “tight money”, financial orthodoxy and devaluation fostered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) also caused financial losses.

AID WITH STRINGS

The resultant plunder of resources and the drain of capital led to the search for state loans by colonial and neo-colonial regimes. But only those, who were prepared to grant incentives to foreign investors and not to carry out a basic programme of socio-economic change, were given loans.

Aid was granted with strings. It was not given for a planned proportional development of the economy with emphasis on industry and agriculture; it was restricted mainly to infra-structural projects – roads, sea defence, airstrips and airports, public buildings, wharves, harbours, communications, etc. – which constituted an indirect help to the foreign investors. This was made clear by leading policy-makers. On March 30, 1950, Secretary of State, Dean Acheson testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Point Four Program, put it this way:

I think there is a pretty widely held idea that we are going to build large mills, mines and factories for these under-developed peoples. This is not true.

And even more revealing was the statement by Mr. John Ab-bink, one-time Chairman of a U.S. State Department Technical Mission to Brazil. According to the *Journal of Commerce* of March 23, 1950, he said:

The US must be prepared to ‘guide’ the inevitable large-scale industrialisation of underdeveloped countries if it to cushion the shock of intensive economic development abroad on the American economy... This industrialisation drive if not controlled by some means (such as the Point 4 Program) would mean a substantial reduction in the size of American export markets.

“It is the policy of my Government” said Mr. Albert J. Powers, a Commerce Department Trade Consultant as head of delegation to the 1955 International Industrial Exposition in Bogota, “not to intervene in the financing of activities which should properly be promoted by private enterprise. It is up to you people to create business and industrial opportunities which will attract investment capital from the United States. Remember, too, that you must offer the possibility of greater profits than can be obtained at home. This is a time of exceptional inducements in my country for domestic financial ventures”. In other words, he was expressing what the powerful National Association of Manufacturers had earlier stipulated; namely, that during the period of economic aid, the participating countries should not undertake any further nationalisation or initiate projects which had the effect of destroying or impairing private enterprises. He was also reiterating what had become official cold war foreign economic policy of all the imperialist states. For instance, in Britain, Under-Secretary Rees-Williams, like Dean Acheson, made it clear in 1949 that it was not the intention of the British government to industrialise its colonial territories. Writing in *Fact* in March 1949, he stated that “it is no part of our purpose to try and set up everywhere small Lancashires. It is quite obvious that every territory cannot produce everything”.³ The British Minister of Food, emphasised “the development to primary production of all sorts in the colonial territories”.

The lending institutions like the World Bank also favoured foreign capital and channelled aid to foster the growth of 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

³ R. Palme Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

companies; (3) Foreign aid orientates national economies toward a free enterprise system in which US firms can prosper.⁴

The aid was further restricted by being tied to purchases most often for higher priced goods and services in the donor country. Two-thirds of British aid was so tied. American aid agreements stipulated in addition that goods must be transported in US ships.

More important was the channelling of the aid in such a manner that ultimately the recipient country would become economically, militarily and politically dependent on the United States. For instance, surplus food given as aid under Public Law PL480 had the effect of arresting agricultural development and later creating a market for relatively higher-priced foods from the United States.

As regards the real beneficiaries of aid, *Time* magazine, in a special essay in its March 26, 1979 issue, stated:

An estimated two million American jobs depend on exports to developing countries, and twelve of those nations, according to a United Nations Association study, are the world's fastest growing markets for US producers.

There are even more tangible benefits for America. For every \$1 that the US contributes to international financial institutions that give aid the recipients spend \$2 to buy goods and services in the US. For every \$1 paid by the US into the World Bank alone, \$9.50 flows into the nation's economy in the form of procurement contracts, operations expenditures and interest payments to investors in the bank's bonds.

How aid is used to make an underdeveloped country subservient and dependent was highlighted by Nelson Rockefeller. After the downfall of the Mossadegh government in 1953, he wrote in a report to President Eisenhower:

We should not ignore the vital fact that virtually all our natural rubber, manganese, chromium and tin, as well as substantial proportions of our zinc, copper and oil and a third or more of the lead and aluminium we need comes from abroad, and, furthermore, that it is chiefly drawn from the underdeveloped areas of Africa and Asia, which are in the orbit of one or other of the military alliances built by the US. This is also true of a major part of our super-strategic material (uranium ore particularly).

⁴ AID, Proposed Economic Assistance Programme FY, 1967, p. 75, cited in *NACLA*, *op. cit.* p. 50.

The most significant example in practice of what I mean, was the Iranian experiment with which, as you will remember, I was directly concerned. By the use of economic aid we succeeded in getting access to Iranian oil and we are now well established in the economy of that country. The strengthening of our economic position in Iran has enabled us to acquire control over her entire foreign policy and in particular to make her join the Baghdad Pact. At the present time the Shah would not dare even to make any changes in his Cabinet without consulting our Ambassador.

Similarly, the use of aid has been perverted to make into puppets many Presidents and Prime Ministers in the Caribbean and Latin America. By 1969, these countries too were providing the United States with a substantial share of its minerals – bauxite – 99%; manganese ore – 36%; copper – 60%; iron ore – 43%; lead ore – 31%; zinc ore – 35%; crude petroleum – 31%.

And as in Iran, aid was used to subvert the Pas Estenssoro government. By going along in Bolivia with the new regime established in 1952, the United States succeeded in getting advantageous compensation terms for the nationalised tin mines and a petroleum code, which was most propitious to the foreign oil companies seeking concessions. According to the Agency for International Development, "the Bolivian government also initiated strong measures to reform and reorganize the nationalized tin mines, passed a revised mining code favourable to private investments, issued a decree for the consolidation and control of the budgets and foreign borrowings of the semi-autonomous government corporations, and promulgated a new investment code and a revised and more equitable royalties schedule designed to encourage private investment. Each of these self-help measures had been strongly urged by AID and their adoption is largely attributable to AID assistance".⁵

Guyana is a classic example of "aid with political strings". Ac-

⁵ In *The New York Times* on December 18, 1961, C.L. Sulzberger, stressing the basic motivation of expediency, wrote: "We don't owe Latin America any kind of Marshall Plan, but if anything drastic is accomplished by the Alliance for Progress we now offer, the man to be thanked is Fidel Castro. Without dramatisation of a communist threat, it is arguable that Washington might well have continued dilly-dallying. If the alliance succeeds it should perhaps be marked by statutes respectively honouring Kennedy and Castro. The mere reiteration of platitudes like the need for a goodneighbour policy would not have accomplished the needed reveille"

cording to Dr. Ralph Gonsalves in his *The Spectre of Imperialism: the Case of the Caribbean*:

... in 1969 Guyana received over 50 per cent of AID's commitments to the entire Caribbean and 93.4 per cent of those to the English-speaking Caribbean. In fact 76 per cent of all AID's Development Loan Funds in 1969 went to eight countries: Chile, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Korea, Pakistan, Turkey and Guyana. By 1971, Guyana's share of AID's commitments had fallen to 3.2 per cent of the total for the Caribbean as a whole and 5.6 per cent of the total for the Anglophone Caribbean. It is worth considering in this regard that Guyana's "move to the left" under Prime Minister Burnham began substantially in 1971 with the nationalisation of Alcan and the announced intention to rid the economy of foreign economic interests. In 1969, Burnham was a near-perfect neo-colonial leader, part of whose task was to ensure that the powerful Marxist-Leninist People's Progressive Party of Cheddi Jagan did not gain political power. Accordingly, AID's "assistance" was used in part to reward Burnham when he unequivocally served American interests but was substantially withdrawn to indicate American displeasure at his anti-imperialist postures.

After the nationalisation of the Demerara Bauxite Company, the wholly-owned subsidiary of the Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN), the World Bank refused a Guyana loan application for US\$5.4 million for drainage and irrigation. In similar circumstances, loans were refused Bolivia and Peru in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Writing about Guyana, the *Christian Science Monitor*, (November 3, 1971), stated:

Mr. Connally (the US Secretary of Treasury) apparently hopes that these abstentions will deter Guyana from its rumoured intention to nationalise some bauxite mines owned by Reynolds Metal Corporation... Key Congressmen are urging the administration not only to cast its own votes against countries which take over US investments, but to lobby actively within the international banks against such loans.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AND THE ECLA MODEL

The end result of the "incentives to capital" Puerto Rican model was a relative decline in the position of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. Whereas the share of world income of these countries was about 58 per cent around 1800 and 42 per cent around 1900, it declined to about 18 per cent by 1962. Viewing this as a potential threat to world peace, the United Nations launched in 1960 the first Development Decade. And with the 1959 Cuban Revolution and the declaration in May 1961 by Premier Fidel Castro that it would take a socialist course, President Kennedy launched his Alliance for Progress.⁶

Kennedy's aim was to reform the capitalist-imperialist system so as to make life more tolerable and thus to prevent Latin America from exploding. If there was no evolution, he argued, there was bound to come revolution. That point had been previously emphasised by John Moors Cabot, Assistant Secretary for Latin American Affairs, when in 1954 he said:

Social reform is coming. It may come by evolution or revolution. There are reactionary elements in every country in the hemisphere which do not want social reform. They are willing to tie down the safety valve and wait for the boiler to burst. In many countries liberal elements, confronted by such intransigent opposition, have more and more fallen under Communist influence. To my mind there is nothing more dangerous from the viewpoint of long-range American policy than to let the Communists, with their phoney slogans, seize the leadership of social reform. We simply cannot afford to identify ourselves with the elements which would tie down the social safety valve. That wouldn't protect our national interest; it wouldn't even for long protect our investments.

The Declaration to the Peoples of America, signed on August 17, 1961, described the Alliance for Progress as "a vast effort to bring a better life to all the peoples of the continent". Kennedy called on the ruling Latin American elites to undertake land, fiscal and monetary reforms. In turn, the United States promised aid — in the first two years over \$1.5 billion had been disbursed — for residential housing, schools, hospitals, water systems, textbooks, agricultural loans. And it was proposed that \$20 billion of in-

⁶ *NACLA*, op. cit., p. 44.

vestments would become available in the decade to raise per capita growth rate to 2.5 per cent per year.

And in place of the discredited Puerto Rican economic planning model, the United Nations Commission for Latin America (ECLA) proposed a new one, the so-called ECLA model. To stimulate local production, and to prevent the financial losses suffered by developing countries from non-equivalent international trade (buying dear and selling cheap), the policy of import-substitution and the establishment of import-substituting industries was proposed. Land reform was also seen as a necessary measure to stimulate production to meet the demand for agricultural goods imported from abroad, to provide the raw materials for the industrialisation programme, and at the same time to raise productivity and farmers' income to provide the means in the countryside for the locally-produced industrial goods. It was felt also that foreign capital would be required for the establishment of industries and for the payment of land taken over from the latifundistas.

But foreign capital introduced the same, if not greater problems than under the Puerto Rican model. While there was greater emphasis on manufacturing industry, a deformed type of industrialisation developed in Latin America based on transnational corporations producing mainly for the domestic market with assembly-type, branch-plants or factories which had become technologically obsolete.

Industrialisation greatly expanded. But it came more under foreign, mainly US domination. The proportion of US private investment for the industrial sector rose from 35 per cent in 1951 to 60 per cent in 1962. However instead of becoming a liberating force for the Latin American countries, such industrialisation further subjected their economies and has become integrated into the foreign economies.

Celso Furtado, the well-known Brazilian economist, warned of the dangers of this type of import-substituting industrialisation since "the dependence" on inputs provided by the metropolis tends to increase. Between 1957 and 1964, the sales of the North American affiliates (not including equipment) grew from \$210 to \$667 million. "This tendency would seem to indicate that substitutive efficacy diminishes with the industrial expansion controlled by foreign companies".

No doubt, big business and the ruling circles in the United

States were influential in incorporating into the Alliance an "open door" policy to foreign capital. In a report to President Kennedy in February 1963, Wall Street asked for a "get tough" Latin American policy. Signed by David Rockefeller, President of the Chase National Bank, Emilio G. Gollado, Vice-President of the First National City Bank, the report said:

The Alliance for Progress can succeed if – and only if – it places far greater emphasis on the encouragement of private initiative and investment, both local and foreign.

The first requirement is that governments – and, as far as possible, the people – of Latin America know that the US has changed its policy so as to put primary stress on improvement in the general business climate as a pre-requisite for social development and reform. A second requirement concerns a change in the criteria for granting aid. The US shall concentrate its economic aid program in countries that show the greatest inclination to adopt measures to improve the investment climate and withhold aid from others until satisfactory performance has been demonstrated.

The plan called for the creation in Latin America of a favourable investment climate. Wall Street also made it clear that it did not want any fundamental change. The Clay Committee on foreign aid in 1963 noted: "We believe the US should not aid a foreign government in projects establishing government-owned industrial and commercial enterprises which compete with existing private endeavours".

Official Washington bowed to the pressure of the monopolies. In his foreign aid message of 1963, Kennedy expressed the view of big business when he stated: "The primary new initiative in this year's program relates to our increased efforts to encourage the investment of private capital in the underdeveloped countries."⁷

And the protection of the interests of private foreign capital was ensured at the diplomatic level by Secretary of State, Dean Rusk. As *Newsweek* on April 19, 1965, disclosed: "American diplomats can be expected to intensify their help to US businessmen overseas. Directives now awaiting Dean Rusk's signature will remind US embassies that their efficiency will be rated not only by diplomatic and political prowess but by how well they foster American commercial

⁷ *Ibid.*

interests abroad. Moreover, prominent businessmen will be recruited as inspectors of the Foreign Service”.

No wonder that by 1964 David Rockefeller was happy about “the marked change in the attitude of those responsible for the Alliance”, and that the State Department had recognized that the Alliance “had had too much emphasis on social reform”⁸.

The British, French and Dutch, like the United States, also emphasised the role of private capital. In its aid programme memoranda of 1969 and 1970 to the OECD, the British government stated: “The UK regards private investment as complementary to official aid. One of the main purpose of aid is to build up infrastructure in both physical and administrative capacity, thus helping to create the environment in which private investment can make its characteristic contribution (sic!) to development”.

Similarly, the Netherlands Minister for Development Cooperation wanted no obstacle to private capital. In January, 1969 he wrote:

If, in the international economy, grandiose words such as ‘aid’ or ‘assistance’ are employed, it is because people are trying to delude themselves. It must be clearly seen that it is to the interest, I would even say self-interest, of the rich countries that capital move freely over the surface of our planet without meeting obstacles at every turn.

REGIONAL INTEGRATION

In the second half of the decade (1950-60), the imperialists, faced with growing discontent and revolutionary upheavals, embarked on new strategies.

Great Britain, under Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, with his famous “wind of change” speech in South Africa in 1960, embarked on a course of granting political independence, but continuing political and economic domination through regional groupings of territories in federations under puppet, client rulers – Central Africa Federation, Nigerian Federation, West Indies Federation, Malaysian Federation.

Faced in the mid-sixties with a definite shift in the world balance of forces in favour of national liberation and socialism, and a more rapid rate of growth of the world socialist system through

⁸ *NACLA*, op. cit., p. 41.

cooperation under the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the capitalist states embarked on a strategy of regional integration. The imperialist strategists saw the need to organise production on a wider and more intensive scale without national barriers.

George Ball, US Under-Secretary of State under President Kennedy, and later Chairman of the big investment banking firm, Lehman Bros., addressing the New York Chamber of Commerce, laid down the policy line of big business. He said:

The multi-national US corporation is ahead of, and in conflict with, existing world political organisations represented by the nation-state. Major obstacles to the multi-national corporation are evident in Western Europe, Canada and a good part of the developing world.

President Lyndon Johnson was not so blunt. His administration demagogically propagated the concept of “ideological frontiers” instead of “geographical frontiers”; namely, that the concept of national sovereignty and independence with trade barriers and tariff walls was old-fashioned and obsolete, that all those who believed in the same ideology (the defence of freedom, the euphemism for state-monopoly capitalism) must come together to create “one ideological community”.

But this coming together under the slogan of “interdependence” was the pretext for strengthening the position of world imperialism as a whole, for the domination and exploitation of third-world countries and even the “colonialisation” of the developed capitalist states of Europe.

The Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) in 1968, superseded by the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) in 1971, the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and the Central-American Common Market (CACM) became the Caribbean and Latin American counterparts of the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) and the European Economic Community (EEC).

Regional integration, demanded by foreign capital, was justified on the ground that the grouping of territories in larger Free Trade Areas or Common Markets would facilitate economies of scale and thus cheapen commodity production for the benefit of the consumers. However, it served the multinational corporations to increase the rate of exploitation. By sharp and unfair practices, they

eliminated their competitors, and from their monopolistic positions extracted enormous profits.

In the case of the Commonwealth Caribbean, regional integration has also helped the USA to undermine the position of Britain. In the first two years of CARIFTA, the United States more than doubled its exports of food into the area. The manufacturing plants, predominantly of the branch-plants, assembly-type, which had been set up mainly in Jamaica and Trinidad, use materials, parts and components imported principally from the United States. Included in the CARICOM Treaty Appendix are many pages listing apples, grapes, rye, barley, oats, wheat, paper, silk, iron, steel in all forms, copper, nickel, tungsten, zinc, tin, molybdenum, tantalum, as well as "all other non-ferrous base metals, unwrought or wrought, which may always be regarded as originating wholly within the Common Market when used in the state described in this list in a process of production with the Common Market".

As a result of this deformed type of industrialisation, the CARICOM area as a whole has become a collective colony of imperialism. And the "less developed countries (LDCs) have become virtually colonies of some of the "more developed countries" (MDCs). A further consequence of this type of deformed industrialisation is that Jamaica increased its exports to the region by 60 per cent, and to Trinidad by 30 per cent. The other territories whose exports increased by less than 10 per cent (for Guyana the increase was only 5 per cent in the same two-year period) are forced to pay higher prices for generally inferior-quality goods. For them, the CARICOM aim of equitable distribution of benefits has not been realised.

Guyana and the less developed countries continue to pay higher prices for goods from the more developed countries. Urea was sold by the Trinidad-based Federation Chemicals to Guyana for TT\$330 per ton; to its parent W.R. Grace in the USA, the price was TT\$186 per ton. The same applied to ammonia. In the September 1973-April 1974 period, the price of gasoline from Trinidad increased by 147 per cent as compared with only 28 per cent in the USA. In mid-1979, the oil refineries in Trinidad received \$2.27 per gallon for gasoline, an increase of 56 cents on the previous price of \$1.71; in the USA, the increase was not so high. At about the same time, the Guyana government complained that soap and detergents originating in Trinidad were costing more than if they had come

directly from the parent body in England. Nevertheless, Guyana was forced to buy. Under the Caribbean Common Market Treaty, it is excluded from buying goods outside the region so long as they are available within the region. Meanwhile, Guyana's trade deficit with Caricom states grows; it was G\$106.6 million in 1977 compared with G\$97.3 million in 1976 and G\$80.5 million in 1969.

Guyana and the LDC's are in the same position as Honduras, which complained that "the accelerated pace of economic integration... was forced upon Central America", that "its regional trade balance had become unfavourable, its regional terms of trade were deteriorating, its consumer prices were rising, and the number of unemployed artisans was growing as a result of industrial competition from the other Common Market members. Finally... Honduras was suffering from diminished fiscal revenues as a result of the exportation by the more developed members of the CACM of their pseudo-Central American products to Honduras exempt from tariffs; Honduras was in effect subsidising the industrial development of the other Central American states"⁹

Under the ECLA model, the Alliance for Progress and regional integration, which opened the internal market to foreign economic penetration and exploitation and inhibited the development of the economy, the relative position of the Latin American countries deteriorated. The drain of wealth in the late 1960's and 1970's was even greater than during the earlier period. Profits from investments, debt repayments and interest charges were nearly 2,000 million dollars per year. Even the Alliance for Progress' very low projected 2.5 per cent per capita rate of economic growth was not achieved. And the social and economic conditions of the people worsened.

EQUAL PARTNERSHIP

In the 1970's, the transnational corporations, which comprise only about 3 per cent of the capitalist companies but represent 75 per cent of world production, became the targets for attacks; they struck out as "sharks devouring sardines". In this new situation, the imperialists devised the new tactic of partnership.

⁹. NACLA, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

President Nixon in a number of messages and speeches, including his message to Congress on February 25, 1971, substituted for Kennedy's Alliance for Progress the formula of "equal partnership". "Thus the core of our new foreign policy", said the President, "is a partnership; its necessary adjuncts are strength to secure our interests".

A year earlier, during his African tour, U.S. Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, had proposed partnership not only with capitalists, but also with governments. He said:

We believe that private investment can and should play a growing role, above and beyond public assistance, in African development. Africans themselves desire to participate in such investment. In many countries, in the face of limited capital resources, it is the government rather than the private sector which has the financial wherewithal to join with foreign private investors. Thus, "joint ventures" frequently involve a combination of foreign private and African governmental capital. We are prepared to encourage American investors to cooperate in such endeavours under adequate investment protection.

This policy was also implemented in the Caribbean and Latin America. In pursuit of its objective of maintaining the dependency status of these territories through penetration as distinct from domination, imperialism has resorted to incorporate nationals and even governments as share-holding partners, even to the extent of 51 per cent ownership. This new manoeuvre of joint ventures was aimed at creating a wider social base for capitalism-imperialism for the defense of foreign rather than national interest.

Many joint ventures were established in the Western Hemisphere, particularly in Mexico, Argentina and Brazil. "Mexicanisation" was welcomed by big business. *Fortune* magazine says that a "company that puts its money into Mexico can be confident of avoiding most of the problems which customarily unnerve foreign investors elsewhere in Latin America. The country has gone for decades without a revolutionary change in government, the dangers of sudden expropriation are minimal, and the currency is stable".¹⁰

¹⁰ Quoted in Susanne Jonas (Bodenheimer) "Mastermining the Mini-Market", U.S. Aid to Central American Common Market in *NACLA's Latin American and Empire Report*, Vol. VII, No. 5, May-June 1973.

Eduardo Frei in Chile also with the blessing of Washington put into practice the joint venture idea in his "Chileanisation of copper". This was done demagogically to counter the revolutionary demands of Allende's Popular Unity. According to Richard Bourne in his *Political Leaders of Latin America*:

The Chileanisation of copper was an electoral gimmick designed to trump the FRAP proposal for full nationalisation in 1964. There is some evidence that it was produced in haste and cleared by the prospective Christian Democrat Foreign Minister, Gabriel Valdes, with the State Department and New York banking leaders rather than with the Braden and other companies concerned. The agreement, passed in 1965, provided for the Chilean state to own 51 per cent of the shares in the biggest mine, Braden's El Teniente.

In several of the Caribbean territories, the foreign companies threw open their doors to local participation. In Guyana, in 1970, the slogan of "meaningful participation in bauxite" was similar to the "Chileanisation of copper".

Putting this in proper perspective, the Soviet historian G. Mirsky, noted: "the new fashion is set by the monopolies of the 'new type', which expand production based on high technology and are no longer interested in preserving the former colonial division of labour, i.e., in using the backward countries only as agrarian raw material appendages of the 'metropolis'... A new international division of labour is planned under which are the most technologically 'modern' and capital consuming industrial branches requiring highly skilled workforce, while the developing countries will be 'intermediate products shops' of world capitalist production and 'middle links of the conveyor', fully dependent, of course, on the most important, technologically advanced initial and final links.... To build factories in order to exercise greater control, is the secret motto of the implementation of the neo-colonialist line for establishing a new 'technological dependence of the developing countries', officially masked by the so-called 'equal partnership' conception".

This type of industrialisation has formed the basis of the "Brazilian model" of planning and 'development'. Like the Puerto Rican model, it is based on an even wider attraction of foreign capital. According to Marcos Pereira Vianna, President of the

Brazil is a free enterprise nation. The basic course being followed by the Brazilian government is to take care of infrastructural needs, such as highways, railroads, shipping power and communication, while leaving most of the industrial and agricultural development in private hands.

Important state-controlled enterprises exist, notably in steel-making, mining, oil prospecting, extracting, refining, distribution and shipping, and the government is prepared to serve as a partner in private companies when additional resources are needed or when local control in certain key and sensitive areas is necessary for security reasons.

In the Central and South American countries, the structure built by the foreign monopolists has brought enormous benefits to themselves and a small local clientele group of politicians, administrators and businessmen in the face of grinding poverty for the masses.

In Brazil, the high growth rates benefitted 5 per cent of the population; 45 per cent had their living standard eroded. Forty-five million have the same total income as 900,000 privileged ones at the top. *The Times* (London) wrote in 1971: "It is likely that 5 per cent of the population now control about 45 per cent of the personal wealth today as against some 37 per cent in 1964".¹¹

In Mexico, too, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened. Figures for 1964 showed that 0.3 per cent of the Mexican families (33,000 out of 11 million) received 55 per cent of the national income, whereas 85 per cent of the families (9.3 million) got only 23.4 per cent.

¹¹ *Political Affairs*, October 1972, saying: "Despite the greater national income, the socio-economic structures in Brazil and Mexico have not been able to resolve any of the problems common to most countries of the continent. As industry expanded, so did penetration of foreign, chiefly North American, capital; the position of the landlord oligarchy grew stronger; the concentration of production and capital in the hands of the imperialist monopolies continued unabated; the problems of the small and medium-sized enterprises grew more acute. The increased exports helped expand industry. But an ever greater portion is being used to cover the cost of foreign services. In Brazil, for example, this cost equalled 42% of the total 1966-70 exports as against 29% in the 1950's. The foreign debt... had doubled.... (Structural Crisis and Contradictions in Latin America, World Marxist Review, May 1972).

This process continued. *The New York Times* (January 28, 1972), noted:

Mexico's average annual growth rate of 6.5 per cent (at constant prices) in the postwar era took place at the cost of social neglect and economic inequality. The industrial sector that emerged was largely paid for through foreign loans, while the urgent social needs of the population went unattended.

The direction of Mexico's boom was such that the country's economic and social problems were increasing. Per capita income reached \$700 last year, but it was more a reflection of the enormous wealth acquired by a small group of industrialists rather than a rise in the general standard of living.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean, regional integration and joint ventures within the framework of the reform-oriented ECLA model and the Alliance for Progress replaced the blantly pro-imperialist Puerto Rican model. Trinidad and Tobago is a typical example of a middle-of-the-road reformist course. Its late Prime Minister Dr. Eric Williams declared that neither the pro-imperialist Puerto Rican model nor the Cuban revolutionary socialist model would suffice. He argued for:

A middle way between outright nationalisation and old fashioned capitalist organisation backed by armies and the dollars of the United States. That middle way is an active participation between Government and major foreign investors in both the formulation and the achievement of the Government's development targets and social objectives.

According to Dr. Ralph Gonsalves:

With the exception of Cuba and now possibly Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago has more of its economy under state ownership than any other Caribbean country....

Additionally, the Trinidadian government is in partnership with big business – local and foreign – in a number of ventures; it is involved in a majority shareholding position (51%) on the sugar estates with Tate and Lyle; it has a 50-50 partnership with Continental Telephones in running the local telephone system; it has 51% of the shares in Textel – an external telecommunications company – with Cable and Wireless being the minority partner; it has 90% of BWIA

with Caribbean International Corporation holding the balance of the shares; it owns 50.1% of the Trinidad Tesoro Petroleum Company with Tesoro Petroleum Company having the other 49.9%; and it has involved itself with national capitalists in joint ventures such as the Trinidad Port Contractors Ltd., Trinidad and Tobago Development Finance Co., and the Trinidad and Tobago Meat Processors Ltd....

There was a big influx of foreign capital in the Commonwealth Caribbean region. By 1967, the USA, UK and Canada had a total of US\$2.6 billion in direct private investments with the highest concentration in Trinidad and Tobago (\$646.8 million) and Jamaica (\$667.8 million). The manufacturing sector increased significantly in both countries. In Jamaica, its percentage contribution to output increased from 13.9 per cent in 1950 to 16.2 per cent in 1968. In Trinidad, the average annual growth rate of real gross domestic product was 8.5 per cent between 1951 and 1961. During the first five-year plan period (1958-62) under the guidance of Dr. Arthur Lewis, 66 new tax-free pioneer factories were set up, plus 30 including fertilizer, stock-feed, garment and textiles, which received other government concessions and the Gross Domestic Product increased from \$481 million to \$1,180 million.

According to Jay Mandle –

This growth rate decelerated in the 1960's but, even so, real per capita domestic product increased about 2.3% per year between 1963 and 1968. During these years alone, exports of manufactured goods doubled, substantially increasing this sector's contribution to output (Third 5-Year Plan, Trinidad & Tobago, 1969-73, p. 423).

The "middle way" has proved to be extremely profitable. For example, Tesoro Petroleum Corporation, whose net profits were US\$13.4 million for the first quarter of 1974 as compared with \$4.4 million in the same period in 1973 (per share earnings exceeded 30% per year), in an advertisement claiming to be "the fastest-growing energy company in America" said: "The company's continuing confidence in Trinidad & Tobago is based on the abundance of talent and natural resources there; and from experience on the unquestionable integrity and stability of the Trinidad government with whom Tesoro's relations are excellent".

Consequently, in the 1970's, the economies of most of the Com-

monwealth Caribbean territories experienced serious problems. The annual report of the World Bank for 1978 disclosed that economic activity in Latin America and the Caribbean region grew 3 per cent in 1977, less than the near 5 per cent growth in 1976. It referred to Jamaica, Guyana and Peru as still having "serious adjustment problems".

For the bulk of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples, the situation has become explosive. The benefits of earlier high growth rates did not trickle down to the masses. There is persistent poverty. High unemployment and under-employment is a perennial problem.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations at its meeting in Chile in 1965 noted that "at least 100 million Latin Americans are suffering from hunger". According to the ECLA report, 23 million out of 83 million were unemployed in 1969. The unemployment and underemployment rate increased from 25 per cent in 1960 to 40 per cent in 1972.

For the Caribbean Community area, President of the Caribbean Development Bank, William Demas estimated that the employment rate was between 10 and 20%; for the 15-19 age group, it was as high as 50%. And the rate of labour under-utilisation was between 30 to 50% throughout the region. Later estimates indicate that 50% of the region's population is under 25 years of age and the unemployment rate is over 40%.

The first 5-year plan of Trinidad and Tobago was intended to create 35,000 jobs, but only 4,000 was achieved. A Special Economic Review disclosed that in 1975, out of a labour force of 395,000, 66,100 were out of jobs. It pointed out that the overall unemployed rate was much higher than for persons who were able to secure jobs; thus, a progressive worsening of the unemployment situation.

In early 1976, the former Secretary General, Alistair McIntyre, told the Summit meeting of the Caribbean Economic Community that the region was faced with "unprecedented difficulties" including a 20 per cent inflation rate, the "scandalous" food importation bill of \$1,000 million, a worsening balance of payments problem, and the need for 150,000 jobs for full employment by 1980. And he lamented the shortage of funds for the public sector and "starting increases" in consumption expenditure.

CHAPTER VII

CONTROL OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

One of the principal aims of imperialism is to control the trade union movement. After the American Federation of Labour (AFL) and the British TUC split the WFTU in 1949, the breakaway ICFTU and its Pan-American branch, the Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (ORIT) and its Caribbean section (CADORIT) came under the influence of the CIA. Prior to ORIT, the AFL had established the right-wing Inter-American Confederation of Labor (CIT) to counter the influential leftist Latin American Confederation of Labour (CTAL).

The stated objective of ORIT was the fostering of a "free" and "democratic" trade union movement in Latin America and the Caribbean. In actual fact, its main task was to smash or split militant and progressive trade unions.

One of the early "successes" of ORIT was its crushing of the Guyana TUC. After the suspension of the Constitution and removal of the PPP from the government in October 1953, the TUC which had backed the PPP was illegally disbanded in November of the same year as a result of pressures exerted by the influential Serafino Romualdi, head of ORIT. Consequently, a new TUC of company-dominated and conservative trade unions was set up.

Referring to the disbanding and reconstruction of the TUC, William H. Knowles in his book *Trades Union Movement and Industrial Relations in the B.W.I.*, wrote:

In a move of questionable legality, the anti-Jagan non-Communist elements of the Trades Union Council voted, while supporters of the People's Progressive Party were out of the country, to dissolve the B.G. Trades Union Council.

Later, after Burnham had split the PPP in 1955, even some of the militant unions and leaders under his influence joined the new right-wing, anti-communist TUC, Andrew Jackson and Brentnol Blackman, who had been attacked by the British government became pillars of the new TUC.

How reactionary the TUC had become and what role the US trade union movement was playing in British Guiana could be gleaned from a special report, "Facts on Cheddi Jagan and his Communist-

controlled PPP of British Guiana. Free Labour's 10-year Struggle to Preserve Independence" by Serafino Romualdi. He reported *inter alia*.

"In order to eliminate, to all intents and purposes, the usefulness of the union (MPCA) Mrs. Jagan in her role of Minister of Labour, Health and Housing, suggested the establishment of a Wages Council in the sugar industry with statutory powers to fix wages and working conditions" Romualdi continued:

"The free labour movement bitterly opposed this measure because, once introduced in the sugar industry (with the consequent elimination of the Union), it would have eventually been extended to the bauxite mines, the waterfront and other industries (sic). Rupert Tello termed this Jagan proposal 'especially a weapon to destroy the free trade union movement'."

Elsewhere in the Caribbean and Latin America, the same technique was employed. In Guatemala where Jacobo Arbenz' electoral success and radical measures threatened the interests of the United Fruit Company, a powerful US monopoly, Romualdi attempted to build a parallel union to woo the workers away from the government. When the attempt failed, George Meany, head of the AFL, decided that it was time "to break the shackles of communist domination".¹

Similarly, in 1962, in the Dominican Republic, the AFL-CIO set up a small dual union (CONATRAL) in place of the United Workers for Free Unions (FOUPSA) after the leader of the latter had refused to take a bribe of \$20,000 to call off a strike against the dictatorship. The Cabral regime which usurped power after the overthrow of the Bosch government decorated Romualdi with a medal for the "defense of freedom" and with transforming "into free democratic trade unions what had been a slave labour movement."² Actually, under the Juan Bosch government, democratic trade unionism flourished for the first time in the history of the Dominican Republic, and even small trade unions were recognised as the legal bargaining agent in every factory.

Because of its close identification with conservative unions which collaborated with reactionary and dictatorial regimes like

¹ Quoted by Fred Hirsch, in *An Analysis of Our AFL-CIO Role in Latin America, or Under the Covers with the CIA*, San Jose, California, 1974, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

that of Batista in Cuba, ORIT began to lose its effectiveness by the early 1960's.

The staff report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (July 15, 1968) says ORIT:

... was originally founded for the specific purpose of combatting communist infiltration of the Latin American labor movement. ORIT has never quite solved the problem of emphasis as between fighting communism and strengthening democratic trade unions... generally speaking, in ORIT North Americans have emphasized anti-communism; Latin Americans have emphasised democratic trade unionism.

This is one reason for what seems to be a decline in ORIT prestige in Latin America. More fundamental, perhaps, has been the tendency of ORIT to support US government policy in Latin America. ORIT endorsed the overthrow of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala and of the Goulart regime in Brazil. It supported Burnham over Cheddi Jagan in Guyana, and it approved the US intervention in the Dominican Republic. To many Latin Americans, this looks like ORIT is an instrument of the US State Department.³

Thus the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was set up in 1962 to save the ORIT unions. The rabid anti-communist, George Meany, became President and J. Peter Grace was appointed Chairman of the Board of Trustees (Grace is the chief executive of the big monopoly, W.R. Grace and Company, with extensive interests in the Caribbean and Latin America). About 95 per cent of its annual six million dollar budget comes from the US Treasury.

The main aim of the AIFLD is to create a docile subservient trade union movement. At its school in Front Royal, training was given to 1,092 trade unionists from the Caribbean and Latin America. The rest of the 188,795 trained by 1972 received their training at Labour Institutes set up in 11 territories in the Hemisphere. "Graduates" from these schools have helped to subvert several progressive, anti-imperialist trade unions and governments.

In an address given in September 1965, J. Peter Grace said:

... AIFLD trains Latin Americans in techniques of combatting com-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

munist infiltration. This training has paid off handsomely in many situations. For instance, AIFLD trainees have driven communists from port unions which were harassing shipping in Latin America. After several years of effort AIFLD men were able to take over control of the port union in Uruguay which had long been dominated by communists. AIFLD men also helped drive communists from control of British Guiana. They prevented the communists from taking over powerful unions in Honduras and helped to drive the communists from strong "jugular" unions in Brazil.

In a statement about these trainees made after his visit to Guiana in April 1962, Romualdi said: "... it appeared to me that young democratic trade union leaders would need intensive training to combat Dr. Jagan's efforts. Subsequently, eight Guianese came to Washington in June 1962, as participants in the Institute's first course. In September of that year, six of these men returned to British Guiana, supported by AIFLD internships, enabling them to put into practice, on a fulltime basis, what they had learned at our school... When the BGTUC decided to call a general strike in an attempt to put the Institute's six interns, who were working with various local unions, at the disposal of the council's strike committee... In agreement with the Institute's Secretary-Treasurer, Joseph A. Beirne, I instructed the interns to fully devote their efforts to supporting the strike, and extended their internships, which were scheduled to end on June 15 to August 15... I would like to say that I am proud of our graduates in British Guiana. In spite of sacrifices and hardships they kept their places in the front lines of a difficult and, unfortunately, sometimes bloody battle".

In an article "Unionist Trained to harry Jagan's Government", Victor Riesel wrote that among "the six courageous men" who received the AIFLD training was "a rather fearless chap by the name of Richard Ishmael, President of the Anti-Communist Sugar Workers' Union known as the Man-Power Citizens' Association". Mr. Riesel continued: "Jagan has organized opposition groups in an effort to take over British Guiana's organized labour. If he succeeds there will be nothing to stop him from going internally Cuban. Realizing this, the American Institute for Free Labor Development – supported by US labour and industry – rushed the training of six Guianese in Washington. This institute is directed by Serafino Romualdi, a veteran anti-Communist Labour Specialist. Each of the six trainees has specific tasks inside B.G. labour.... It was in

Panama City on March 9 that Ishmael met with Joe Curran's colleagues, Shannon Wall, NMU President, and Rene Lioneanjie, NMU Co-ordinator of organising for Latin America. He told them that British Guiana's anti-Communist unions would try to stop Soviet gun-running. Ishmael said they would picket the Soviet and Cuban ships at the docks... Ishmael made good his promise last week. There was intense fighting in the dock areas. It soon spread through the city".

This was a reference to the rioting in Georgetown on April 5, 1963. Shamelessly, Riesel continued: "It's a pleasure to report we're giving the Communists a run for their money and guns".

Actually, the 80-day strike came about because the PPP government was attempting to make into law the National Labour Relations Bill, patterned after the US Wagner Act, to foster democratic trade unionism and to bring an end to company unions.

As regards L.F.S. Burnham, whom the CIA helped to bring to power after the strife and strike, Riesel wrote on January 14, 1974 (*The Daily Journal*, Caracas, Venezuela):

... there is the back-slapping Forbes Burnham, Prime Minister of Guyana (once British Guiana) on the South American north coast. Some years ago, when he was leader of the national labor federation there he really ran scared. He came to the US for money and guidance. He would meet quietly in hotel rooms. I know, I was there.... Burnham got American money, American labor assistance and got to be Prime Minister.

The CIA agents operating inside Guyana 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 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.

CIA support for anti-communist trade unions and terrorist ac-

tivities was disclosed by Thomas W. Braden, European Director of the CIA from 1950-1954. In his article: "I'm glad the CIA is Immoral" (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 20, 1967), he stated:

Lovestone and his assistant, Irving Brown... needed it to pay off strongarm squads in Mediterranean ports so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of communist dock workers.... With funds from Dubinsky's union, they organized the Force Ouvriere, a non-communist union. When they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions.⁴

Other skeletons were unearthed after the expose on the CIA in 1967. *Newsweek* (April 7, 1969) reported the case of a cold-warrior, Franz Olah, of Austria. Considered as a "socialist", he emerged from a Nazi concentration camp in 1945 to become in the mid-50's the idol of the ordinary Austrians. Through vicious anti-communism, he captured the presidency of the powerful Austrian Trades Union Federation. In 1963, he held the important post as Interior Minister and was regarded as "the man who saved Austria from the communists". But because of political nepotism and corruption, he was forced to resign from the government in 1964. And in April 1969, a Vienna Judge, ruling that Olah had misused nearly 50,000 Austrian schillings in union funds sentenced him to a year in jail.

Where did he get all his money to build up his empire and private anti-communist militia? *Newsweek* says "predictably enough, the CIA refused all comment while the AFL... denied that it had ever given any funds to Olah directly. Still, it seemed more than likely that Olah's bonanza had, indeed, come from US Government sources". "Look", said one American official recently, "Austria was a poor country then and the Soviets were on the move all over Europe. Somebody had to help".

Elsewhere as in Guyana, France and Austria, CIA and AFL-CIO collaboration was evident. In Africa, they attempted through the African-American Labour Centre to sabotage the attempts of Dr. Nkrumah and others to set up the All-African Trade Union Federation, the aim of which was freedom from cold-war influences,

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 15-16.

Jay Lovestone considered Nkrumah's brand of neutralism as an "aide-de-camp" of communism.⁵

In the Latin American area, Meany's foreign relations manipulator. Jay Lovestone, renegade of the Communist Party, was the principal link in the business of espionage, infiltration and subversion abroad. According to the New York Post of February 16: "One of Lovestone's 'institutes' actively helped to train Brazilian unionists here to participate in the military coup against Goulart's Brazilian regime.... an alleged leftist but constitutional government.... replaced by an oppressed tyranny of the right".

William C. Doherty of the AIFLD later admitted the assertions of the *New York Post* about the coup against Goulart. In 1968, he told a Senate Sub-Committee: "As a matter of fact, some of them (graduates of the AIFLD school from Brazil) were so active that they became intimately involved in some of the clandestine operations of the revolution before it took place on April 1. What happened in Brazil on April 1 (1964) did not just happen – it was planned – and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders – some of whom were actually trained in our institute – were involved in the revolution, and in the overthrow of the Goulart regime".⁶

In the Dominican Republic, the late Fred A. Somerford CIA agent posing as US Labour Attache, was the guiding light of CONATRAL which ran an advertisement in the newspapers calling on the people to put their faith not in the regime of the elected President Juan Bosch, but in the "armed forces". An obituary on Somerford, a year after Bosch's downfall, said "George Meany wrote a personal letter of commendation to the

⁵ R.S. Nyameko, "Fight US Subversion of Trade Union Movement in Africa," (*The African Communist*, No. 87, 1981) states: "The CIA's experts on subversion confirm their role. William Colby, CIA Director under President Carter, stated: 'Covert action ought to be increased. The more aggressive the country's foreign policy, the more likely you are to use covert action as a supplement to diplomacy and as a substitute for military force'. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks in the *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* wrote (p.23): "Years later, in a letter to the *Washington Post* correspondent Chalmers Roberts, Allen Dulles summed up the prevailing attitude of the times. Referring to the CIA's coups in Iran and Guatemala, he wrote: 'Where there begins to be evidence that a country is slipping and communist takeover is threatened.... we can't wait for an engraved invitation to come and give aid'".

⁶ *Quoted in Thunder*, January-March 1974, p. 33.

deceased for his outstanding contribution to the Democratic Labour Movement of the Dominican Republic".

Similarly in Chile, the CIA collaborated with the anti-Allende reactionary political parties and trade unions. *Time* (September 24, 1973) wrote that its correspondent Rudolph Ranch "visited a group of truckers camped near Santiago who were enjoying a lavish communal meal of steak, vegetables, wine and empanadas (meat pies). 'Where does the money come from?' he enquired, 'from the CIA' the truckers answered laughingly".

No doubt, the CIA and the transnational corporations met the \$30 million per month loss suffered by the truck owners in their 39-day strike.

Their role was documented in hearings of the US Senate sub-Committee on Multinational Corporations. CIA's Western Hemisphere chief, William Broe disclosed that in July 1970, Harold Geneen, Chairman of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) told him that ITT was willing to put up a "substantial fund" in support of a conservative candidate for President at the elections of September 4, 1970.

Soon after Allende's victory, John McCone, an ITT director and former head of the CIA, offered Henry Kissinger and Richard Helms, then CIA chief, "up to \$1,000,000 to support any Government plan for the purpose of bringing about a coalition of the opposition to Allende".

On September 29, Broe said that he discussed with ITT Senior Vice-President, Edward Gerrity, "the feasibility of possible actions by US companies designed to create or accelerate economic instability in Chile".

According to the *New York Times* of 22nd March, 1971, ITT "submitted an 18-point plan to the White House, designed to ensure, literally, that Allende should not survive the next crucial six months".

Time (April 9, 1973) states that Broe mentioned such measures as the cancellation of credit by American banks, a slowdown of delivery of machinery spare parts, action to force savings and loan institutions to close down, and the withdrawal of technical assistance.

The crippling strike of the truck owners cost the economy about \$60 million per month.

The CIA fomented and financed chaos and disorder was then

used as the excuse for imperialist-backed intervention. Point 7 of the 18-point ITT plan had proposed that "massive agitation could engender a sufficiently violent climate so as to force the military to intervene". Little wonder that in the face of a credit squeeze on the Allende government, the armed forces were provided with a \$10 million US loan.

In Chile, the armed forces and Carabineri mutined bombarded the Palace and murdered the President. The only difference in the case of Guyana was that because the country was a British colony, the British armed forces and the Guyana police, under the command of a British Governor and Commissioner of Police respectively, could not overthrow the PPP government. They did the next best thing: they stood by and permitted the counter-revolutionary forces to run riot. The resultant disorder and racial strife was then used by the British government to amend to Constitution and to change the voting system, through which the PPP was ousted from the government.

CHAPTER VIII

IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

Today more than ever, the imperialists are concentrating their attacks on the ideological front. Setbacks on the military front in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean have made intense the battle of ideas to win men's minds. Reactionary ideas intended to perpetuate the free enterprise system are fostered. These have taken the form mainly of anti-communism, particularly anti-Sovietism. The objective is to create confusion in the ranks of the liberation movement and thus divide and weaken it, to isolate Cuba and the Soviet Union which offer a viable alternative and to provide the "stick" of anti-communism to suppress any progressive movement against colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism.

To carry out this task, the CIA created a vast world-wide apparatus and channelled money directly and mostly indirectly through CIA-formed Foundations to hundreds of organisations. A partial list included the following: American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and its affiliates in Argentina, Peru, Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago; Retail Clerks International Association; American Newspaper Guild; Communication Workers of America; Institute of International Research; International Labour Training Programme; World Federation of Organisations of the Teaching Profession; International Confederation of Journalists; International Federation of Petroleum and Chemical Workers; Congress for Cultural Freedom; American Council for the International Commission of Jurists; African-American Institute; American Friends of the Middle East; Institute of International Education; American Society of African Culture; Institute of Public Administration; Atwater Research Programme in North Africa; American National Student Association; International Development Foundation of New York; University of Pennsylvania; National Education Association; International Student Conference of Leyden; US Youth Council of New York; World Assembly of Youth, Brussels; International Market Institute; Independent Research Service; India Committee Trust; Asian Students Press Bureau; Council for International Programmes for Youth Leaders and Social Workers; Crossroads Africa; Gambia National Youth Council; Guyana Assembly for Youth; Inter-

national Union of Young Christian Democrats; International Youth Centre, New Delhi; National Newsmen Club Federation; National Student Press Council of India; North American Secretariat of Pax Romana; National Federation of Canadian University Students; Synod of Bishops of the Russian Church outside Russia; National Council of Churches; Young Women's Christian Association; Radio Free Europe; Centre for International Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; etc.

From the cradle to the grave, the individual was, and is to be constantly bombarded through the press, radio, schools, books, libraries, churches, cinemas, theatres and organisations of all kinds with such thoughts, ideas, sentiments and customs which serve the interest of the ruling capitalist-imperialist class.

To win "men's" minds means thought control, ideological control, "brain washing". And the technique is that of Goebbels: tell bigger and bigger lies and half-truths repeatedly and they will be believed as gospel truth.

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, disorders, 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-Communist Crusade" and the John Birch Society served to make US State Department take on the pose as a moderate – "neither extremism 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 \$45,000¹ during the 1961 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-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. Professor Ralph L. Beals reported to the annual meeting of anthropologists in November 1966 that agents of the intelligence branches of the US Government, particularly the CIA, posed as anthropologists, that "anthropologists... have been full or part-time employees of the US intelligence agencies, including the CIA especially, either directly or through grants from certain foundations with questionable source of income... Beals warned his colleagues that, "although Camelot is dead under that name, in a sense it has only gone under-ground. Similar types of projects have been conducted and are being planned under different names and through other kinds of agencies".²

The reference to CAMELOT is the project which was put through in Chile in 1965, similar to many others undertaken by Latin American Universities for strategic intelligence gathering for the purpose of repression.

The University of the West Indies in Jamaica (UWI) at the time of the anti-communist McCarthyite witch-hunting in the USA, carried out a screening of books at the library. This was one of the

¹ Where not specifically stated, reference to dollars in this paper means US currency.

² Quoted in *Science*, December 13, 1966.

reasons for the PPP government withdrawing from the UWI in the early 1960's.

In Guyana, the CIA infiltrated the University of Guyana, the Critchlow Labour College and high schools after the ouster of the PPP in December 1964. A memorandum was prepared for the Board of Governors of the University of Guyana which suggested that if the University was to get funds from Western sources, its image must be changed. This, of course, meant changing its role as an independent, autonomous body and booting out leftists and socialists.

The memo was withdrawn. But the image-changing went on administratively. Socialist Stuart Bowes, who was appointed to teach economics and sociology, had his contract terminated after the end of one year. And Marxist Professor Horace Davis, who was the Dean of the faculty of Social Sciences and head of the Economics Department, was not only demoted but virtually not allowed to teach. Subsequently, others with a leftist orientation did not succeed in getting their contracts renewed. And in September 1974, a big fight developed when the Board of Governors refused to appoint the late Dr. Walter Rodney as head of the History Department although the Appointments Committee had selected him for the job. Also witch-hunted was national poet Martin Carter.

The Critchlow Labour College in Guyana was given an annual grant of G\$60,000 by the AIFLD. And peace corps personnel were planted in high schools and other strategic points throughout the country to "sell" the American way of life as the best way of life.

Books were distributed in large quantities to libraries, primary and high schools throughout the country, including thousands of copies of What Is Democracy, What Is Communism, What Can Man Believe.

This is a field which the CIA also penetrated. It has used Praeger Publishers to put out books with a pro-imperialist slant. The United States Information Agency (USIA) contracted authors for its "book development" to write new books which were then published by private firms. In the early 1970's, several newspapers rebuked the CIA and USIA for presenting commissioned propaganda work as "independent research".

For instance, on page 351 of the book *The Story of American Freedom*, published by Macmillan for circulation to school children, it is stated: "The struggle between communism and

freedom is the principal problem in the world today". In a skillful way the word "communism" is juxtaposed to "freedom". To emphasize the propaganda, the book has a full double page spread entitled "Life in a Dictatorship" and "Life in a Democracy".

Actually what should have been said was the struggle between "communism" and "capitalism". Naturally, young children are not sophisticated enough to detect this subtle form of propaganda. And the CIA will surely not distribute to them books like Professor C.B. Macpherson's *The Real World of Democracy*, a compilation of lectures given for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the Fourth Series of Massey Lectures. Here the Professor makes the point that in the broader humanistic sense, the socialist East is more free than the capitalist West, which in many ways is a closed society; and that in time the East will be just as free as the West in the formal sense.

The Story of American Freedom presents a fascist type of distortion about Cuba. This is how it is put: "Another favourite method of the communists is to move into the nation that is having a revolution. This happened in Cuba, where a revolution overthrew a dictator. Many Cubans supported the revolution because they thought it would bring freedom... but they soon learned to their sorrow that they had exchanged a bad situation for a worse one under communism."

These lies are debunked even in conservative quarters. *The New York Times* in an editorial on December 21, 1963, admits: "The Castro regime is certainly strong, possibly stronger than ever.... There is no apparent weakness of Premier Castro's appeal inside Cuba or of his stature as a world figure.... All children are getting some education; the great bulk are being well fed and taken care of, however poor their parents. The Negro and mulatto population is getting genuine equality. The Government leaders are untainted by any fiscal scandals.... To have survived five years was a remarkable feat whose explanation is far more complicated than attributing it solely to Soviet-bloc help."

In another book, *Your Country and Mine*, published by Ginn and Company, there is reflected the witch-hunt hysteria of the United States. This is what it feeds children and youths in schools and libraries: "The Soviet Union did not want us to help other nations, to make plans for world peace and better understanding.... Americans knew what the Russian or communist way was. The

Russians ruled with an iron hand! The leaders took away all freedom. They made slaves of many people. The people were not allowed to think for themselves.... Knowing these things has made us more and more thankful for our free America.”

Any child fed with this cold-war, anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda can hardly be expected to believe in socialism.

Maybe, this was why the Guyana government could not get down to finalising the standardisation of school books. School books written or chosen by Guyanese had to be carefully scrutinized. The World Bank, which financed the building of multilateral schools, had control over curriculum planning! In this way, imperialism hoped to influence the young minds of students and youth.

The CIA did not overlook the cultural and religious fields. Listen to former CIA top man, Thomas W. Braden: “I remember the enormous joy I got when the Boston Symphony Orchestra won more acclaim for the US in Paris than John Foster Dulles or Dwight D. Eisenhower could have bought with a hundred speeches. And then there was Encounter, the magazine published in England and dedicated to the proposition that cultural achievement and political freedom were interdependent. Money for both the orchestra’s tour and the magazine’s publication came from the CIA, and few outside the CIA knew about it. We had placed one agent in a Europe-based organization of intellectuals called the Congress for Cultural Freedom: Another agent became an Editor of Encounter.”

Similar CIA “cultural” journals like *Encounter* were produced in other countries – *Preuves* in France, *Temo Presento* in Italy, *Forum* in Austria, *Hiwar* in Lebanon, *Der Monat* in West-Germany and *Quadvant* in Australia.

Minoo Masani, Indian President of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, disclosed that because suspicions were aroused about the sources from which the funds came, the Congress had stopped receiving CIA funds since January 1966. In future, he said, the organization would get its support only from the Ford Foundation.

But according to *Challenge*, March 1967, “the liberal Ford Foundation used only those set up by the CIA or those used unknowingly. The most important foundation in the country – the Liberal Ford Foundation (which is financing the NAACP and the Urban League) – has admitted to having knowingly and willingly

participate as a CIA conduit in the scheme to bribe students. Ford has been a major contributor to the NSA; to the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs; and to the Belgium-based IUS competitor; the International Student Conference. NSA’s dues and Ford’s and FYSA grants accounted for about 95 per cent of the ICS’s budget.”

At labour colleges and institutes, backed by the AIFLD, trade union leaders are told 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 place – while at the same time, they are indoctrinated in anti-communism. And by corrupting the trade union leadership and refusing to democratise the trade union movement, the imperialists ensure that there is no effective struggle for better wages and improved working conditions. *The blame for deteriorating living conditions is placed on the people and not where it belongs: on the socio-economic system of capitalism-imperialism and colonial and neo-colonial rule.*

In Guyana, in 1967, the people were dubbed lazy by the Burnham-led PNC regime and called upon to “eat less, sleep less, and work harder” – quite a sharp contrast from a previous electioneering promise that when the PNC assumed powers, no one would go to bed hungry, and there would be distribution of free milk and cassava. On the assumption that the ills of the country were due to inefficient and unproductive people, 1968 was dubbed “Efficiency Year”.

Meanwhile, Guyana and the Caribbean territories get an ever-increasing number of American evangelist crusaders, no doubt also financed by the CIA like Billy Graham’s Latin American Crusade. The main enemy, these Christian crusaders declare, is communism. Now and then, for good measure, they attack some of the ills of capitalism – not the system itself. All systems are bad, they add; politics and politicians cannot help the people – all the politicians have failed the people, only the return of Christ can save them! Religion in the hand of these “Sunday Christians” is made into an opiate to withdraw the people from the path of struggle. Religious sects, many directly or indirectly funded by the CIA are also used in this respect. Cindy Hawes, writing in *Daily World* (22 Sept. 1981), revealed that the “Unification Church” (Moonies), founded by the so-called Reverend Sun Myung Moon has established

operational centres in several Latin American countries where they have invested millions of dollars in the economic and ideological fields. The sect, posing as a religious institution has bought the *Polo Printing Co.* in Montevideo, the Uruguyan capital so as to spread their anti-communist propaganda. In addition, Hawes, using *Prensa Latina* sources, reveals that the "Moonies" have purchased several other publications such as the weekly "*Opinar*" which is also based in Montevideo.

In most of these ventures, the "Moonies" have managed to secure the full cooperation of the Uruguyan Government even insofar as personnel is concerned. This "Unholy Alliance" has a definite anti-communist bias which is reflected in the publications of the "Moonies" and which constitutes part of the imperialist, anti-communist propaganda established on the Continent.

The bourgeois ideologists who advocate the theory of "convergence" – capitalism is inexorably moving to socialism and socialism is reverting to capitalism – also have the same objective as the evangelist; namely, the withdrawal of the people from struggle.

In the universities in the capitalist states, especially in the USA and Canada, attempts are being made particularly because of the militant struggles of students and academics in the late 1960's to brainwash and confuse, and thus to create disunity in the anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist front. In 1967, the same year *The New York Times* disclosed the CIA's destabilisation of the PPP government, *Ramparts* magazine revealed CIA's control of the US National Students Association with an annual subsidy of \$1 million.

Supporting the false ideology of the managerial-technocratic revolution, Sir Arthur Lewis, who "sold" the Puerto Rican model to the British Caribbean territories and framed the first pro-imperialist Development Plan (1966-72) declared in his inaugural address in 1965, as the Chancellor of the University of Guyana, that the class struggle was no longer the dominant feature of the world situation, that the capitalist class and the working class were disappearing, that in their places had now emerged a classless in-between group, the middle class. So far as he was concerned, the main reason for the poverty of poor countries was the lack of technical skills. This, he said, was the reason for the superiority and high living standards in the Western-developed countries, the economic and political domination by the latter of the former.

Other erroneous ideas and half-truths peddled refer to the lack of capital, an excessive birth rate, and a small population as factors militating against economic development. Thus the call for greater incentives to foreign investors, family planning and birth control, and regional integration.

With the assertion by Robert MacNamara, former President of the World Bank, that aid would be tied to family planning programmes, birth control centres and clinics sprang up in several territories.

Reformers like Prof. K. Galbraith, while now condemning some of the excesses of monopoly capitalism, confuse state-monopoly capitalism and state intervention in the economy with socialism, saying "the word socialism is one we can no longer suppress. That socialism already exists."

Because the ideology of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more attractive and is being embraced by more and more people, especially the youths and students, imperialism sees as its task to revise and distort it so as to sow confusion in the anti-imperialist ranks; and at the same time, to work for disunity in the socialist world.

The bourgeois attack on Marxism-Leninism takes different forms. Realizing its power in the hands of the working class and progressive intellectuals, the upholders of bourgeois ideology deliberately set out to discredit Marxism. They do not necessarily say that Marx was wrong or that Lenin was mistaken. They begin by admitting that Marx's criticism of capitalism was correct "in many respects". But that was the "old" capitalism. Modern capitalism is "reformed" capitalism, capitalism with a human conscience that respects human dignity and the worth of the individual. The capitalists are no longer exploiters, according to this theory. The worker, however, knows otherwise from his daily experience. At times the detractors and propagandists speak of a fundamental difference between the "young Marx" and the "old Marx", that the former was humane while the latter was bitter. No doubt, this is due to the fact that his later *Capital* scientifically elaborated the theory of surplus value and the exploitation of the working class.

Trotskyism, neo-trotskyism, marcusism, maoism, neo-Pan Africanism, "socialism with a human face", national communism, new leftism, cooperative socialism and African socialism are the main ideological currents which are being used to confuse, mislead

and disunite the revolutionary and progressive forces in their struggles for national and social liberation. Despite their revolutionary garb and militant slogans, they work objectively on the side of imperialism. They have one thing in common, anti-Sovietism.

It was not accidental that from three separate regimes – the ultra-leftist Maoist group in China, the utopian-socialist PNC group of Guyana and the rightist Razak group in Malaysia – the same ideological view was propagated in the early 1970's; namely, the so-called "two super-powers, two-imperialisms" line which equates socialist USSR with imperialist USA. This line is clearly intended to isolate the liberation movements in the "third world" particularly from working with their natural allies, the world socialist system headed by the Soviet Union.

At both the Lusaka Non-Aligned Conference and the Singapore Prime Ministers' Conference in 1970, Guyana's then Prime Minister L.F.S. Burnham warned of "the self interest of the super-powers". His government sent a trade mission to Peking instead of to Moscow and Havana. This was in keeping with US imperialist strategy and the visit to Peking by President Richard Nixon, which was arranged by Nixon's National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, who as Harvard University professor in 1962 in his book The Necessity for Choice, had referred to "the frequently held view that we should conduct our diplomacy so as to bring about a rift between Communist China and the USSR. Of course, the possibility of a rift must not be overlooked. And if it occurs, we should take advantage of it rather than force the erstwhile partners into a new alliance through intransigence."

The two "super-powers-two imperialisms" line objectively aids imperialism in the same way as the evangelist line in Guyana which while ostensibly criticising both the PNC and the PPP, actually, by disarming the people and preventing them from struggling against the anti-working class PNC regime, aids the PNC and preserves the *status quo* of neo-colonial rule.

The Maoist "two imperialisms" line was vehemently attacked at the Algiers Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in September 1973 by the leader of the Cuban delegation, Prime Minister Fidel Castro. He correctly pointed out that it was absurd to equate the Soviet Union with the USA, that "inventing a false enemy can have only one aim, to evade the real enemy", that the

Soviet Union had given, and continued to give, disinterested aid to Cuba and other liberation movements, that the USA remained the principal imperialist country in the world.

L.F.S. Burnham, the leader of the Guyana delegation to the Algiers Summit Meeting, although travelling in the same plane with Dr. Castro, did not follow his lead. It seemed that he avoided the question by agreeing with a proposal that Michael Manley, the leader of the Jamaican delegation, speak for Guyana and the Commonwealth Caribbean.

Other spokesmen of the PNC regime, however, continued to peddle the erroneous "two super-powers, two imperialisms" line. Former PNC Minister Kit Nascimento, a one-time rabid anti-communist, addressing a Youth Leadership Training Seminar on August 10, 1975, stated: "Guyana is a small, still poor, virtually militarily defenceless nation in a world in which two super-powers seek to control and manipulate small nations for their own purpose and to their own ends."

According to *Hsinhua*, the official Chinese News Agency, news item headlined: "Guyana Minister Exposes Super-Powers Plot of Sham Detente," Cammie Ramsaroop, PNC Chairman and Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, is reported to have told the Regional Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in June 1976 that the "rhetoric of peace must not be confused with the reality of a global power struggle.... the old techniques of power politics prevail and there is a sustained attempt to divide the world into spheres of interest and influence over which hegemonic power is exercised." This is unadulterated Maoist anti-Sovietism.

Maoism was based on the cult of the personality and denial of collective leadership; substitution of military-bureaucratic methods of rule from above for the leading and guiding role of the party. *The Soviet Union was regarded by Peking as the greater of "the two enemies" – the USA and the USSR. Peaceful co-existence, violently opposed by the Maoists in the mid-1960's as a sell-out to imperialism, was later embraced but only with the USA, not with the USSR. The Peking leadership pictured the Soviet Union as "an enemy with whom China cannot live under one sky."*

Peking worked for a strong European Economic Community (EEC) as a bulwark against the Soviet Union. That was why it gave the former British Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath, on his visit

to China, a rousing and pompous reception which is normally accorded only to visiting heads of state or "close political allies". This was done because Heath's party, unlike the British Labour Party, was firmly committed to the EEC, which the Chinese leaders hoped would become a "kind of barrier" to detente in Europe and growing co-operation between Western Europe and the socialist community of states. As was noted by a Norwegian news agency correspondent in Peking: "It is the consensus of opinion among observers that the demonstratively positive attitude to Heath and his visit is connected with the constant warnings of the leader of the Conservative Party against too fast detente in Europe."

The Peking leadership no longer saw the world polarised in class terms. In the early 1970's, there was in vogue the Maoist concept of the "intermediate zones" – Asia, Africa and Latin America in the "first zone", and the developed capitalist states in between the USSR and the USA on the one hand and the socialist countries on the other.

In the mid-1970's, it was said that there were three worlds – USSR and the USA in the "first world"; Asia, Africa and Latin America in the "third world" and the inbetween developed countries, the "second world".

The Mao leadership assiduously tried to be identified with the "third-world" to gain hegemony of it in satisfaction of its narrow nationalist-chauvinist ambitions. But it was rebuffed because of its actions on questions such as disarmament, economic assistance, and so on. In debates at the United Nations, on the question of disarmament, China's delegation, according to the Indian weekly *Link* (15/4/73), spoke more than ten times against the non-aligned countries. And for the first time in the United Nations, the Chinese representative did not mention Peking's readiness "to render assistance in the economic development of third-world countries by concrete actions." In the case of Bangla Desh, People's China voted at first against its being seated at the United Nations. When the revolutionaries were being slaughtered in Chile by the military junta after the coup of 1973, little help was forthcoming from China; instead, the Mao group recognised with alacrity the fascist junta and rendered it economic aid. In the Angolan civil war in 1975, it was on the same side with the CIA, fascist South Africa and Zaire, rendering support to the counter-revolutionaries.

Consequently, China was vehemently condemned in 1975 by

the Meeting of the Communist and Workers Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean. In its Declaration, it stated:

This Conference emphatically condemns the foreign policy of the Chinese Communist Party leadership, which flirts with US imperialism, declares for its presence in Asia and Europe, justifies the existence of NATO, encourages West German imperialism and revanchism, assails and slanders the Soviet Union with the same fury as the most vicious spokesman of international reaction, tries to incite the aggressive militarism of the world bourgeoisie against it and follows a reckless cold war policy against the heroic Soviet people. The most disastrous expression of this policy of the Chinese leadership in Latin America is its shameless collusion with the Chilean military junta, which it supports politically in spite of the fact that thousands of Communists, Socialists, and other parties were atrociously tortured to death by the fascist tyranny. Furthermore, the Chinese leadership backs everywhere groups of pseudo-revolutionaries posing as "radicals", who split left-wing forces, attack Communist parties, raise obstacles to progressive processes and often act as enemy agents in the revolutionary movement. We consider it our duty to fight against this policy of betraying the cause of unity and solidarity and the finest traditions of the world revolutionary movement.

Since then, despite criticisms by the present Chinese leadership of the aberrations of Maoism and the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, some reactionary tendencies continue to prevail at the international levels while great power hegemonism and national chauvinism continues to take precedence over patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Contrary to the position of the Non-Aligned Movement that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace, it supported the USA in making Diego Garcia into a huge military base. It attacked heroic Vietnam, "to teach it a lesson" for rendering aid to the Kampuchians for the expulsion of the genocidal Chinese-backed Pol Pot regime. In the Far East, it is forging a new alliance with Japanese imperialism.

The Peking leaders are concentrating their attention in Latin America and the Caribbean, increasing their trade and strengthening their contacts with the bourgeois-reformist parties, especially those which exercise state power. They support the fascist military-civilian junta in El Salvador, having accepted the US

propaganda and CIA lies about the socialist countries' "interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador". Thus, they generally impede the anti-imperialist movement as is so well demonstrated by the actions of their misguided supporters in Trinidad and Tobago.

Hsinhua, the Chinese newsagency in the early and mid 1970's regularly tried to create an image of the PNC regime as revolutionary, anti-imperialist and pro-socialist. Nothing is said about its demagogic and utopian ideology of "co-operative socialism" and Burnhamism, the so-called special brand of Marxism-Leninism. Actually at the ideological level, the PNC has had a hodgepodge, eclectic position – "democratic socialism" when in opposition and in government up to 1970; "co-operative socialism" in 1970 when Guyana became a "co-operative republic"; "national socialism" in 1974 as enunciated at a seminar in Yugoslavia. And in late 1975, for a number of reasons – rebellion in PNC ranks as evidenced by the bauxite strike at the nationalised Guyana Bauxite Company and low turnout of voters in Georgetown in the 1973 elections; the near collapse of the economy in 1974; the failure of co-operative socialism "to make the small man into a real man" and "to feed, clothe and house the nation by 1976", the emergence of opposition Black intellectuals moving from a "Black power" position towards Marxism and developing relations with the PPP – the PNC declared that its ideas were based on Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Although this was a welcome development, it is not enough to claim to be Marxist-Leninist. Far more important is the formulation of the scientific theory and the creative application of the tenets of Marxism-Leninism.

In an interview in 1978, L.F.S. Burnham declared that he was a Marxist, co-operative socialist and a christian – different things to different men – a Marxist to the East and a co-operative socialist and christian to the West.

A Manual for special training of corpsmen of the Guyana National Service, prepared and published by the Material Productions Unit of the Ministry of Education and Social Development bared the PNC's brand of Marxism as anti-communist, and reactionary, stating that under "communist systems, the workers are mere servants under state monopolies". It stated:

Our co-operative philosophy is in marked contrast to both the capitalist and communist systems in at least two important aspects:

1. Whether they exist in the East or the West, co-operatives only constitute a small part of the economic structures in relation to the major form of economic organisation.

Whether free enterprise or state-owned, co-operatives have not come to occupy positions of major significance. It is the Guyana government's intention to make the co-operative movement the corner-stone of the nation's economic life, not merely surviving, but flourishing, expanding and profiting.

2. It is argued that both the capitalist and communist systems have at least one important thing in common: at the top of the bureaucratic ladder, a few powerful people make the important economic decisions and enjoy virtual absolute control of the economy, while the workers' participation at policy level is minimal if not imaginary. Under communist systems, the workers are mere servants of state monopolies. In theory the workers own the state, but in partice the state is controlled by a few privileged persons.

In early 1976, a PNC ideologue, writing in the State-owned *Sunday Chronicle*, stated that what Guyana needed was not "to quote unreservedly from philosophers and thinkers like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh, but perhaps a group of local and original pragmatists who using the broad objectives and intentions of the government, could design means and approaches for their fulfilment; and the establishment of a brand of socialism suited to local circumstances."

Pragmatism which is akin to opportunism has resulted in many forms of socialism – fabian, democratic, co-operative, national, African, Arab, socialism with a human face, etc. – but not scientific socialism. It is important to note that many parties and movements claiming to be socialist have failed even when in power to bring about socialism. Only in the countries where parties in power are based on Marxism-Leninism have socialist societies been built.

The British Labour Party has its roots in "fabian" and "democratic" socialism, and though many terms in power it did not establish a socialist society; indeed, Britain under the Labour Government is nearer to capitalism-imperialism than to socialism; it has become the managers of state-monopoly capitalism.

Hitler fooled the workers with his special brand of "national socialism" while he was establishing a fascist state.

The Arab Socialist Union of Egypt advocated "Arab socialism", but President Sadat at the crucial OAU meeting in

Ethiopia voted with others who were peddling the imperialist line for Angola – a joint government of the revolutionary MPLA, the FNLA headed by the CIA agent Holden Roberto, and the pro-capitalist and pro-South African UNITA. Internally, one of the first acts of Anwar Sadat after coming to power on Nasser's death was to jail the communists and later to cause Egypt to revert to capitalism.

Former President of Senegal, Leopold Senghor, spoke about negritude (cultural nationalism) and "African socialism", and also like Sadat sided with the pro-imperialist states at the OAU meeting.

The same Senegalese regime sent troops and quelled a leftist revolt in Gambia. It is significant that the USA, which raised a storm of protest against the Soviet Union for its assistance to Afghanistan has not uttered a word against Senegal; indeed, it has responded with a US\$20 million food aid package to the call of the reinstated reactionary President Dawda Jawara.

Under Burnham's utopian cooperative socialism.... "suited to local circumstances" like Sadat's "Arab socialism" and Senghor's "African socialism", nationalised companies like the Guyana Sugar Corporation, the Guyana Mining Corporation and the Guyana Marketing Corporation (GMC) which are registered as private companies and are to be turned into cooperatives. What this means was spelt out by the former head of the GMC Hugh Saul when he pointed out that "weekly and monthly employees should be allowed to purchase shares to the tune of \$1 a week or \$5 a month as a positive movement towards ownership and these funds could then be used for further development of the corporation and relieve the central government of the task of having to pump the scarce public resources into corporations." He observed: "After all, the Prime Minister, Cde. Forbes Burnham, has already said that all corporations and companies are eventually to be owned by the people. The sooner a start is made the better."

In the same vein, Kit Nascimento, speaking at the Youth Leadership Training Seminar already referred to, said: "In the immediate terms, the people will have to take control of our natural resources through the state, but eventually this ownership must pass directly into the hands of the people through co-operative ownership and enterprise." Further he added: "In this way the distribution of

the wealth obtained from the development of our natural resources will flow into the hands of the people."

He emphasised that the masses of the people should become truly involved in the economic ownership of the nation through co-operatives, which would become the dominant sector of the nation's economic life. "Economic nationalisation," he declared, "without economic justice is not the aim of the People's National Congress The ideology of socialism through co-operative ownership pursued by the People's National Congress in Government, demands mass ownership of the nation's economic resources, productive, distributive and monetary." Whatever this is, it is not socialism according to Marx, Engels and Lenin. Little wonder that one PNC Regional Minister called it "people's capitalism". Actually in Guyana, state, bureaucratic, cooperative and parasitic capitalism is masquerading as socialism.

There are also variations on the "two super-powers" theme. Some ideologues would admit that the Soviet Union has made tremendous strides and has gone a long way to satisfy material needs. But simultaneously they add that it has failed to confer freedom. They say that there is no democracy in the USSR. They want "socialism with a human face".

These people fail to interpret objective reality dialectically. They refuse to admit the great changes which have taken place from the days of Stalin to the present time. They confuse aberrations in the norms of socialist legality with socialism itself. They fail to observe the changes from the cult of the personality to collective leadership. They fail also to view freedom from the class point of view and in the context of the necessity to maintain revolutionary class power in the face of ruthless counter-revolutionary class enemies at home and abroad, as was seen in the case of Chile.

In accordance with their judgements, Cuba is totalitarian, but Guyana and the Commonwealth Caribbean are free. They obviously mistake form for content. Cuba now has basic grass-roots socialist democracy as compared with fascism under Batista and PNC neo-colonial authoritarianism in Guyana.

Trotskyite, anarchist, extreme "left" and other sectarian tendencies, which attempt to solve all problems in a doctrinaire manner are utilised in the service of imperialism. Trotskyism is ultra-leftism based on world revolution and export of revolution. It denies the Marxist tenets that favourable objective conditions and subjective

factors are necessary pre-requisites for revolution, that relations between states with different socio-economic systems should be based on peaceful co-existence, and that working class solidarity must be based on proletarian internationalism.

Some ideologists like Herbert Marcuse have attempted to revise Marxism's basic tenets; they have falsely theorised that in an affluent society, the labour leadership has been "bourgeoisified" and the working class is no longer revolutionary; that the revolution would not be led by the working class but "from without" by peripheral sections of the population, like University academics and students, and declassed elements, the undercultured and "unintegrated"; namely, the slum dwellers of big cities and the landless rural population, whom the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin extolled as the "flower of the proletariat" and the "great popular rebels." Marcuse and the "New Left" sociologists advocate "absence of domination", the "anti-authoritarian revolution" and "the great renunciation" – renunciation of all the institutions and values of modern bourgeois society. "New Radicalism," says Marcuse, "opposes both centralised bureaucratic-Communist and semi-democratic liberal organisation. This rebellion contains a strong element of spontaneity, indeed, of anarchism. It expresses new sensitivity, the annoyance with all domination. The anarchist element is an essential factor in the fight against domination."

This is little different from the anarcho-syndicalist views of the French sociologist and philosopher, Georges Sorel, whom Lenin called a "well-known muddler". Sorel preached that the working class needed neither organization, leadership nor objective factors; all it needed for a "spontaneous explosion" was faith in revolution.

Marcuse and others have failed to note the changing role of the working class in the world situation, which is characterised by an intensification of the class struggle through a growing number of strikes and the involvement of increasing numbers of workers as seen in Italy, France and even in Spain. In the 20-year period, 1926-1946, for instance, there were only 50 million strikers. The number increased to 160 million, between 1946-1960 and in the 10-year period, 1961-1971, to 500 million. In 1972, 60 million workers went on strike, 40 million of which were in the developed capitalist countries.

In the 1950's, Aneurin Bevin's challenge to the Gaitskell right wing leadership in Britain was defeated by the bloc vote of the

TUC; in the early 1970's, the position was reversed with the TUC more militant than the constituency representation in the Labour Party; actually, the trade unions defeated the anti-strike bill sponsored by two Bevanites, Barbara Castle and Harold Wilson, in the Labour government. Similarly, there has developed greater militancy in the Caribbean as a result of the general aggravation of the situation and sharpening of the class struggle.

Writing about sectarianism and anarchism, Marx and Engels in their time wrote that Bakunin and his followers were inclined "to parade their impatience as a theoretical argument". In reality they were engaged in "disorganizing the revolution".

Georgi Dimitrov in his famous speech "The United Front Against Fascism" said: "Sectarianism finds expression particularly in over-estimating the revolutionisation of the masses, in over-estimating the speed at which they are abandoning the positions of reformism, in attempts to leap over difficult stages and over complicated tasks of the movement. Methods of leading the masses have in practice been frequently replaced by the methods of leading a narrow party group."

The Black Power struggle, which had an impact in the Caribbean, also has certain weaknesses: the "skin strategy" of Black capitalism and neo-Pan Africanism. These concepts separate the Black working class struggle in the USA from the workers' struggle in general, and the African Liberation Movement from the socialist world. The posing of colour – black against white – plays into the hands of the imperialists who hope to divide and weaken the anti-monopoly struggle in the United States and the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa. They know that the fostering of black capitalism will create a black bourgeoisie which will eventually side with capitalism in general and not the blacks who suffer from triple oppression and exploitation in the USA.

Pan-Africanism, concerned with a united and socialist Africa, had two definite streams. The late Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, the famous Marxist scholar, who was chosen by Dr. Nkrumah during his latter term as President of Ghana to embark on the monumental project, the African Encyclopedia, led the trend towards a united Africa going to socialism in close co-operation and alliance with the socialist world. George Padmore and C.L.R. James, on the other hand, who for several years took a strong anti-Soviet position, led the trend towards isolationism from the socialist world.

In the early 1970's Neo-Pan Africanism was given a boost by Stokely Carmichael, advocate of Black capitalism in the USA and separate organisation of Africans, Indians, Portuguese, Chinese and Amerindians in Guyana. For his advocacy of separate ethnic organisation in Guyana, he was condemned by the People's Progressive Party.

In the same way that separate ethnic organisation is harmful to the liberation movement in Guyana, Black capitalism and neo-Pan Africanism are inimical to the Black liberation movement in America and in Africa.

C.L.R. James also has been a leading light of the neo-Pan African movement. In the early period of the PNM regime in Trinidad, he worked as editor of the PNM paper, *The Nation*, and as adviser to the Prime Minister (at about the same period, George Padmore was adviser to Kwame Nkrumah). At that time, he was also sympathetic to the PNC and hostile to the PPP. But after his break with Eric Williams, he became more and more hostile to the PNM. At the same time, his influence grew among West Indians who were attending universities in the United Kingdom, the United States and Canada and led to the development of the New Beginning Movement. Many of the returned students established groups in the Caribbean Islands with a similar orientation and linked up with the neo-Pan African movement. In Guyana, that movement associated with African Society for Cultural Relations with Independent Africa, (ASCRIA) after the latter's break with the PNC regime, and in Trinidad with the National Joint Action Committee, led by Geddes Granger, now known as Makandaal Daaga.

Throughout the West Indies, the main forces in the neo-Pan African movement were hostile both to the Soviet Union and to the governments of the various Commonwealth Caribbean territories. This was shown up to a marked degree at the Second Regional Preparatory Meeting of the Pan-African Conference held in Guyana in December 1973. It became clear after that meeting that either the conference in Tanzania had to be called off or that the groups associated with C.L.R. James should not be allowed to attend.

Imperialism was faced with a real dilemma. It needed Caribbean "Black Power" support for the Tanzania Conference's objective of a united Black (USA, Caribbean and Africa) isolation of the socialist world. At the same time, it did not want attacks by Carib-

bean Black Power advocates against its client Caribbean states. Eventually, the establishment "boys" prevailed, and C.L.R. James, Eusi Kwayana, Tim Hector, Geddes Granger and others were refused permission to attend.

Actually, "black power", "Indian Power" or any other inadequate concept in a class-divided society is incapable of solving the manifold problems of either the Caribbean, Latin American or other peoples. Real socialists want workers' power, the power of black, brown, white and all other workers, united and organized: firstly, for political action to outlaw capitalism and authorize the building of socialism; and secondly, for industrial action to take hold, administer and operate all industries and services vital to their welfare.

Technocracy alone without the sound principles of socialist political economy cannot succeed. And self-help and self-reliance, taken to the point of isolation, can be dangerous especially for small Caribbean states.

The case of the downfall of Dr. Mossadegh's government in Iran in 1953 must be remembered and digested. After nationalising the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951, it refused because of its narrow nationalist, anti-communist position to trade with the socialist world. Inability to sell its oil because of a tanker blockade by the international oil companies, and strikes and riots through CIA subversion, as in Guyana in the 1962-64 period, led to the overthrow of the Mossadegh's Government.

Where there is no practice of isolationism as in Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Nicaragua, and where the political line of the international communist movement for the unity of the three revolutionary streams – the world socialist system, the national liberation movements of the "third-world", and the working class and the democratic forces of the capitalist world – was observed, success was achieved by the liberation movements. Those who forget this do so at their peril.

DETENTE AND NATIONAL LIBERATION

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, new perspectives opened up which favoured the struggle for liberation in the Caribbean, Latin America and elsewhere. This came about because at this particular period – the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism – the world balance of forces had shifted decisively in favour of socialism and national liberation. The world socialist system had grown stronger economically, politically and ideologically. By contrast, the world capitalist system had grown weaker, plagued by a deepening structural crisis. The United States entered the 1970's with a serious economic crisis lasting for two years until 1972. Another crisis in 1974-1975, the sixth in the post-war period was more far reaching than the 1929-1933 depression. And in the latter part of the 1970-1980 decade, world capitalism was faced with a deep recession and "stagflation." At the same time, because of the uneven development of capitalism, the United States lost the commanding position in the capitalist world which it had attained after World War II. Now, it must share power with a resurgent European Economic Community and Japan.

The undeclared, unpopular Vietnam war rocked the United States to its foundations. There was a groundswell of discontent among the masses, particularly among the students, intellectuals and working people, Black and White. For the American people, this biggest imperialist debacle in the post-World War II period, was costly both in lives and welfare. The huge war expenditure of nearly \$60 billion (US) annually in the closing years also seriously affected the US economy – balance of trade and balance of payments deficits; non-convertibility of the US dollar; devaluations in 1971 and 1973.

In this changed situation, a new attitude of introspection, if not isolation, developed in the United States. Everything was seriously questioned. The "war on want" was an abysmal failure. Militarism and the US role as "world policemen" was distrusted. Rich as it was, it could not afford at one and the same time a guns-and-butter policy. The new mood emphasised peaceful means and downplayed the military aspect. This was noted in his memoirs by Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, when he wrote:

The passionate critique of the war in Vietnam spread to an attack on the defense establishment as a whole....'re-ordering national priorities' from defense to domestic programs was the slogan of the period. All things military came under assault – programs, budgets, strategic doctrines.¹

The carefully-built post war imperialist world system with the United States at its centre was seriously upset. A politically and economically weakened United States vis-a-vis the two other centres of capitalist/imperialist power – the European Economic Community (EEC) and Japan – on the one hand and the developing countries, particularly the Caribbean and Latin America, on the other, led to flexibility and a search for new ways to maintain US hegemony. The three groups of the US capitalist ruling class, pressed for policies favourable to their own, and at times conflicting, interests. The "dirty war" in Vietnam had proved to be bad for business, except for the big corporations linked with the Pentagon, the arms industry and the military-industrial complex which constituted the first of the three groups within US capitalist ruling circles. The second group, the transnational corporations (TNC's), engaged in investment and trade overseas, were faced with a generally hostile anti-American attitude worldwide. They also met with increasing competition from Japan and the EEC, and growing assertiveness by the "third world", particularly non-aligned, countries for more equitable economic relations and national recuperation of natural resources under a New International Economic Order (NIEO).

Under the threat of nationalisation, the TNC's mooted the idea of "equal partnership" and "global interdependence", fought for a "favourable investment climate" in the developing countries and moved to establish joint enterprises under their control. They wanted the abandonment of the old hard-line militarist tradition, and a less aggressive and more subtle foreign policy – a move from confrontation and military intervention to cooperation and collusion. Detente became a political imperative.

The third group of the US capitalist ruling class, engaged mainly in civilian production for the domestic market, however, was hard hit by stagflation. Increases in the price of fuel (oil) added to

¹ H. Kissinger *White House Years*, Boston-Toronto, 1979, p 199; quoted in N. Novosyolova, *International Affairs*, Moscow, August 1961 p 114.

their woes. For this, they blamed the big oil monopolies, the "seven sisters". Noting that recession was leading not only to lower turnover and profits, but also to ruination and bankruptcy, they saw in the normalisation of East West trading relations the possibility for the expansion of the domestic market. Thus, they too favoured detente.

NON-ALIGNMENT AND PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Consequently, US imperialism was forced to restrict its aggressive foreign policy and to abandon its outright violence. No longer could it willy nilly use gunboat diplomacy and economic aggression to maintain the status quo. The strengthened pacifist wing of American ruling circles opted for peaceful coexistence, the Leninist policy of relations between states of different socio-economic systems, the main principles of which include sovereign equality, renunciation of the use of threat or force, inviolability of borders, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in internal affairs.

Peaceful coexistence had long been regarded as an "insidious communist plot" and "a Trojan horse" of communism by the cold-warriors. When the Non-Aligned Conference in 1955 at Bandung, Indonesia, had made it a cornerstone of its policies, US ruling circles deemed non-alignment immoral. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in a speech at Ames, Iowa on June 9, 1956, declared that the US mutual assistance treaties:

... with forty-two countries of America, Europe and Asia... abolish as between the parties, the principle of neutrality, which pretends that a nation can best gain safety for itself by being indifferent to the fate of others. This has increasingly become an obsolete conception and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an immoral and shortsighted conception.

In the following month, the then Vice-President Richard Nixon warned against the "brand of neutralism that makes no moral distinction between the 'communist world and the free world'. With this viewpoint, we have no sympathy." A few days later in Pakistan, he warned all countries not to accept any form of aid from the

Soviet Union. In such a situation, the Caribbean and Latin American states were pressured not to join the Non-Aligned Movement or to accept peaceful co-existence although there was an overwhelming popular opinion in favour of non-alignment in the cold-war conflict.

In the period of the Johnson administration and the early part of the Nixon administration, blatantly-crude cold-war methods had been employed in the Caribbean and around the globe – in Brazil, Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Greece – and in the killing of Che Guevara in Bolivia. For a brief while, under the Kennedy administration, there was an attempt at normalizing relations with the socialist world. President Kennedy rejected the Dulles doctrine, accepted neutrality and moved towards detente and an accommodation with the Soviet Union.

But even the "New Frontier" liberals lapsed into cold-war methods as in the cases of Cuba, British Guiana and Vietnam. Their advocacy of change was bounded by certain limits. It was to take place firstly within the system by reformist plans like the Alliance for Progress and by democratisation of political life so that the United States would not be identified with the terror and torture of many of the dictatorial regimes which had been receiving its support; secondly, without any change in the international balance of power. This was a limited view which did not see change as a dynamic phenomenon.

According to Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. a Kennedy aide:

Kennedy and Khrushchev would both have said that they wanted to preserve the status quo. But they had incompatible conceptions of what the status quo meant. For Kennedy the status quo was the existing balance of international force. This did not at all mean that he wanted to freeze the world in its social mould. On the contrary, he believed internal political and institutional change to be both inevitable and desirable. But this hope was that it would take place without transferring power from one bloc to the other and therefore without making either side feel threatened, and constrained to resist change by force. For Khrushchev on the other hand, the status quo was something very different: it was in essence the communist revolution in progress (as he hoped) across the world. From this perspective Kennedy's conception of a global standstill was an attempt not to support but to alter the status quo; it was an attack on the revolutionary process itself. This idea of a dynamic or potential

status quo was, of course, deeply embedded in Leninist analysis. Reminiscing about Vienna three years after, Khrushchev complained to William Benton that Kennedy had 'by-passed' the real problem. 'We in the USSR,' he said, 'feel that the revolutionary process should have the right to exist'. The question of 'the right to rebel, and the Soviet right to help combat reactionary governments... is the question of questions... This question is at the heart of our relations with you... Kennedy could not understand this.'

Unfortunately for the liberals, development is a dynamic process and those who were directly involved – Quadros, Castro, Goulart, Nkrumah, Sukarno – could not accept in practice the limits imposed. The Kennedy administration fell back on cold-war methods to resolve its dilemma.

The socialist world accepted non-alignment, seeing it as an influential factor in the political struggle for change, for socialism. At the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the first Non-Aligned Conference in 1961, a clearcut firm position had been taken against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racism. But because with time, the non-aligned states were moving towards socialism and close collaboration with the socialist world, the main non-aligned leaders were attacked – attempts were constantly made to overthrow Sekou Toure and Julius Nyerere, and in 1956 and again in 1967 to dislodge Nasser; Lumumba, working closely with Nkrumah was murdered; Nkrumah, Sukarno and Obote were overthrown.

DETENTE

With peaceful coexistence, an atmosphere of tranquillity was developed in international relations. Cold war gave way to an alternative – detente. According to Leonid Brezhnev, "detente means first of all the overcoming of the cold war and a transition to normal, stable relations among states; detente means a willingness to resolve differences and disputes not by force, and by threats and sabre-rattling, but by peaceful means at the conference table. Detente means a certain trust and ability to take into consideration each other's legitimate interests."

To meet its own legitimate interests, federal spending for the military under the Nixon administration did not exceed, for the

first time in twenty years, appropriations for social needs. At the same time, Dr. Henry Kissinger embarked on a programme of "shuttle diplomacy", and President Nixon visited China, Poland and the Soviet Union for the purpose of bridge-building. This was imperative as US capitalist partners like Canada, France and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) had already been cashing in on lucrative markets in Cuba and the other socialist countries in the East. Former US Secretary of Commerce Peter Peterson was very explicit on the advantages of such trade for the USA. In a special study titled: "US-Soviet Commercial Relationship in a New Era", he wrote:

With the industrial and technological development of other major economies, the US no longer had the monopoly it once enjoyed... Our overall trade balance is a melancholy reminder of these changed circumstances. The increased availability of high technology products elsewhere rendered some of our original curbs on exports to the Soviet Union increasingly anachronistic. The real loser... would have increasingly been the US producer and workers, not the Soviet consumer or the Soviet economy. There comes a point at which we must face the fact that business is business, and, if it is going to go on in any event, we might as well get a piece of the action.

Referring to the relationship between US-Soviet trade and employment, Peterson continued:

... the goods that we are likely to export to the Soviet Union are products like machine tools, earth-moving equipment of various kinds, consumer goods, grain products, which are characterised by what the economists call high labor intensive products. In plainer language – jobs. On the import side, we plan to import substantial amounts of raw materials which we need, clean energy, I might emphasize. But here again, with low labor content. So I think it is safe to predict that in addition to having a favourable balance of trade surplus, the evidence I think is very persuasive that we will have an even more favourable balance of jobs surplus.

The United States also followed the lead of other West European countries. They had accepted peaceful coexistence as the basis for relations between East and West in the nuclear age: the Soviet-French Declaration of 1966; and, initiated by Willie Brandt's "ost-

politik", the treaties signed in the early 1970's by the FRG with the USSR, Poland, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and Czechoslovakia. On May 29, 1972, the document, *Basic Principles of Mutual Relations Between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America* was signed in Moscow.

Other measures in the 1960's and 1970's which furthered the acceptance of the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente included: the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water; the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof; the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxic Weapons and on their Destruction; Agreement on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War between the USSR and the USA (1971); and the Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War (1973). Finally, on August 1, 1975, the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed. It ushered in a period of political detente.

DETENTE AND LIBERATION

Improvement in the international climate, the growing strength and moral prestige of the world socialist system, and the unity of action among the 3 world revolutionary streams exerted a positive influence on world development, particularly in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Detente not only led to the normalisation of relations in Europe, the seat of the last two devastating world wars.² It also helped to lessen the hysteria of anti-communism, a powerful ideological weapon used to attack many progressive states, liberation movements and their leaders.

² World War II caused a loss of over 55 million lives. The greatest damage was suffered by the Soviet Union: 30 per cent of the national wealth was destroyed, twenty million Soviet citizens were killed, 1,710 towns and settlements destroyed and burnt, more than 70,000 villages lay in ruins and 25 million people had no homes to live in. About 32,000 factories and plants were ruined, 1,135 mines flooded and blown up.

Political *détente* opened up the possibility for military *détente*, which is conducive to world peace and development. The Soviet Union proposed to the United Nations that a 10 per cent reduction in the arms budget of the big industrialised states should be made and part of the proceeds used as a fund to help the developing countries. *Détente* also helped to bring about peace in Indochina and recognition of the non-aligned states of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (later Kampuchea) – a fact which US imperialism was not prepared to accept at the height of the cold war.

The Non-Aligned Movement became larger and more influential with each successive conference. At one time, because many were puppet, pro-imperialist states, like the Suharto regime which replaced Sukarno's, the movement became more amorphous in character, losing much of its original zeal and fire. This duality in its composition explains why on many fundamental issues such as the Vietnam, the Middle East, India-Pakistan-Bangla Desh conflicts, the Non-Aligned Movement did not play, as it should have, very significant roles. Performance by many states did not measure up to high-sounding declarations of the Movement. Many went along with declarations and resolutions but did little to implement them. This was why some had begun to question the efficacy of the Movement and its conferences.

However, as the crisis of world capitalism deepened, and its effects, particularly inflation, were exported to the third world, the Non-Aligned Movement veered more and more towards a progressive direction. At the second Preparatory Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned States in Guyana in 1972, Dr. Raul Roa, the leader of the Cuban delegation, called for revolutionary decisions lest the Movement become "a museum piece". Firm revolutionary positions taken particularly by Cuba, Peru and Chile (under Salvador Allende) led to the seating of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia led by Prince Sihanouk – a decision which led to the walkout from the meeting of the client states Malaysia, Laos and Indonesia.

At the Algiers Summit Non-Aligned Conference in September 1973, the leader of the Cuban delegation, Dr. Fidel Castro attacked the peddlers of the "two-superpowers-two-imperialisms" propaganda line when to the applause of the conference he declared:

Any attempt to provoke a clash between the non-aligned countries and the socialist camp is flagrantly counter-revolutionary and can only help the imperialists. The inventors of fictitious enemies have only one aim, to abandon the fight against the real enemy.

He led the fight not only for the reaffirmation of the principles of the movement – the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, apartheid and racial discrimination, and opposition to war and aggression – but more importantly for the end to foreign economic domination through the national ownership of natural resources and industries.

Other new forces, particularly the Church and the military, emerged to aid the revolutionary process. The triarchy (military, high clergy and latifundistas) in Latin America did not wield power in the same monolithic way it had done traditionally. In the Church, a “radical clergy” developed with a “Liberation Theology.” Over 600 priests signed a petition to the Pope on his visit to Colombia in 1969. They demanded that the Church should identify itself with the masses rather than with the reactionary military and the big landlords. Several accepted socialism and a few like Camillo Torres of Colombia joined the ranks of the guerillas.

Two distinct groups developed in the army in several countries – the old reactionary gorilla-type defending imperialist positions; and the younger officers with national and patriotic sentiments. The latter group wanted an end to the Pentagon's “guardianship”. At the tenth conference of the armed forces commands of the Western Hemisphere countries held in Caracas in September 1973, Peru's Minister of Defense Edgardo Mercado Jarrin spearheaded the attack against the 1947 Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance as being interventionist and called for its radical revision. Peru's former President Juan Velasco Alvarado, like former Presidents Juan Arevalo of Guatemala and Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, emphasised that anti-communism had always been the weapon of the right-wing reactionary forces.

The government of Peru headed by General Alvarado had generally embarked on a programme of anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic reforms. It broke the blockade against Cuba, seized US fishing trawlers in Peru's territorial waters, nationalised US sugar and oil companies and carried out a land reform programme. Because of the change in the world balance of forces, and par-

ticularly changes in Latin America with the Unidad Popular electoral victory in Chile in 1970 and a revolutionary-left in the armed forces coming to power in Bolivia in 1970-71, US imperialism could not use “big stick” methods (landing of marines, economic blockade, restrictions and sanctions) so freely resorted to against Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other countries a decade earlier. Even sanctions under the US Sugar Act and the Hickenlooper Amendments could not be imposed against Peru.

Back in 1964, aggression was used against Panama when students were shot. However, in the 1970's that country took a firm anti-imperialist position and made advances towards genuine independence.

The Lanusse regime of Argentina opted out of the US-sponsored “Inter-American Peace Force”. The Salta Declaration between the Presidents of Argentina and Chile (under Allende) and the Argentine-Peruvian communique reaffirmed the right of nations to self-determination, free choice of development paths and genuine political and economic independence. It paved the way for elections, which brought to power after 19 years in exile Juan Peron, whose regime recognised the Cuban government and offered a substantial loan.

Other developments not favoured by the OAS were joint efforts by the Caribbean and Latin American countries for the independence of their economies and contacts with the socialist world. In the late 1950's, only Mexico, Argentina and Uruguay had maintained diplomatic relations with the USSR; in the early 1970's the number increased to 13 countries.

Twelve Latin American countries did not support the US “two-Chinas” policy in the United Nations.

On May 26, 1969, five Andean countries – Colombia, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador – signed an agreement bringing about the Andean Common Market (ANCOM). Unlike the other regional integration schemes – the Latin America Free Trade Association, the Central American Common Market and the Caribbean Common Market – which had been dominated by the transnational corporations, the Andean Common Market placed restrictions on foreign capital. According to the US News and World Report:

This excludes foreigners from public utilities, transportation and three other fields. It limits their ownership of banks and retail es-

establishments to no more than a 20 per cent share, bars their manufacturing firms based in Andean bloc countries from exporting within the bloc, and sets a ceiling on the profits' remittances of 14 per cent of registered capital a year. The new policy also forbids depletion allowances.

Despite certain weaknesses, Ancom was a big step forward in the fight for national independence. This was made clear by the attitude of Peru, one of the signatories of Ancom. At the OAS Special Commission on the reorganisation of the inter-American system, President Velasco Alvarado emphasized that the true Latin American revolution must be an anti-imperialist revolution.

At the meeting of the Special Latin American Co-ordinating Commission in September 1971, there was a vigorous demand for the repeal of the 10 per cent surcharge on imports into the USA. The meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, held in Panama in September 1971, unanimously condemned Washington's attempt to "rescue the dollar" at the expense of the Latin American and other countries.

*At the Panama session of the Security Council in 1973, most Latin American representatives condemned foreign interference in the affairs of their states and demanded that it should be stopped; they defended control and use of national resources as each country saw fit, and the right of Panama to extend its sovereignty over the Panama Canal.*³

At the 1973 OAS General Assembly meeting, the majority of the delegates of the Latin American countries condemned the ruthless foreign exploitation of the natural resources of Latin America and demanded "a radical structural transformation of the OAS"; the meeting also advocated the abolition of economic and diplomatic sanctions against Cuba. Peru proposed the establishment of a Development Council in the OAS to embrace the concept of "integrated development" in order to break away from a status of dependency with the United States to one which served the interests of the Latin American countries.

At discussions in Tlatelolco, Mexico in February 1974 and in

³ The Carter administration was forced, with the signature of the Panama Canal Treaty, to recognise Panama's partial control of the Canal Zone and full sovereignty by the year 2000.

Washington in April 1974 in the context of a "new dialogue", the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Western Hemisphere reiterated the call for the removal of sanctions and the normalisation of relations with Cuba, and agreed, despite the opposition of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, to invite Cuba to the next "dialogue" planned for 1975. However, as a result of the discriminatory trade measures adopted by the United States in early 1975 and directed particularly against the Latin American OPEC countries, all the states boycotted the talks with Kissinger, scheduled for March 1975.

*Meanwhile, on November 12, 1974, the 15th Consultative Meeting of the OAS decided in a majority vote to lift the blockade against Cuba. The voting of the 21 member states was as follows: 12 for, 6 abstained (U.S.A., Brazil, Bolivia, Guatemala, Haiti and Nicaragua), 3 against (Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay). The 12 states issued a statement, the Declaration of 12, sharply criticising "Washington's policy of negative neutrality and underlined that the sanctions against Cuba had become an anachronism, incompatible with the present international situation."*⁴

On July 29, 1975, the 16th OAS Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers adopted a resolution by 16 out of the 21 votes, withdrawing political and economic sanctions against Cuba, and giving to member states the right of freedom of action in normalising relations with the socialist state. It thereby set aside the resolution of the 8th Consultative Meeting which had pronounced on the "incompatibility" of Marxism-Leninism⁵ with the principles of the inter-American system, and wound up the Special Consultative Commission On Security, which was created in 1962 and was aimed at struggling against "subversive activity by international communism".

A special conference of the OAS signed in July 1976 a protocol on the reform of the Inter-American Treaty on Mutual Assistance. It excluded from the "Security Zone" of the inter-American system Greenland and large areas of high seas, leaving only a 200-mile wide area along the Atlantic Coast of North and South

⁴ Viktor Pashchuk, "Revolutionary Cuba and Inter-American Relations", *Pan-Americanism*, op. cit., p. 122.

⁵ Peru's President Velasco Alvarado, like former Presidents Juan Arevalo of Guatemala and Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic, emphasized that anti-communism had always been the weapon of the right-wing reactionary forces.

America. It also embraced "ideological pluralism", recognising the principle on non-interference, and the right of each state to choose freely its own political, economic and social structure.

There was no incompatibility, many delegates argued at a meeting of the OAS Permanent Council in January 1976, between "ideological pluralism" and "representative democracy". The meeting defined the inter-American system as being based on the principle of sovereignty of the nation guided by "representative democracy".⁶ This led to the restoration of diplomatic relations between Cuba and many Latin American and Caribbean countries, including Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica.

On 17 October 1980, representatives of 25 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, including Cuba, signed, after a 3-day meeting in Panama, a Treaty for the establishment of the Latin American Economic System. It proclaimed the objective of attaining through cooperation accelerated economic development and an independent foreign policy, free from the influence and pressures of U.S. imperialism. A number of regional organisations was established, aimed at protecting the national wealth from plunder by the foreign monopolies.

Other important initiatives taken by Caribbean and Latin American countries included the elaboration of the Economic Rights and Duties of States, the creation of equity in international economic relations, and a Code of Behaviour for transnational corporations.

Partial relaxation in the relations between Cuba and the USA led to the establishment in 1977 in the Swiss Embassy in Havana of a US "group of interests" in Cuba, and in the Czech Embassy in Washington of a similar Cuban group.

Relations also improved between the Caribbean and Latin American countries and the Soviet Union. In a speech at the meeting of Cuban-Soviet friendship in Havana on 29 January 1974, President Leonid Brezhnev said:

The Soviet Union believes that Latin American countries should take a more active part in international life and that their independent voice should ring out with ever greater confidence in the world. We

⁶ Anatoli Glinkin, Viktor Lunin, Boris Martynov, "The New International Situation and the Crisis of the Inter-American System", *Pan-Americanism, op. cit.*, p 147.

are convinced that this will be good for the cause of peace and equitable cooperation among states.

Two years later, speaking about Latin America and the Caribbean he told the CPSU 25th Congress: "We support their wish to consolidate political and economic independence, and welcome their greater role in international affairs." This facilitated visits of leading Latin American and Caribbean political personalities to the USSR – President Salvador Allende (1972), President Luis Echeverria of Mexico (1973), Prime Minister Eric Williams (1975) of Trinidad and Tobago, President Jose Figueres Ferrer of Costa Rica (1975), President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela (1976), Michael Manley of Jamaica, and others – and a parliamentary delegation from Colombia (1976). And in the conditions of detente, mutual advantageous trade and scientific, cultural and sports exchanges developed.

Significant gains were also made in Africa. The Libyan revolution of 1969 led by the progressive military leader Muammar Gaddafi took national control of oil riches, rejected pressure for concessions, refused to fix oil prices suitable to Washington, and dismantled the US Wheelus Field military base, the largest in the East Mediterranean.

Libya's militant anti-imperialist example was followed elsewhere in Africa and the Middle East – Democratic Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Ethiopia, Iran and Afghanistan. In the Portuguese colonies, National liberation wars under dynamic leadership paved the way for a successful revolution in Portugal in 1974 against the Caetano fascist dictatorship. This in turn led to the political independence of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

The eruption of the popular revolution in Ethiopia in 1974 which led to the overthrow of the feudal/bourgeois form of rule, marked a significant forward step in enhancing the revolutionary process already underway on the continent. Subsequent internal measures and policies effected by the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) under the leadership of Mengistu Haile Mariam, paved the way for the initiation and later, acceleration of the Ethiopian Revolution which assumed a national democratic character. Moreover, at the international level, Socialist Ethiopia, notwithstanding constant provocations and machinations engineered by world reaction, is today a foremost

champion for anti-imperialist unity, peace and socialism both on the African Continent and in the world at large.

With the fall of the Shah of Iran, the United States lost some of its most important forward bases, especially for spying on the Soviet Union.

CARIBBEAN ADVANCE

The English-speaking Caribbean countries, generally up to 1968 had pursued undisguised pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies. Their governments also had long ostracised the socialist world at the diplomatic, trade and cultural level.

A typical example was Guyana. The Burnham-led People's National Congress, on usurping power with the help of the CIA in December, 1964, had made concessions to big business and formulated its first development plan on the basis of the discredited Puerto Rican model. It justified US intervention in the Dominican Republic and supported the US line on Vietnam. At the United Nations, it closely followed the lead of the United States, as was made clear by Ted Braithwaite, Guyana's first UN Ambassador. After resigning his post, he stated in an radio interview: "*Time and time again I was forced to realise that while I was at the UN pursuing what I considered to be my country's right to intervene in certain political issues, back in Guyana other presences were dealing with those same issues....*" resulting in being told what the American Secretary of State would wish him to do or what posture he would wish him to assume. The Guyana government had also imposed quantitative import restrictions on trade and a 10% surcharge on goods from the socialist countries. It broke off trade and cultural relations with Cuba which had been initiated by the PPP government. At the United Nations, on the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China, it advocated the two-Chinas policy of the US government.

The first moves in the English-speaking Caribbean towards progressive political development were made in the favourable international climate brought about by detente. In 1969, the Trinidad and Tobago government sent a technical mission to Cuba. A year later, Guyana and Trinidad took part in the Summit Non-Aligned Conference in Zambia. In 1971, the Guyana govern-

ment voted for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a reversal of its previous positions – a negative vote in 1966, 1967 and 1968 and abstention in 1969 and 1970 – and a reflection of the twists and turns of US foreign policy. By this time, the US position was becoming untenable with more and more countries voting for China.

In 1972, Guyana, Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and further afield in Latin America, Chile (under Allende) were represented as delegates and Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela as observers at the Second Preparatory Meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned countries in Georgetown, Guyana in August, 1972. This was a reflection of the changed international situation. By then, ironically enough, Richard Nixon, one of the staunchest advocates of the cold-war and a rabid anti-communist, had been forced to accept peaceful co-existence and to "go along" with détente.

The Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference reiterated the demand for a dismantling of all foreign military bases in different regions of the world, including Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, particularly those established or maintained against the expressed wishes of the countries concerned. It expressed "full support" for the Chilean Government of President Salvador Allende, which it said, "is bent on consolidating its national independence and building a new society." Support was also pledged to the "nationalistic measures taken by the Peruvian Government and its efforts to safeguard the nation's sovereignty and to promote social progress." The participants commended the efforts of the people and government of Panama to "consolidate their territorial integrity", and generally welcomed the growth of the efforts being made by the Latin American peoples to recover their natural resources, re-assert their sovereignty and defend the interests of their countries. *The conference further expressed full support for all governments which, "in the exercise of their sovereign rights over the natural resources of their countries, have nationalised the interests of powerful foreign monopolies and restored them to their peoples in the interest of their welfare and national development."* It also adopted an Action Programme for Economic Cooperation.

In the period of intense cold-war hysteria, economic, diplomatic and military aggression was carried out against Cuba. In the 1960's, the United States applied pressure on Britain and Canada

not to trade with Cuba. Subsidiaries of US companies operating in Canada rationalised their failure to export goods in connection with Canadian trade agreements with Cuba on the ground that such action would be a violation of the US "Trading with the Enemy Act."

In the mid-1970's, because of detente, US firms operating in Argentina were allowed by Washington to sell goods to Cuba. After the visit to Cuba of two US senators, Jacob Javits and Claiborne Pell, the former declared that "the time does seem propitious to a normalisation." Previously, when asked about the United States normalising its relations with Cuba, Dr. Henry Kissinger had indicated that that was a matter for the OAS. Clearly, the US position on Cuba in 1973-74 was ambivalent, not exactly the same as with the rest of the socialist community. However, apart from the fact that there was no political advantage to be gained by the further blockade of Cuba, this Caribbean territory offered distinct economic advantages particularly to the US transnational corporations which had established branch-plants in the Caribbean Common Market region. *No doubt, these factors were also responsible for the opening in 1972 of diplomatic relations with Cuba jointly by Jamaica, Barbados, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago.*

A close relationship began to develop in late 1973 between Cuba and the English-speaking Caribbean countries when Fidel Castro visited Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Guyana; in Trinidad, his warm embrace by Prime Minister Eric Williams was particularly noted. Soon after, Prime Ministers Michael Manley of Jamaica and L.F.S. Burnham of Guyana travelled together with Fidel Castro in his Cuban jetliner to the Algiers Summit Non-Aligned Conference. Thereafter, a close relationship developed between the three Caribbean countries particularly after Jamaica and Guyana in the 1974-76 period took a noticeable anti-imperialist turn - Jamaica imposed an export levy on bauxite, which increased revenues from that commodity by nearly six times; Guyana nationalised the foreign-owned sugar and bauxite companies. These positive developments occurred within the favourable international context of the special session of the UN General Assembly in 1974 calling for a New International Economic Order and the developing countries taking control of their natural resources.

The worsening economic and social situation in the Caribbean,

as a result of the export to the region of the world capitalist crisis and the so-called oil crisis on the one hand and colonial and neo-colonial policies on the other, coupled with a favourable international climate, led not only to a sharpening of the liberation struggle, but also to significant political gains in the second half of the 1970-80 decade.

In 1979, the New Jewel Movement led by Maurice Bishop overthrew the brutal, dictatorial government of Eric Gairy who had close links with the CIA, the Mafia and General Pinochet of Chile. The Grenada revolution opened a new chapter in Caribbean politics and became a source of inspiration to the struggling peoples of the region.

The St. Lucia Labour Party's electoral victory in 1979 brought to an end 15 years of unbroken rule by the reactionary, anti-communist John Compton.

In Dominica, a mass upsurge with a general strike and worker-peasant alliance in the pattern of Iran, forced the resignation of the pro-imperialist, dictatorial Patrick John regime.

The Grenada Declaration, signed in mid-1979 in St. Georges, Grenada by the Prime Ministers of Grenada, St. Lucia and Dominica broke new ground by calling for a qualitatively new kind of Caribbean unity, anti-imperialist in content.

Progressive parties in Curacao and Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, gained significant electoral victories. And in Suriname, non-commissioned officers and other ranks in a military coup ended tweedledee and tweedledum, racist, neo-colonialist rule, and set the country on a revolutionary-democratic, anti-imperialist course.

The Sandinista Liberation Front toppled the bloody fascist Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua in August 1979. Eight countries - Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador - voted at an OAS meeting against the USA dispatching to Nicaragua an interventionist, so-called peace force on the eve of the victory. This was a significant development in Latin America and the Caribbean since the 1964 OAS decision to blockade Cuba.

REACTIVATION OF THE COLD WAR

The 1970's witnessed a shift under President Nixon from confrontation to negotiation. However, disengagement did not mean non-intervention and total retreat. The "hawks" of the military-industrial complex were down but not out.

The US ruling circles found new and more subtle ways of domination and intervention, like "farming out" responsibilities – South Africa and Rhodesia for Africa and Brazil for the Western Hemisphere – and shifts in military strategy. The US soldiers would go home, but the Navy would take on a new role to control the world's sea lanes so as to ensure access to raw materials. And the Pentagon planned for greatly expanded airlift capabilities which "will permit intervention anywhere on the globe by transporting entire divisions within hours," as was done in the Arab-Israeli war of September 1973.

The more subtle methods were used in Chile which led to the downfall of the Allende government. Similar methods were used to destabilise the Michael Manley-led PNP government of Jamaica before the 1976 general elections.

There was talk about a "new dialogue" with the Caribbean and Latin America. But in the discussions with Dr. Henry Kissinger at the meeting of Foreign Ministers on February 13, 1974 at Tlatelolco, Mexico City, Latin American representatives received no specific assurances when they pressed for improvements in commercial relations between the South and the North, removal of restrictions on the entry of goods in the US market, abolition of the Hickenlooper Amendment, more multi-lateral development aid, transfer of technology, reform of the OAS to make it truly a Latin American organisation, and a revision of the collective security system in the Rio Pact of 1947.

No assurances were forthcoming no doubt because neither Kissinger nor the American ruling circles for which he spoke with such suavity and skill would readily scuttle the empire and retreat to isolationism and "Fortress America", as some would have the world believe. Chile was there for all to see.

With her global commitments and investments and her need for

*raw materials, United States imperialism was hardly expected to commit suicide. As one of the leading spokesmen, Zbigniew Brezinski, put it: "today the US economy depends on other countries more than ever. Certain experts say that this dependency is valid for 26 of the 36 basic raw materials consumed by US industry; and they emphasise that this dependency is increasing in all areas and particularly in energy."*¹

The Caribbean is strategically and geographically important to the United States. It supplies vital materials – oil, bauxite, nickel, sugar, cocoa, bananas, coffee, spices, tropical hardwoods – provides an important sea lane and a profitable area for investment and trade.

Referring to the importance of the region, Abelardo L. Valdez, AID's Assistant Administrator for Latin America and the Caribbean, told the Inter-American Affairs Sub-Committee of the US House Foreign Affairs Committee in February 1979:

Our concern for Latin America and the Caribbean begins with our strong traditional ties of trade and investment. The region provides many of the resources most vital to our economy. It is our third largest market after Western Europe and Japan purchasing \$20 billion in US exports. Our direct private investment exceeds \$27 billion, or 82% of our investment in the entire developing world. It earns \$4 billion a year.

Between 1946 and 1978, the "combined capital flow to the Caribbean, including multilateral and bilateral aid, official development assistance, export credits, and direct investments amounted to \$14,764 million of which US sources provided \$12,776 million or roughly 86%"² Direct investments alone increased from US\$1,763 million in 1970 to US\$10,519 million. The net assets of foreign branches of US banks stood at US \$22,807 million at the end of 1976.

By 1978, the external public debt of the Caribbean countries, mostly in short and medium term loans provided by US banks, was US\$2,866 million. As such it was deemed the political and strategic "Achilles Heel" of the USA.

¹ Roberto Gonzalves Gomez, "Isolationism or Neo-Interventionism", *Tricontinental*, 90, 1970, p 11.

² Hillbourne Watson, *United States Policy Towards The Caribbean*, presented to CEESTEM Conference, March 1982, Mexico, p 128.

Terrence Todman, the then US Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs pinpointed US policy towards the region:

We used to see the Caribbean mainly in security terms. Our interventions there were often largely motivated by security considerations, and we sometimes referred to the Caribbean as "our lake".

We still have security interests in the Caribbean. It is our "third border"... But we no longer see the Caribbean in quite the same stark military security context that we once viewed it. Rather, our security concerns in the Caribbean are increasingly political in nature. The threat is not simply foreign military bases on our doorstep. It is possibly an even more troublesome prospect; proliferation of impoverished third world states, whose economic and political problems blend with our own. A militant anti-US posture could appear to them as the only way to get our attention and realise their ambitions.

I do not believe that this new 'security' concern is a chimera. If the present adverse trends in the region continue, and we take no effective action, I think we can count on unfortunate developments.

The Carter administration was responding to the deteriorating economic and social situation, the accentuated class struggle, the call for a New International Economic Order and national recovery of natural resources, the anti-imperialist developments particularly in Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, and the growing influence and prestige of Cuba. It saw these developments as disruptive of the colonial and neo-colonial status quo and having serious repercussions elsewhere in the hemisphere.

President Carter had been brought to the White House with the help of the Trilateral Commission which had been set up in 1973 to coordinate the activities and protect the interests of the 3 centres of international capitalism – North America, Western Europe and Japan. *Newsweek* described the Commissioners as "movers and shakers ... a remarkable cross section of the interlocking establishments of the World's leading industrial nations"³ US transnationals linked to the Commission include the Chase Manhattan Bank, IBM, Pepsi-Cola, Coca-Cola, Pan American Airways, Philadelphia Electric Company, General Electric, Continental Oil, US Steel, Standard Oil. Their aim was to restore US

³ Quoted in Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle*, London, 1982, p 104. President Carter was a member of the Trilateral Commission, representing bourgeois interests in the South of the USA.

moral prestige, and at the same time to cope with the new political and economic challenges, particularly the "oil crisis".

The Trilateralists proceeded on the basis that the imperialist countries were in need "both of sources of raw materials and marketing outlets for their goods in the developing countries... and regard them as constructive partners in maintaining the existing world political and economic order"; and wanted the developing countries to "open up their economy.... by liberalising imports and easing the terms for the investment of foreign capital in order to effect an international re-distribution of industrial production in accordance with the interests and priorities of the industrialised countries".⁴ They wanted to create a "New World Order" of relative social and political stability, with the socialist countries moving towards liberalism and "reform", and the dictatorial rightist-conservative regimes adopting a new "progressivism" so as to stave off national and social revolution. With President Carter's "born again Christian" and "human rights" stance, US imperialism played the role of attentive "big brother" to the Caribbean states. In contrast to the more brutal "big stick" of the past, more subtle methods of control were utilized. Supplanting the Nixon-Kissinger-Ford team, the Carter-Vance-Young triumvirate introduced a new style, reminiscent of Kennedy's "New Frontier" men.

After the Manley government survived the CIA's destabilisation attempts by the PNP's electoral victory in 1976, Rosalyn Carter, the wife of the President, visited Jamaica and gave Manley an "eagle hug".

Following that, a number of distinguished official representatives of the US government visited the Caribbean – Secretary of State Cyrus Vance; United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young; Under-Secretary of State Philip Habib; the then Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Terrence Todman and other American Congressmen.

Under the Carter administration's "ideological pluralism", an accommodation was made with those countries where the state intervened in the economy such as Jamaica, Trinidad and Guyana; with "democratic socialism" of the PNP of Jamaica, with

⁴ Cited by Hugo Fazio, "External Debt: The Burden of Dependence", *World Marxist Review*, August 1981, p. 74.

"cooperative socialism" of the PNC of Guyana and its occasional declarations of adherence to the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

In this regard, Terrence Todman in June 1977, in a statement before the Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs of the House International Relations Committee, said:

Guyana is seeking a different path to social and economic development, one with which we have no quarrel and which we have no reason to fear. Despite its different political philosophy, and our differences of the past, Guyana looks to us for understanding and cooperation. By cooperating with Guyana we can emphasise once again our readiness to respect different ways of political and social development. We have thought in terms of a coordinated donor effort for the region. Such an effort is already in the formative stage in the case of Haiti. We may also want to consider what could be done in this way for emerging mini-states of the region. We are working closely with the major international financial institutions (IDB, the World Bank and the IMF), as well as such regional bodies as the Caribbean Development Bank. They want to help and stand ready to take into consideration requests for financial assistance.

Todman also pointed out that Guyana could eventually attain the kind of economic viability which could contribute to the region as a whole and allow it to assist its Caribbean neighbours in their development as well.

Thereafter, US activities increased considerably. One of the new features of its tactics was the extensive use of funding through the IMF and the consortium of imperialist states, and their controlled financial institutions.

Viron P. Vaky, who succeeded Terrence Todman as Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, told the Western Hemisphere Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1978 that Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Peru and the territories of the Eastern Caribbean were among the "list of countries where there is clear economic as well as political justification for special assistance."

To all of these countries, phenomenal amounts of funds in the form of credits, grants, loans and investments were channelled with the aim of extracting large profits and interest and strengthening imperialist economic and political influence. US aid increased significantly to the Eastern Caribbean after the Grenada Revolution.

U.S. ASSISTANCE FLOWS TO THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN
Million US\$

1971-1981 Total	85
1971-1977	21
1978	1
1979	9
1980	27 ¹
1981	27 ¹

¹ Including hurricane-related disaster assistance.
Source: *Bulletin of Eastern Caribbean Affairs*,
January/February 1982, p. 21.

After signing a sellout agreement with the IMF in June 1978, Guyana received from the US Agency for International Development US\$53 million for the 1978-80 period, about 37 per cent of all United States aid to Guyana in the 1954-80 period. And, as with South Korea and Turkey, favourable terms were granted by the IMF for a 3-year Extended Arrangement for G\$345 million, and waivers for non-fulfilment of targets, denied to the Manley government of Jamaica, were granted to the Guyana government.

The Carter administration established, in conjunction with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the main centres of world capitalism, the trilateral-oriented Caribbean Group for Cooperation in Economic Development (CGCED). It was necessary to co-ordinate imperialist strategy and regional efforts of the developed industrialised capitalist states and the imperialist dominated states in the same way as had become necessary at the international level, following the first "oil crisis" in the 1973-74 period, through the formation of the Trilateral Commission and the close co-ordination between the USA, the EEC and Japan, the 3 capitalist power centres.

On the initiative of the US administration, a Conference of 30 governments, including the lending and borrowing countries, and 15 international agencies with interests in the Caribbean was held in Washington under the auspices of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in December 1977. The Caribbean Task Force of the US State Department, which had been set up earlier by President Carter to work out a strategy and to formulate US

policies, in particular economic, towards the region, was the main force behind the meeting. According to its former Director Sally Shelton in the US State Department, the purpose of the Task Force "will be to develop a set of new, more coherent policies for meeting the economic development needs of the Caribbean." Four major areas to be covered included increased economic assistance, increased private investment, removal of existing obstacles to bilateral and multilateral trade and regional economic integration. "One option we are presently considering", said Sally Shelton in September 1977, "which we tend to favour at this time is a multilateral approach to economic development, multilateral both on the part of the donors as well as the recipients."

The multilateral approach was intended to disguise the hegemonistic and exploitative role of US imperialism in the region and to remove the stigma attached to bilateral US aid "with strings". The incorporation of recipients was intended to shield the face of imperialism by acting through client-states, while simultaneously bringing into partnership foreign and local capital.

At the inaugural conference of the Caribbean Consortium, Sally Shelton, the new Ambassador to Barbados, said:

What is needed is the establishment of a coordinating mechanism for providing counsel and guidance to those who already have the said programs underway in the Caribbean.

A second preparatory meeting to "coordinate" imperialist strategy in the Caribbean was held in Paris on May 16, 1978. It agreed that aid for the Caribbean countries in 1978-80 should be twice the amount of the 1974-76 period. On June 19-23, 1979, the first regular meeting of the "Caribbean Group" was held in Washington. Among the lending countries at the meeting were imperialist USA, West Germany, Holland, United Kingdom, France and Japan, and dependent capitalist states as Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Israel, Spain and Trinidad. Among the international agencies were the OECD, EEC, ECLA, UNDP, SELA and OPEC.

The dependent capitalist countries were important in the overall strategy of imperialism for the Caribbean. These countries, in proximity to the Caribbean, were being set up as "models" for development but in reality were being used to facilitate capitalist

expansion in the Caribbean. The poorer countries of the Caribbean were brought into subordinate partnerships with these dependent capitalist powers. Thus, the big imperialist powers, especially the US, were able to play a low-key role.

With the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development) and the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) and its arms ORIT and CADORIT discredited, the need for an alternative to protect the strategic interests of imperialism has assumed a new urgency. The gap was filled by the Committee For The Caribbean, the private back-up of the Caribbean Consortium. Its initial budget was US\$200,000, and its members included Amerada Hess, Rosario Dominicana, American International Group, AMOCO International, Arthur D. Little, Ashland Oil, Bank of America, The Charter Company, Exxon, Field International, Drilling, General Foods International, Hilton International, E.F. Hutton, Mobil Oil, Occidental Petroleum, PPG Industries, Peoples' Santa Fe International, Sea/Land Service, Tenneco and Tesoro Petroleum. Sited in Washington, the Committee's Advisory Board included Carlton Alexander, President of Jamaica Private Sector Organisation; Tomas Pastoriza, President of Financiera Dominicana; Jodha Samaroo, President of the Caribbean Association of Industry and Commerce; Philip Nassief, President of the Dominica Chamber of Commerce and Maurice Ferre, Mayor of Miami.

The Committee claimed that "private sector initiative has a big role to play". Its purpose was the promotion of better relations between the United States and the Caribbean nation, the fostering of "private enterprise in the Caribbean" and the creation of a 'climate of trust' and respect for business and for our economic system". According to its chairman, Dr. Robert West:

The demise of free democratic institutions and free market economies in the Caribbean will severely affect the survival of the neighbouring nations and perhaps the security of the United States as well.

The Committee For The Caribbean mounted a Caribbean-wide campaign for US capitalist penetration through "joint ventures" on the basis of "equal partnership" enunciated in the early 1970's. Just prior to the Committee's formation, Terrence Todman had proclaimed at a Conference on Caribbean Business, Trade and

Development on June 23, 1979, that free enterprise was urgently needed as the only solution for the region's ailments.

Events at the end of the 1970's – revolutions in Afghanistan, Iran, Grenada and Nicaragua; the Panama Canal Treaty; the seizure of American hostages in Iran; the failure to block the convening of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Havana in 1979 and the assumption by Cuba of the chairmanship of the Movement – resulted, however, in a decisive shift not only in the world balance of forces against imperialism but also in US foreign policy. The “hawks” of the military-industrial complex became furious; with the support of the other groups⁵ of the US capitalist ruling class, they influenced US foreign policy in a militaristic, interventionist direction. The cold war supplanted the “spirit of Helsinki”.

A month after the Saur Revolution in Afghanistan in April, 1978, (long before Soviet assistance was rendered to Democratic Afghanistan) the NATO Council meeting in Washington agreed on increasing military budgets of all member-states by 3 per cent per year until the end of the century.

The ‘Iron Lady’ Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, like her predecessor, Winston Churchill in 1946, visited the US and called for a “get tough” policy. Her conservative government severely reduced social spending and increased defense expenditure to counter the supposedly increasing “Soviet threat”. She argued that Britain and the West must talk from a “position of strength”.

President Carter fell in line with the “hawks” and the military-industrial complex. The latter had failed to turn détente to their own advantage: to affect the socio-economic development of the socialist community; to force the Soviet Union to make concessions through a policy of “linkage”, namely, agreement of spheres of influence and withdrawal of support for national liberation movements and revolutionary-democratic states; to replace colonialism by neo-colonialism if not to freeze the “third world”; to isolate the “third world” from the socialist world. According to Henry Trofimenko

⁵ The Iranian revolution affected the military-industrial complex as a result of the loss of Iran as a US client state, a military forward base and the cancellation of huge military contracts. The seizure of about US\$8 billion of US property through nationalisation affected the transnational corporations. And the cut-off of Iranian oil and the consequent shortages and increased prices were seen by the group producing for the American domestic market as inimical to their interests. Thus, a convergence in outlook developed in relation to US foreign policy.

of the Institute of US and Canadian Studies of the USSR in an article; “The Third World and US-Soviet Competition: A Soviet View” (*Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1981), Nixon and Henry Kissinger were cushioning the shock of Vietnam in the SALT 1 Agreement, and at the same time, they pictured a deal along the lines: “We give you the *status quo* in strategic arms and you give us the *status quo* in the Third World.”

He quoted Henry Kissinger:

In our minds efforts to reduce nuclear war by the control of arms had to be linked to an end of constant Soviet pressure against the global balance of power.

This “linkage” was rejected by the Soviet Union on the ground that it would continue to support the struggle for national liberation; also because the proposal was unrealistic. Even if such an agreement was reached to maintain the *status quo*, in the Soviet view; “these would be undone by the natural course of events because change in the third world... stems from strivings of the peoples for national and social liberation.”

Henry Kissinger then tried another ploy: to interest the Soviet Union by appealing to its economic interests and involving it through the international banks and joint USA-USSR economic ventures in the *status quo* in the “third world”, and to draw the Soviet Union in the North-South dialogue as a representative of the “Northern Club.” This, according to Trofimenko, was intended “to discredit it... by erasing the distinction between the USSR as a state bearing no responsibility for the colonial and post-colonial economic plunder of the developing world and the Western countries that do bear such a responsibility.”

Zbigniew Brzezinski deemed Kissinger's world view and approach as “pessimistic.” He advocated an “optimistic” approach. With trilateral cooperation and common action based on united approach with Europe and Japan, the United States could ignore the USSR altogether.⁶

At the same time, the popularity rating of the President, who had been elected with a mandate of only 28 per cent of the adult population in 1976 when 54.4 per cent of the electorate had voted, had

⁶ Bob Paine, *Daily World*, September 10 and 15, 1982.

declined sharply. The economic crises of 1971-1972 and 1974-1975 had worsened under his administration. The economy went into recession with a trade deficit of US\$39,700 million in 1979, radically increased unemployment and rampant inflation. Over the years inflation, eroding living standards, had steadily increased under the various administrations as follows: President Kennedy – 1.2%; President Johnson – 2.8%; President Nixon and Ford - 6.6%; Carter – over 10% and reaching 13.3% in 1979 and about the same in 1980. Unemployment among Blacks was 2 1/2 times the White rate. In fact, among Black and other minority youths, the unemployment rate had jumped to 45.7%. Concepts such as “great society”, “stable prosperity” and “the era of class cooperation” had proved spurious. And little could have been done to improve the situation internally. Consequently, it became imperative to concentrate attention on military and foreign policy problems long before the elections, to pursue a course of aggravating international tensions on the ground that the Soviet Union was posing a danger to the “national security” of the USA; that the United States suffered from a military lag,⁷ and there was the need to restore the “position of strength.”

National Security Adviser Brzezinski spoke about the “arch of instability” from Pakistan to Ethiopia. And President Carter placed “an emphasis on the external threat to the West posed by the Soviet Union.”⁸ Invoking the language of the cold warriors, he declared:

The US has a worldwide interest in peace and stability. Accordingly, I have directed the Secretary of Defence to further enhance the capacity of our rapid deployment forces to protect our own interests and to act in response to requests for help from our allies and friends. We must be able to move our ground, sea and air units to distant areas rapidly and with adequate supplies.⁹

⁷ Rear Admiral Gene R. La Roque USN (Ret.), at UN disarmament conference June 17, 1980 stated: “Clearly there is no basis for the myth of the military weakness or passivity of the United States. It must be bluntly stated. The United States has led the nuclear arms race from the beginning, and all indications are that it will continue to do so in the future. The US leads in developing and producing new delivery systems and in the numbers of nuclear weapons for every aspect of warfare.”

⁸ L. Sharp, *The Carter Presidency and Beyond: Power and Politics in the 1980's*, Palo Alto (Calif.) 1980, p 159.

⁹ *The New York Times*, October 2, 1979.

Former Defence Secretary Harold Brown told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that “the US is planning to establish special strike forces that could respond to crisis around the world, even during a war in Europe.” *The Rapid Deployment Forces, working in conjunction with the air, marine and navy forces would be able to operate “for extended periods in austere environments.”*

To induce the reluctant senators to ratify SALT II, President Carter promised billions of dollars for the modernisation of US nuclear forces and a general programme for strengthening the “Quick Reaction Corps” – a 110,000-man contingency force for the purpose of protecting American interests and ensuring an uninterrupted flow of Arab oil. Forecasting “storms of conflict” in the 1980's and a growth of “political instability”, he proposed, contrary to past electoral promises to cut military spending, an increase of 5 per cent above the inflation rate for 1980 and 4.5 per cent for each of the next five years.

The Defence Department budget allocation for fiscal year 1980 was US\$125.8 billion – the largest growth in twelve years; for strategic nuclear weapons, it was US \$10.8 billion, an increase by 26 per cent. By the summer of 1980, new orders for armaments reached US\$17.4 billion, 55 per cent more than the US\$11.3 billion for 1979.

According to the *Guardian* (UK) of February 17, 1979:

Among the various programmes, the Air Force would begin full-scale development of the MX mobile missile, intensify its purchase of air-launched cruise missiles and modernize the B-52 bomber while the Navy would get US\$1.5 billion to purchase its eighth Trident ballistic missile-firing submarine.

Legislation was also enacted for “draft” registration. And the propaganda campaign about “human rights” violations in the USSR was intensified.

The excuse for the military escalation was the bogey of a “Soviet military threat.” During the Non-Aligned Summit Conference held in Cuba in late 1979, the US government announced that Soviet military personnel which had remained in Cuba after the missile crisis of October 1962 had been organised into a combat brigade of 2,000 to 3,000 men. This was intended to influence the Conference in a pro-imperialist direction, but it failed.

The Soviet Union and Cuba insisted that the military unit was only a training centre and posed no threat to anyone. President Carter later admitted that the unit was no threat to the security of the United States, but he took the opportunity to wield the "big stick."

After accepting statements from the Soviet Union about the future non-combat status of the unit, President Carter in a television broadcast on October 1, 1979 announced:

However, we shall not rest on these Soviet statements alone. First, we will monitor the status of the Soviet forces by increased surveillance of Cuba. Second, we will ensure that no Soviet unit in Cuba can be used as a combat force to threaten the security of the United States or any other nation in this hemisphere.

Those nations can be confident that the United States will act in response to a request for assistance in meeting any such threat from Soviet or Cuban forces. This policy is consistent with our responsibilities as a member of the Organisation of American States and a party to the Rio Treaty. It is a reaffirmation in the new circumstance of John F. Kennedy's declaration in 1963 'that we would not permit any troops from Cuba to move off the island of Cuba in any offensive action against any neighbouring countries'.

Third, I am establishing a permanent full-time Caribbean Joint Task Force headquarters at Key West, Florida. I will assign to this headquarters forces from all the military services responsible for expanded planning and for conducting exercises. This headquarters unit will employ designated forces for action if required. This will substantially improve our capability to monitor and respond rapidly to any attempted military encroachment in the region.

Fourth, we will expand military manoeuvres in the region, and we will conduct these regularly from now on. In accordance with existing treaty rights, the United States will, of course, keep our forces in Guantanamo.

Fifth, we will increase our economic assistance to alleviate the unmet economic and human needs in the Caribbean region and further to ensure the ability of troubled peoples to resist social turmoil and possible communist domination.

The Cold War was reactivated. Military exercises, surveillance and intelligence activities were stepped up to cope with the volatile Caribbean, deemed by US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance as the world's fourth "trouble spot".

For Latin America and the Caribbean, the development of a

regional military so-called peace-keeping force was mooted. According to *The New York Times* (September 29, 1979):

The Carter Administration is consulting Latin American Governments on the creation of a regional military peace-keeping force. Ambassadors have been instructed to sound out the Latin American Governments of their willingness to endorse the idea of an Inter-American peace-keeping force and to provide troops for it. The force could be called on in emergencies... Washington has made regional security of higher priority for the administration. As a result the United States is now in the diplomatically awkward position of having to request military cooperation from regimes such as those in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay that have been denied United States military aid for human rights violations.

Cuba was portrayed as a Soviet surrogate, and according to *The New York Times* (October 17, 1979) Presidential Directive 52 detailed actions to check Cuba's influence in the Caribbean and her "military support" for third world countries. It also called for the transfer to the Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force, if necessary, of "airborne troops, naval strike units, the Marines, or whatever forces are deemed necessary by him and the Joint Chiefs of Staff to contain the Caribbean".¹⁰ With the stepped-up military exercises, about 2000 marines equipped with combat aircraft and submarines stormed into the US base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba; and surveillance was increased.

In March 1980, the assault ship, the USS Nassau, in conjunction with other vessels of the NATO countries, and with a great deal of publicity and fanfare, paid a "show the flag" visit to Barbados, Martinique, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Colombia and Panama. And, in May 1980, "Operation Solid Shield" was carried out under the command of the Caribbean Joint Task Force, involving 20,000 personnel, 42 warships and 350 aircraft.

And soon after the Grenada Revolution, President Carter declared that the US would sell arms to countries in order to protect their vital interests. In December 1979, his administration proposed a military aid package of US\$10 - 20 million for the Eastern Caribbean, the Dominican Republic and Central America

¹⁰ Y. Gudkov, "Same Old Policy", *New Times*, 20/1980, p 23.

US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE CARIBBEAN BASIN

(in millions of US dollars)

Country	1981			1982			1983		
	IMET	FMS	Total	IMET	FMS	Total	IMET	FMS	Total
Bahamas									
Belize			0.03		1.00	1.00	1.00	0.06	0.06
Costa Rica		0.04	0.04	0.05		0.05	0.05	0.15	0.15
Eastern Caribbean	0.10		0.10	0.24	4.60	4.84	1.00	5.84	6.84
Dominican Republic	0.43	3.00	3.43	0.45	4.00	4.45	1.00	5.45	6.45
El Salvador	0.49	10.00	10.49	1.00	16.50	17.50	63.50	81.00	98.50
Guatemala								1.30	1.30
Guyana	0.02		0.02	0.04		0.04		0.25	0.25
Haiti	0.12	0.30	0.42	0.25	0.30	0.55		0.05	0.60
Honduras	0.54	8.40	8.94	0.65	9.00	9.65	1.00	10.65	11.65
Jamaica	0.07	1.59	1.66	0.08	1.00	1.08	1.00	2.08	3.16
Nicaragua								0.20	0.20
Panama	0.38		0.38	0.40	5.00	5.40		0.50	5.90
Suriname	0.03		0.03	0.06		0.06		0.08	0.14
Sub Total	2.22	23.29	25.51	3.24	41.40	44.64	67.50	112.14	156.74
Supplemental							60.00	60.00	116.74
Annual Total			50.51			182.13			232.64

FMS -- Foreign Military Sales Credits
 IMET -- International Military Education and Training

to cover International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Foreign Military Sales (FMS) credits.

Military support was offered to Barbados and to the proposed Caribbean Security Force for the smaller Caribbean states. In fiscal 1981, Barbados received US\$84,000 and US\$5 million from the US international military education and training (IMET) funds and foreign military sales (FMS) respectively for the strengthening of the Coast Guard and Regiment, which in turn "will strengthen the security, not only of Barbados, but of the entire Eastern Caribbean".¹¹ For 1980 and 1981, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent and the Grenadines were allocated small IMET programs (US\$10,000); Jamaica and Guyana received US\$25,000 each. According to the State Department; "it is important to open the door to cooperative relationship with the United States in military training. We do not want Cuba to become the primary alternative by default".¹²

Military aid to El Salvador, stopped on the ground of human rights violations, was resumed in April 1980. A package of US \$5.7 million in FMS credits, US\$420,000 in training and the lease of two Bell helicopters was given on the ground that "We must support the Salvadorean government in its struggle against left-wing terrorists supported covertly with arms, ammunition, training and political and military advice by Cuba and other communist nations".

An agreement was reached with the Dominican Republic for cooperation in fighting the "communist threat", and for the Dominican armed forces to aid the Duvalier dictatorship should it come under attack.

The cold-war anti-Cuban, anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hysteria campaign, mounted by the United States, was joined by France and Britain. In March 1980 (before the general election which brought President Mitterand to power), French Overseas Departments Minister Paul Dijoud visited Cayenne (French Guiana) and uttered disquieting threats to the people. He denounced the unrest sweeping across the Caribbean as "the work of Cuba", and warned that the colonies Martinique, Guadeloupe and Cayenne were French, and would remain so. He declared:

¹¹ US Department of State, "Foreign Assistance Proposals, Latin America and the Caribbean", April 16, 1980 *Current Policy No. 166*.

¹² *Ibid.*

It is necessary once and for all that Guianese understand that it is home territory for France, that they are French and that they must look neither backwards nor question the future.... If there is any disorder, France is one of the rare countries in the world which is capable of transporting to the Antilles and Guiana in 10 hours, a division and a half of crack troops.

The Minister asserted: "International communism is on the march in the Caribbean, and Cuba is the staging post"; and Cuba was providing both "financial and political" aid to Martiniquan dissidents. He warned that "Martinique would stay French whether it likes it or not", and that France would join other Western countries in blocking Havana's penetration of the area, would protect Caribbean stability and would not tolerate outside interference. Prior to those pronouncements, he had already ordered 220 French riot squad police flown from Paris to Martinique to crush popular manifestations there. The 7,000-man French Foreign Legion, based in Cayenne and notorious for its cruelty, had been placed on the alert to go into action at a moment's notice.

Former British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington declared at a press conference in Venezuela in August 1980 that Cuba was "a destabilising force in the area", and accused it of "exporting its system of government or seeking to export it by subversion to other countries". In Barbados, he said that communism posed a danger to the region. Grenada, without being mentioned by name, was singled out for attack for allegedly violating the democratic traditions of the Commonwealth Caribbean.

The British government refused to grant licences for the export of two armoured cars and ancillary military equipment to Grenada. The British Ministry of Defense spokesman was quoted as saying that "the decision does not reflect on current relations with Grenada, but reflects the present situation in the Caribbean. It is not thought helpful to supply armoured cars at this time. The money would be better spent on the development of police force. All decisions on arms sales to the region are now being considered on a country by country basis." According to Lord Carrington: "Broadly speaking we sell arms to our friends and to those whom we wish to encourage to defend themselves".

On the other hand, Barbados, which not too long before had sent a police-military contingent to quell a rebellion in Union Island,

St. Vincent, was sold by a UK company a 37-metre armed fast patrol boat along with goods and services for the development of the island's coastguard. The vessel would patrol its 200 mile economic zone, and later form part of a coordinated coastguard service between Barbados, St. Lucia and St. Vincent. According to *Insight* (January 1981) the British "contract also involves the construction of a new coast guard base and the refitting and arming of three shrimp trawlers which will be used for permanent off-shore surveillance duties."

Crude pressures were also exerted by the United States on the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada (PRG). Former US Ambassador Frank Ortiz had told Prime Minister Maurice Bishop that the United States would "view with displeasure any tendency on the part of Grenada to develop closer ties with Cuba." Various attempts have been made to intimidate, harass and isolate Grenada, and even to assassinate the principal leaders of the PRG. At one point President Carter, "seriously considered blockading Grenada after the government of Maurice Bishop began moving conspicuously close to Cuba."¹³

Dr. Richard Feinburg, a State Department Specialist on Latin American affairs, declared in Barbados that if US "vital interests were threatened, the use of military force would become an option."

There was also escalation around the world. According to *Time* magazine (29/10/79):

"At Grafenwohr, West Germany, a US tank battalion roared into combat exercises after having been flown in from Fort Hood, Texas, on a "no notice" emergency drill. At Florida's Eglin Air Force Base, 20,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen prepared to launch "bold Eagle 80", a 8-day manoeuvre to practice coming to the aid of an invaded ally. In the Indian Ocean, a US Navy 7-ship carrier task force joined up with a 5-ship Middle East force to show the flag."

On December 10, 1979, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) decided to deploy in Western Europe nuclear delivery vehicles, and about 600 medium-range Pershing-2 and Tomahawk cruise missiles. The main merit of the cruise missile is its accuracy and undetectability; as it flies at low altitude and is relatively small, radar detection is very difficult.

¹³ Robert Manning, *South*, London January 1981, p 26.

According to Richard J. Barnet, a leading US military expert, "the introduction of the cruise missile opens the way to deliver a virtually limitless number of nuclear warheads on the Soviet Union from forward bases surrounding its territory."

As regards undetectability, the *Stuttgarter Zeitung* on March 29, 1981 wrote: "At present, there is no defense against the low-flying cruise missiles which cannot be spotted either before launching or during flight."

*The excuse for upsetting the balance of military forces in Europe was "Soviet military superiority" and the "Soviet menace."*¹⁴

With the reactivation of the cold war, the "military temperature" "The decision to upgrade," wrote Newsweek (26/11/79), "the alliance's (NATO) tactical nuclear weapons represented a major success for US diplomacy and a setback element in European public opinion favouring more accommodation with the Soviet Union."

Familiar cold war moves were again undertaken: the US Ambassador was recalled from Moscow; the Soviet Union was forced to reduce its diplomatic staff in the USA; a 17 million ton sale of wheat was stopped; SALT II was withdrawn from the Senate floor; computer and other technology sales were shelved; Soviet airlines – Aeroflot was banned from entering the United States; the Moscow Olympics was boycotted. The US-China axis was to be strengthened. Pakistan, with a bloody dictator seeking to manufacture the nuclear bomb, would be armed to the teeth. And the reactionary feudal elements of Afghanistan would be fully supported. The emphasis shifted from the "dovish" Cyrus Vance/Andrew Young to the "hawkish" Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Ostensibly, the Carter Administration resorted to the cold war measures because of Soviet "intervention" in Afghanistan. But according to R. Johansen: "Twelve months before the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan, President Carter said 'our goal' is to increase the real level of defense expenditures."¹⁵

¹⁴ According to *NATO review* (February 1/1980), official organ of the Alliance, the Warsaw Pact forces amounted to 90% of NATO forces, and 50% of the combined forces of NATO and China.

¹⁵ R. Johansen, *Jimmy Carter's National Security Policy: A World Order Critique, World Order Models Project*, Paper Number Fourteen, New York 1980 p. 5.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

The Reagan Administration, which represents the most aggressive¹, reactionary, arch-imperialist and some fascist-minded elements in the USA, charged that US foreign policy was in disarray and reverted to the worst days of the "cold war". President Carter's policies were deemed "soft", and his administration was blamed for sacrificing US vital interests – alienating "allies" with a human rights "crusade"; permitting the fall of "friends" like the Shah of Iran and Somoza of Nicaragua; signing the Carter-Torrijos Treaties of 1978 (concerning the Panama Canal); making an accommodation with the Soviet Union and encouraging a receptive US attitude towards pro-socialist models of political and economic development; fraternising with and cuddling socialists and "terrorists"; cancelling sea-air military manoeuvres "Solid Shield '80" in the Caribbean after protests by Panama's President Omar Torrijos and others; retreating on the production of the neutron bomb; being indecisive and weak on the seizure of US hostages by the Khomeini government.

*The Reaganites clamoured for a "get tough" policy. Peace must be obtained with honour, they claimed. They called for a strategy of "peace through strength" aimed at "overall military and technical superiority over the Soviet Union"*². *They reverted to the "brinkmanship"*³ *of the Dulles' era and interventionism*⁴ *of the*

¹ George Bush became Vice-President after openly stating his belief that a nuclear war could in some sense be won (*Daily World*, 11 September, 1981). Alexander Haig became Secretary of State with a record of major responsibility for the bombing of Hanoi and the mining of Haiphong Harbour, a most vociferous advocate of the "secret" invasion of Kampuchea (Cambodia), illegal wiretapping of State Department personnel and reporters. According to Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein in their book "The Final Days": "Kissinger regarded himself as a conservative in foreign policy, but Haig, he observed, was a right-winger." *Daily World*, January 17, 1981).

² Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle*, Latin American Bureau, London, 1982, p. 169.

³ John Foster Dulles' stance of "on the brink of nuclear war".

⁴ American scholars B. Blekman and S. Kaplan counted 215 cases in 30 years (from 1946 to 1975) when the United States threatened to use its armed forces, including 19 cases of nuclear threat (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, March 1979).

1960's. It was not a "Soviet military threat" which was really feared. Actually, historical development had undermined the positions of imperialism nationally and internationally: economic stagnation, inflation, unemployment, increasing debts, loss of markets and the growing independence of the "third world". What was at stake were the raw materials and huge foreign investments⁵, and the vast tribute which was extracted. Profits of US transnational monopolies increased five-fold in the previous decade to \$9,100 million in 1979 when investment was only \$3,700 million, leaving a net outflow of \$5,400 million. Total plunder of the "third world" by world imperialism is estimated at \$120-130,000 million (about one-third of their exports and 8-10% of their GNP), taking into account profits from investments, losses from unequal international trade, the West's protectionist policies, freight, science and technology, brain drain and inflation.

The growing intensity of the national and social liberation revolutions and the volatile situation in the "third world" was posing a grave danger to the profitability and security of those investments. This is what was and is actually feared.

The new foreign policy guidelines were laid down in a classified document *A New Inter-American Policy for the Eighties*, prepared by the Committee of Santa Fé, a group of ultra right-wingers of the Council of Inter-American Security Inc. It declared:

Foreign policy is the instrument by which people seek to assure their survival in a hostile world. War, not peace, is the norm in international affairs. For the United States of America, isolationism is impossible. Containment of the Soviet Union is not enough. Détente is dead. Survival demands a new US foreign policy. America must seize the initiative or perish. For World War III is almost over. The Soviet Union, operating under the cover of increasing nuclear superiority, is strangling the Western industrialized nations by interdicting their oil and ore supplies and is encircling the People's Republic of China. Latin America and Southern Asia are the scenes of strife of the third phase of World War III.

⁵ With the collapse of the old colonialism, the US moved into the "power vacuum". From 1945 to 1980, US private investments increased ten-fold from \$4 billion to \$40 billion. Total investments increased in 1980 in the developing countries by \$18.3 billion, and in the world by \$26.7 billion, making a world total of \$213.5 billion.

*This is the language of the Truman Doctrine. Then, Greece and Turkey were to be "saved"; now, Latin America and Southern Asia must be "saved". Under Truman, "Soviet expansionism" was to be contained; now, "containment of the Soviet Union is not enough". The United States must "seize the initiative" for "an integrated global foreign policy", and "to improve its relative position in all the spheres of influence". A clarion call was sounded for freedom, dignity and national self-respect. "Either a Pax Sovietique or a worldwide counter-projection of American power is in the offing. The hour of decision can no longer be postponed."*⁶

The Santa Fé Committee prepared the ground for an aggravation of international tension and an escalation of the arms race, and for the United States to secure military superiority and to play a dominant geo-political role in the world.

The Reagan Administration, alarmed at the objective laws of social development and progressive changes in the world, resorted to militarism to regain lost positions and to guarantee the further existence of the capitalist system. It greatly increased military expenditure, deemed even in the West as "unprecedented" and "the vastest and most expensive"; and unleashed an unbridled arms race to become the world policeman, to stop national liberation and social emancipation, and to create the prerequisites for a struggle to destroy socialism as a socio-economic system.

President Reagan exhorted: "Let us stop hesitating! Let us go to our strength!", and pushed the USA in the direction of a national security state. Reminiscent of Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, he told the British parliament in mid-1982 that the world was divided between two forces: the "totalitarian forces" responsible for all of humanity's conflicts and troubles; and the "freedom forces", which included the "non-Marxist West".

Alexander Haig, former US Secretary of State, vowed to "oppose bloodshed and so-called wars of national liberation"⁷. U.S. Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger declared that "if the movement from 'cold war' to détente is progress", then the USA "cannot afford such progress." The National Security Council's chief expert

⁶ The Committee of Santa Fé, *A New Inter-American Policy For The Eighties*, Council for Inter-American Security, Inc., Washington D.C. p. 2.

⁷ Tom Morris, *Canadian Tribune*, February 1, 1982, p. 3

on the Soviet Union, Richard P. Pipes, told a reporter that "détente is dead"⁸.

General Robert L. Schweitzer, top military officer on the National Security Council staff, in a rabble-rousing speech to the Association of the United States Army, said that the Soviet Union had already out-flanked the United States on land and sea and in the air: "The Soviets are on the move.... They are going to strike."⁹

These belligerent statements had the ring of the Nazis to "protect" and "free the world from the communist threat." They led to \$32,600 million more being added to President Carter's military budgets for fiscal years 1981 and 1982. For the five-year 1981-86 period, military expenditure would be: 1981/82 - \$226,000 million, 1982/83 - \$225,000 million, 1983/84 - \$299,000 million, 1984/85 - \$342,000 million, 1985/86 - \$378,000 million - a total of \$1,500 billion¹⁰, nearly as much as was spent during the previous twelve years.

The extra \$32,600 million allocated in the 1981 and 1982 budgets would be for heavy equipment, shipbuilding, military pay and benefits, new manned bombers, rapid deployment forces and strategic nuclear forces, including the Trident, Cruise and Minutemen missiles. The "rapid deployment forces", now increased to 300,000 men, combine the crack military forces of the army, marine corps, air force and navy with the most sophisticated equipment.

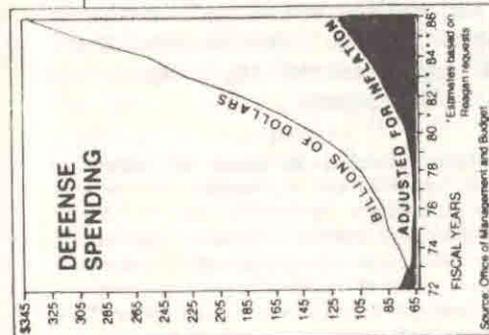
The first priority of US global military strategy for the 1980's is based on a major nuclear war in Europe against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in Europe. The second priority is a major nuclear war against the revolutionary-democratic Arab nations, Afghanistan, Iran and Syria in the area of the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. And there will be "little" wars: "brush-fire" battles against Lebanon, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, etc.

According to *Newsweek* (June 8, 1981), Pentagon officials claimed: "We are taking the prospect of war seriously." Consequently, Washington has decided on an accelerated

⁸ *Newsweek*, November 2, 1981, p. 12

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ According to *Newsweek*, "Defense spending of similar magnitude during the Vietnam war sowed the seeds of an inflation that still haunts the nation."



WHAT THE NEW BILLIONS WILL BUY

The Reagan Administration added \$32.6 billion to the Carter budgets for fiscal years 1981 and 1982. Only \$5.8 billion will be spent initially, but the rest will be committed for spending in future years. A sampling of what the \$32.6 billion will buy



\$3.7 SHIPBUILDING

To begin building up the fleet from 456 ships to 600—including a \$658 million down payment on a new Nimitz-class aircraft carrier



\$2.5 RAPID DEPLOYMENT FORCES

Including improved air and sea/air facilities in Kenya, Oman and Diego Garcia



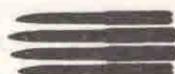
\$2.4 NEW MANNED BOMBER

Design still undecided



\$15.7 HEAVY EQUIPMENT

- 2 AWACS early-warning planes
- 6 KC-10 aerial refueling tankers
- 80 A-10 anti-tank aircraft
- 18 more Black Hawk troop-carrying helicopters
- 6 more carrier-based F-14 Tomcats
- 12 more F-18 fighters for Navy and Marine
- 12 more F-15 fighters
- 25 more F-16 fighters
- 40 more Tomahawk cruise missiles
- 236 more Army infantry fighting vehicles
- 360 more M-1 tanks



\$3.1 STRATEGIC NUCLEAR FORCES

Includes additional funds for the Trident, cruise and Minuteman missiles

In billions of dollars

\$3.5 MILITARY PAY AND BENEFITS

Including a military pay raise scheduled for Oct. 1



Source: Department of Defense

programme of nuclear and other weaponry and military bases overseas.

Prior to the late 1960's, US policy relied mainly on "forward basing" – large concentration of US troops overseas. But as a result of heavy cost and objections from progressive forces, the concept of "strategic mobility" was embraced and emphasis was shifted to "rapid deployment forces" within the United States, and to the production of highly sophisticated, particularly nuclear, weaponry. Another reason for the shift to highly technological means of waging war, with preference for active economic warfare backed by passive nuclear retaliatory threats, was the poor ideological motivation of the ordinary soldier; he was not prepared, particularly after the Vietnam war, to die to bring greater glory and super-profits to the military-industrial complex and the transnational monopolies.

A vast ideological and psychological warfare was mounted to carry through an anti-people rearmament and "bases strategy". Through misinformation, war hysteria, chauvinism and militaristic sentiments are whipped up, based on anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, about myths of a "worldwide conspiracy", "a world communist threat", "Soviet designs" and quest for "world domination", "red militarism", and a "Soviet war danger"¹¹.

At the same time, to create a kind of "public apathy" about basic current questions, to undermine the anti-war movement and to prepare public opinion for a "guns before butter" and anti-trade union policy and further economic hardships, and the inevitability of a "future war", myths are created about "windows of vulnerability" of the US war machine and about "strategic inferiority" in the military sphere. Thus, the climate is created for disrupting the once recognised¹² approximate military-strategic equality (parity) between the two social systems.

¹¹ Senator William Proxmire used strong language to describe CIA reports as statistical mirage, rubbish, nonsense, fake and fraud. He charged that those wanting a further inflation of military expenditures by the USA and NATO were following the recommendation of John Foster Dulles: "To make a nation bear the burden of keeping powerful armed forces, you have to create a semblance of a threat from outside."

¹² Western leaders, including US Presidents from Nixon to Carter, former West German Chancellor Schmidt and others, had recognised the existence of parity. But the US militarist "Committee on the Present Danger" in 1979, though admitting "parity in essence" between the USA and the USSR, alleged that the correlation of forces was changing in favour of the Soviet Union.

Propaganda is geared not only to discredit existing socialism and to concentrate on the "contestations", "shortcomings" and "difficulties" in the USSR, including attacks on the Soviet economic system and speculations about an alleged "crisis" of the Soviet economy, but also to convince world public opinion that the very idea of détente "has no prospects", that it is a "natural measure" to embark on a "strategic modernisation programme" in the face of a "Soviet threat"; that a nuclear war is "admissible", "winnable" and "survivable"; that a "limited" nuclear war will bring an easy victory over the enemy. And casting itself as the hero-nation and the Soviet Union as the villain-nation, the United States takes on the role of a crusader with a sacred goal of saving mankind from communism¹³. President Reagan, addressing the convention of evangelical Christians in March 1983, said that Soviet communism was "the focus of evil in the modern world" and pleaded with them not to remove themselves "from the struggle between right and wrong, good and evil".

This provided for a dramatic expansion of the existing arsenal of weaponry and for the development of qualitatively new arms. On August 6, 1981, thirty-six years to the day after the first US atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, President Reagan decided on the full-scale production of the neutron bomb. Generally, this heinous weapon is passed off in the West as "clean" and "humane". But Soviet scientist, Academician Alexander Bayev, debunks this lie. He pointed out: "The US Administration maintains that the explosion of a neutron bomb is virtually unaccompanied by radioactive contamination of the area of the blast. This is not so: neutron radiation interacts with soil, street and road pavement, walls of buildings and steel structures and causes induced radiation. It remains there for a long time, thus complicating the task of medical aid to the victims of a neutron bomb explosion."¹⁴

Provision was made also for designing, building and adopting

¹³ According to Jerry Falwell, the Moral Majority's foremost evangelist, who has the ear of President Reagan and about 400 TV stations and millions of listeners: "America has received a mission from God, that of guiding the world. They have failed in their task because of secular humanists (sic), teachers and communists involved in pornography. America must thus return to the 'Jude-Christian' ethic, common decency and the quest for greatness." (*New Perspectives*, 3/82, p. 16 – "Transnationals and Contradiction in US Foreign Policy", G.A. Astre.

¹⁴ *Tass*, August 31, 1981

for service 100 strategic B-1 bombers at a cost of \$200 million each; deploying 100 new intercontinental MX ballistic missiles in combat positions, capable of travelling 8,000 miles and dropping warheads within 100 yards of target; and embarking on a massive naval ship-building programme at an increased cost by 180 per cent, from less than \$7 billion in 1980 to \$12 billion in 1983.

By 1985, 13 Trident submarines are expected to be ready for service at a cost of \$1.5 billion each. They will operate in every part of the world's oceans, and deliver first strikes with the advantage of surprise. Each submarine will be equipped with 24 Trident missiles, with every missile tipped with at least 14 nuclear warheads. Each of the submarines will be able to destroy 336 specific targets, and the entire fleet, 4,368. With a maximum capability of 23 nuclear warheads per missile, the targets could be increased to 576 and 7,488 respectively.

Speaking about the desire for preponderant naval power, particularly for the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, deemed an "area of vital interest", Caspar Weinburger declared on March 4, 1981:

This is not an area in which the terms equivalence or parity or such other formulations have any meaning. We must have naval superiority.

According to *Time* magazine, February 18, 1980: "We have the preponderance of power." A senior Pentagon official, referring to a potential US-Soviet naval clash in the now strategically critical Indian Ocean, said that so far US Navy Task Force 70 "clearly rules the Indian Ocean's waves."¹⁵

The global "Shield-81" exercises by the US Strategic Air Command, involving 100,000 personnel, 800 combat aircraft and numerous support units, were carried out "to make a comprehensive check on US nuclear weapon carriers and their ability to deal a lightning blow to the enemy".¹⁶ This was in fulfillment of President Carter's directives, particularly PD-59 about "limited" nuclear war, deemed by the world press as "nuclear madness directives."

¹⁵ The Soviet Navy appeared in the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean only after NATO fleets with nuclear weapons capable of striking targets within the Soviet Union had been deployed

¹⁶ *Pravda*, January 30, 1981

In early 1981, former US Secretary of State Haig, asked about the use of nuclear weapons, told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "In the atomic age there are things worth fighting for. Our deterrence will only be credible if we are seen to be willing to use our power, including nuclear power."¹⁷ Recognising the trauma in the American psyche and the resultant paralysis from the Vietnam experience, he urged: "We've got to shed the sack cloth and ashes of our Southeast Asian involvement."¹⁸ Later, Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that NATO's military plans envisaged a possibility of a so-called "warning nuclear blast" in Europe. As a result of sharp protests, especially from the public in Europe, Defense Secretary Weinburger declared that no such plan existed, although he did not rule out that the US could be the first to use nuclear weapons. Asked for a clarification about the divergent positions, White House spokesmen said neither Haig nor Weinburger had made errors in their statements!

And President Reagan actually in late 1981 spoke about the possibility of waging a limited nuclear war in Europe without its spreading to the United States. After a storm of protest, the White House and the State Department claimed that the President's statement had been "misrepresented".

In late 1982, however, the *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Robert Sheer (reprinted in the *International Herald Tribune* on August 16, 1982) exposed a Pentagon plan, awaiting final presidential approval, "to give the US the capability of winning a protracted nuclear war with the Soviet Union." This was a move away from the current nuclear war doctrine based on the deterrent concept of "Mutually Assured Destruction" (MAD) – the power to launch a devastating retaliatory strike in answer to an imaginary Soviet nuclear attack – to the new concept that a nuclear war is winnable. "At the end," Sheer continued, President Reagan's National Security Council personnel "believe one side could emerge victorious with enough of its resources and population to begin again."¹⁹ Robert Sheer went on to point out that Colin Gray, a leading advocate of a protracted nuclear war strategy, who was appointed by Reagan to the advisory board for the Arms Control and

¹⁷ Quoted by Alfred Dewhurst, *Canadian Tribune*, October 26, 1981, p. 5

¹⁸ *The People's World* (USA), January 17, 1981

¹⁹ *Morning Star* (Britain), September 15, 1982, p. 1

Disarmament Agency, was a co-author of an article in *Foreign Affairs* which argued that "Washington should identify war aims that in the last resort would contemplate the destruction of Soviet political authority and the emergence of a post-war world order compatible with Western values..."²⁰

Defense Secretary Weinburger said the report about a US plan for a winnable protracted (up to six months) war was "completely inaccurate". However, he went on to claim that the Soviet Union was preparing for such a war, and "we must take the steps necessary to match the Soviet Union's greatly improved nuclear capability". The Defense Secretary produced no evidence of so-called Soviet superiority. This has been repeatedly exposed as a fraud. As far back as May 1977, George McGovern had ridiculed the so-called "gaps". He had then written in the *Progressive*:

The hucksters of security gaps have been with us for years. In the early 1950s we were told of a "bomber gap". We later learned it was a myth, but nonetheless we beefed up our B-47 and B-52 forces. From 1957 to 1961 there were leaks of secret studies pointing to a "missile gap". It was also a myth, but nonetheless we vastly expanded the deployment of Minuteman missiles. In the 1960s there were civil defence and ABM "gaps", and we launched programs in those areas - only to realize they were largely worthless.²¹

According to *The Defense Monitor*¹ (Vol. IX, No. 8, 1980), President Gerald Ford on April 9, 1976 had stated:

Now, I know some questions have been raised about whether we are strong as the Russians. The Soviet Union has a 1000 mile or more border with the People's Republic of China and they have at least half of their forces on that border.... In addition, the Soviet Union has to face the NATO forces to the west, so they have two borders that they have to man fully, completely, totally.... We, the United States, have friendly relations with the Canadians on the one hand and the Mexicans on the other, so we don't have to have half of our military forces on either the northern or southern border.

²⁰ *Daily World*, September 15, 1982, p. 11

²¹ Quoted by Fred Weir, "Who Leads The Arms Race", *Canadian Tribune*, February 1, 1982, p. 5.

Later, on July 16, 1981, George F. Kennan, veteran statesman and former US ambassador to the Soviet Union, in the *New York Review* of July 16, 1981, had written:

Let us not confuse the question by blaming it all on our Soviet adversaries... we must remember that it has been we Americans who, at almost every step of the road have taken the lead in the development of (nuclear) weaponry. It was we who first produced and tested such a device; we who were the first to raise its destructiveness to a new level with the hydrogen bomb; we who introduced the multiple warhead; we who have declined every proposal for the renunciation of the principle of "first use"; and we alone, so help us God, who have used the weapon in anger against others, and against tens of thousands of helpless noncombatants at that.²²

In the spring 1982 session, the EEC members in the NATO Council adopted the militarist programmes of the US hawks, including the deployment in 1983 of 572 Cruise and Pershing-11 missiles in Great Britain, the FRG, Italy, the Netherlands and Belgium. "With them we will be able to win nuclear war," said Caspar Weinburger²³. According to one commentator, "we are moving from Hiroshima to Euroshima." Economic sanctions were imposed against the Soviet Union and Poland. And to keep the West European countries in a state of strategic energy dependency on the United States, they were pressured not to proceed with the gas pipeline deal with the Soviet Union (the EEC countries' supply of pipeline in exchange for Soviet gas).

The Reagan administration is also militarising space. The Columbia shuttle will become the primary carrier of weapons in space. It is planned to develop anti-missile laser weapons which will be deployed on platforms in space. This is deemed necessary for a protracted nuclear war. It violates the 1967 treaty signed by the USA and the USSR to ban nuclear weapons in space.

In order to assist US ground, air and naval forces in support of its interests all over the world, the United States established globally a vast system of overseas military bases and rights of access to foreign bases. The US currently maintains some 300 elaborate

²² Fred Weir, *op. cit.*

²³ *The Global Military Buildup Threatens All Humanity*, World Peace Council, Helsinki, p. 6

U.S. TROOPS OVERSEAS

Pentagon Data

Total: 502,600

Change in 1980: + 22,100

Countries	Present Level	Change in 1980
<i>Europe</i>		
West Germany	244,300	+ 5,100
Britain	24,300	+ 1,300
Italy	11,900	+ 200
Spain	9,000	+ 300
Turkey	5,300	+ 400
Greece	4,400	+ 1,100
Iceland	2,900	
Holland	2,600	+ 400
Belgium	2,100	+ 100
Portugal	1,400	
Other countries	1,200	+ 400
Sixth Fleet	22,300	- 2,700
Total	331,700	+ 6,600
<i>THE PACIFIC AND THE FAR EAST</i>		
Japan	46,000	- 200
South Korea	38,800	- 200
Philippines	13,400	- 700
Guam I.	9,100	+ 300
Australia	600	-
Midway I.	500	-
Other areas	500	+ 200
Seventh Fleet	15,500	- 6,400
Total	124,400	- 7,000
<i>LATIN AMERICA</i>		
Panama Canal Zone	9,000	- 300
Puerto Rico	3,700	+ 200
Guantanamo	2,200	
Total	14,900	- 100
<i>OTHER REGIONS</i>		
Bermudas	1,400	- 100
Diego Garica	1,400	+ 300
Egypt	500	+ 400
Saudi Arabia	800	+ 300
Canada	700	-
Others	5,300	+ 3,500
Navy	21,500	+ 18,000
Total	31,600	+ 22,600

land, air and naval bases as well as approximately 2,000 more military facilities around the world, manned by 502,600 troops, one-fourth of the country's armed forces. The network has been greatly expanded in the last three decades. While the US had only three bases in the '20s (Guantanamo in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone), it had established bases in 39 countries at the time of NATO's formation in 1949 and a military presence in 68 countries by 1968. As of 1980, the number of countries with American bases was over 110.

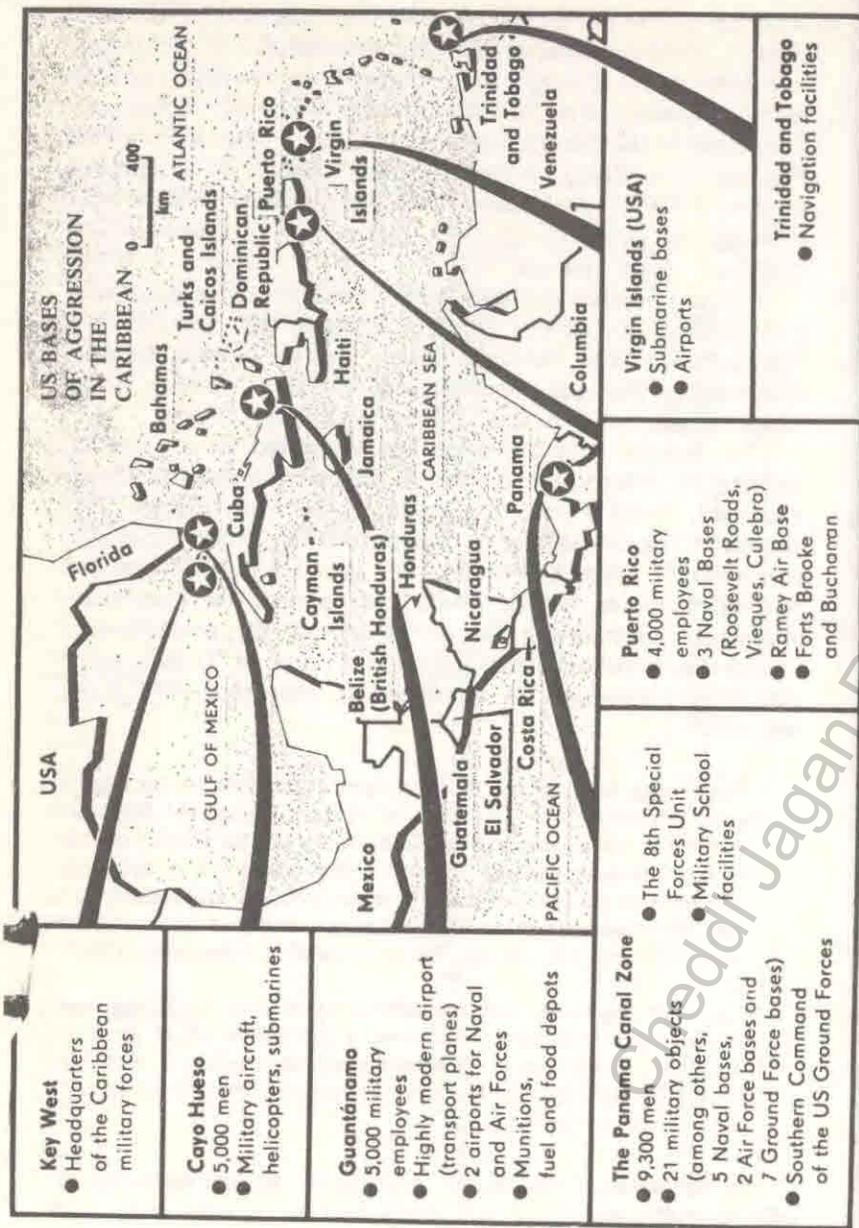
Billions of dollars are being spent for the feverish expansion of the network of military bases in Great Britain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Spain, West Germany, Japan, Kenya, Bahrain, Somalia, Guantanamo Bay and elsewhere; and for new bases in Israel, Egypt, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Djibouti and Diego Garcia.

The Reagan administration also embarked on a policy of cuddling the most brutal, dictatorial and fascist regimes in Chile, Paraguay, South Korea, Guatemala, El Salvador, Pakistan and elsewhere. The rationale for this was provided by United States UN representative Jeane Kirkpatrick. She turned historical facts and scientific analyses upside down, and provided the ideological-intellectual underpinning for an attack on the revolutionary-democratic, socialist-oriented and socialist states. In "Dictatorships And Double Standards" in *Commentary*, November 1979, p. 44, she wrote:

The foreign policy of the Carter administration fails not for lack of good intentions but for lack of realism about the nature of traditional versus revolutionary autocracies and the relation of each to the American national interest.... that traditional authoritarian governments are less repressive than revolutionary autocracies, that they are more susceptible of liberalization, and that they are more compatible with US interests. The evidence of all these points is clear enough.

There are, however, systemic differences between traditional and revolutionary autocracies that have a predictable effect on their degree of repressiveness. Generally speaking, traditional autocrats tolerate social inequities, brutality, and poverty while revolutionary autocracies create them.

In the name of "defending democracy" against terrorism or alleged communist subversion, Kirkpatrick is prepared to link the



liberal bourgeois-democratic states with the outright fascist and military-dictatorial states and their torture and death squads as in Chile, Uruguay, Guatemala, El Salvador, South Korea, Turkey, South Africa, etc. She fails to see the interconnection and interaction between economics and politics, that imperialist-imposed economic strategies and pro-imperialist domestic and foreign policies lead in the direction not only of capitalist dependency and economic stagnation, but also to denial of human rights, death of democracy and the establishment of a "national security" state, under which communism becomes the internal enemy. Indeed, Kirkpatrick fails to realise that this process, resulting from the ties of dependency between the "third world" and the developed capitalist states, can lead to an erosion of liberal bourgeois democracy itself. As Henry Salvatori, an early backer of Reagan's political career and member of his Kitchen Cabinet, put it: "We have to have a new consensus. We have to cement together a sense of social order. In the history of man, everyone has talked about expanding rights, having more and more freedom. But we have found that if you let people do what they want to do, you have chaos. We can't restore moral values, that's hopeless. What we have to do is restructure society, get minimum standards of respect and order. Frankly we need a more authoritarian state."²⁴

And Caspar Weinburger, in an emotional outburst of ignorance of all the tenets of political economy, told the Council of Foreign Relations in New York on April 20, 1982, that the Soviet Union was "now the only imperialist power in the world."²⁵ He cited "Soviet's continued occupation of Eastern Europe and recent intimidation in Poland as well as expansionism in Cuba, Vietnam, the Congo, Korea, Afghanistan, South Yemen, Ethiopia and Angola,"

²⁴ Cited by NACLA, *Reagan Policy in Crisis: Will the Empire Strike Back*, July-August 1981, p. 10

²⁵ USICA feature May 5, 1982, p. 1

In order to determine what is, and what is not an imperialist power it is necessary to refer to Lenin's definition of imperialism formulated in mid-1917 in his famous work *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*: "Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among international trusts has begun, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." (Lenin *Collected Works*, Vol. 22, pp. 266-267)

and said that the United States must be "in a position to respond to aggression effectively where our vital interests are concerned."²⁶

This is the language of the Truman Doctrine, and the expressed intention to "liberate" the "captive states". This means military and economic support to puppet states to prop them up and to use them as "clients" and "proxies" to protect US "vital interests". Whenever it becomes necessary, there are outright threats: "cheaper crude or no more food".

In the Far East, the New Pacific Doctrine, proclaimed by President Ford in 1975 that stability in Southeast Asia would depend on US political and economic presence, was strengthened. To the ANZUS military bloc of the USA, New Zealand and Australia, and the Japanese-American Defense System was added the tripartite military-political alliance embracing Japan, the USA and China.

In a Japanese war department document "Japan's Defense", the US term "Soviet threat" has been replaced by the more vague "Soviet challenge". Tokyo and Washington are bent on controlling South-East Asia. And Japan wants to extend its zone of "defensive" operations for at least a thousand miles from the Japanese shores.

The United States signed a military and technical cooperation agreement with China and continues its attacks against Vietnam and Kampuchea. Instead of withdrawing its troops from South Korea over a period of four-five years, as was announced in 1977, it (the US) has increased the strength of its forces to 40,000 troops, while maintaining numerous military installations, including airfields, testing ranges, communications centres, and various storage depots for nuclear warheads.

Attempts are also being made to lure the "ASEAN countries" into a "Pacific Community", the South-East Treaty Organisation (SEATO) having collapsed. The United States wants the group of five countries to participate in military games together with its 7th Fleet. In September 1982, President Ferdinand Marcos visited Washington. He and wife Imelda were deemed "useful but embarrassing allies" by *The New York Times* (September 15, 1982). He is useful because his government provides important naval and air bases to the United States; and "embarrassing" because

although in 1981 Vice-President Bush had hailed his "adherence to democratic principles", he rules dictatorially by military power.

Washington is arming Pakistan, as a substitute for Iran under the Shah, to make it its tool in the vast area of South and South-West Asia, the Near East and the Indian Ocean basin. In return for pledges to provide the Pentagon with military bases, specifically a naval base in the port of Gwadar and an airbase in Peshawar for its "rapid deployment forces", Pakistani military dictator Zia Ul-Haq, after rejecting what was termed "peanuts", was given in mid-1981 a US\$3.5 billion military aid package. A later agreement in December 1981 provided for the supply of 40 F-16 fighter bombers, valued at US\$1.1 billion. Pakistan is also feverishly working on the creation of its own nuclear weapons. All this arsenal is intended to maintain political power in Islamabad, threaten the national liberation movements in the region, and destabilise non-aligned India, which is regarded as an enemy.

Efforts are made to "teach India lessons". According to the well-informed weekly Link, the hotheads in Washington worked out a plan of a territorial division of India so that it "should cease to exist as an independent multinational state by the end of this century." To this end, subversive activities are carried out by the CIA in the state of Punjab, where separatist elements, who work for this state's secession from India, are financed. The situation in the north-east of the country is unquiet, too. Foreign agents, acting together with the American secret services, support all kinds of separatist groups by supplying them with money and weapons.²⁷

Pakistan, with US prodding and help, is also expanding the scope of the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. US representative to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, made it clear that a settlement of the situation around Afghanistan is "unacceptable to the United States". To bring down the revolutionary-democratic government in Kabul, the Pentagon is also giving massive assistance to the Afghan counter-revolutionaries based in Pakistan – US\$93 million in 1982, more than a 100% increase over the 1981 figure.

Discussions took place in September 1982 between the US State Department and the military junta of Turkey for the modernisation of its forces – Turkey, which had carried out genocidal at-

²⁶ Caspar Weinberger's 1980 income was \$1,150,000 including \$469,466 as an executive of Bechtel Power Corporation; assets – \$ 1,312,000; liabilities – \$275,000.

²⁷ *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, September 15, 1982.

tacks against the Greek population of Cyprus, and maintains a brutal dictatorship.

The USA stages demonstrations of military force off the coasts of independent states in the Indian Ocean Area. It has built a military base on Diego Garcia and is setting up a giant arsenal of nuclear, neutron and chemical weapons there, and has unilaterally halted the talks with the Soviet Union on limiting the military activity in the region.

A Memorandum on Mutual Understanding in the Field of Strategic Cooperation of November 30, 1981, was another step in the direction of a military pact between the USA and Zionist-racist Israel. It followed on the process started by the notorious Camp David agreement, which was to usher in an "era of peace" and "prosperity" in the Middle East.

Us imperialism sees in Israel a strategic outpost. "We regard Israel," said President Reagan, "as an ally in the search for regional stability." According to *Time* (July 13, 1981):

But the Reagan administration also views Israel as a strategic asset as former Secretary of State Haig put it, in forming a bulwark in the Middle East against Soviet influence, an aim that concerns the Reagan administration more than reviving the Camp David talks about Palestinian autonomy.

President Reagan's decision to maintain Israel's qualitative-technological superiority while at the same time denying any change in US policy caused dismay in Arab circles. Even King Hussein of Jordan, an ally of the West, was infuriated with Israel's aggressiveness and US complicity. In an outburst he remarked: "Israel is the US and the US is Israel. That is the reality." The Israelis operate under "your American protection, your armaments, your material resources"²⁸. How do you expect us to be tolerant?"²⁹

²⁸ US government annual assistance to Israel amounts to \$2.7 billion, almost one quarter of all US foreign aid. Israel is pressing for a new supply of tanks and ammunition and cluster bombs to replace those used in the destruction of Beirut, and for an increased subsidy to meet the estimated \$4.8 billion cost of the Lebanon war. (*Express*, Tobago, September 8, 1982, p. 23).

²⁹ *Time*, July 20, 1981, p. 20

The Memorandum of cooperation provided for joint military exercises, deployment of US weapons in Israel, and a NATO "multilateral force" in the Sinai, and Israeli support for the US Rapid Deployment Force, and hospital services for US troops wounded in service.

After the signing of the cooperation agreement, Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman, said: "Israel is preparing for a major operation against us. Begin took his blueprint with him to Washington. The Middle East today is looking down the barrel of a gun, and the US has its finger on the trigger."

As predicted, the Memorandum gave Israel the green light to commit further acts of aggression apart from the annexation of Eastern Jerusalem, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights, and the bombardment with the most sophisticated US weapons of the civil nuclear research centre in Iraq. It waged a barbaric, genocidal war against Lebanon³⁰, like the Auschwitz genocide, and sanctioned the Rosh Hashonab massacre of thousands in the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian refugee camps.

The genocidal war was intended to crush the left-wing Lebanese militia allied to the PLO and make Lebanon into a client state, to destroy³¹ the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and to disperse the Palestinian people. According to the *Trinidad Express*, July 10, 1982, *Washington Times* White House correspondent Jeremiah O'Leary asked a White House official whether the Reagan administration wanted the Palestinian guerilla forces to go to several countries; he replied: "Right, break them up." Philip Habib, US special envoy to the Middle East, accomplished this task for imperialism-zionism.

By dispersing the PLO forces and massacring the Palestinian people, it is hoped to settle the Middle East's gravest problem not on the basis of a homeland for the Palestinian nation in accordance

³⁰ President Reagan, in his address to the British parliament in June 1982, justified the Israeli attack on Lebanon on the ground that it was necessary "to work to stamp out the scourge of terrorism that makes war in the Middle East an ever present threat".

³¹ A one-time State Department Director of Caribbean Affairs, now US Ambassador to Jamaica, in applying pressure on Caribbean states declared that the United States would frown on any support for the PLO: "We feel that the PLO does not represent any country or nation. I think we would be disappointed" (if the Caribbean supported the PLO).

with UN resolutions, but within the framework of the Camp David thesis of autonomy. In this, the strategic aim of US imperialism and Israeli zionism is the same; the difference between them is merely tactical.

At the same time, the imperialists and zionists plan to destroy the Arab national liberation movement³², affect the national independence of the Arab states, bring them one at a time within the Camp David Agreement, and convert the Middle East into an energy source for the West and a military bridgehead of US imperialism. For tactical reasons, the US from time to time puts on the garb of "peacemaker" and admonishes Israel for its aggression, crimes and bloodshed. But it continues to give military and economic aid to the genocidal Begin regime despite the fact that US law forbids the use of aid for purposes of aggression. Horror has been expressed over the massacres only because the credibility of the United States in the Arab world and its overall Mideast and world hegemonist aims are imperilled by the excesses of the Begin regime. No effective steps were taken to curb Begin's genocidal attempts to wipe out the Palestinian people. On September 16, 1982, the Washington Post reported:

US officials refused, in the face of repeated questioning, to criticise the movements of Israeli troops into West Beirut or to insist on their quick withdrawal.³³

The US bears full responsibility for the massacre which was a logical outcome of Camp David. The PLO sought guarantees for the safety of the civilians as a condition for withdrawal. After the withdrawal of the PLO, the Israeli army violated the terms of the Habib agreement, and the US-controlled peace-keeping force was withdrawn. No wonder the Arab Foreign Ministers' emergency session in Tunis declared that the massacre had been possible only because of US "material, moral, military and political support for Israel."³⁴

³² In the senseless Iraq-Iran war, the USA supplied arms to Iraq while Israel rendered military supplies to Iran with the strategic aim that both anti-imperialist countries would exhaust and possibly destroy themselves. Up to July 1983, the war was costing US\$3 m per day.

³³ *Daily World*, September 26, 1981, p. 8

³⁴ *Morning Star*, September 23, 1982, p. 1

And to continue its old policy, the United States refuses to convene the Geneva Conference under the co-chairmanship of both the USA and the USSR, and to accept a UN enlarged peace-keeping force in the Lebanon. Instead, the US-controlled NATO force with troops from the USA, UK, France and Italy is once again put into the area. And sophisticated weaponry and ammunition continue to be supplied not only to maintain Israeli superiority, but also for Israel to supply military hardware to South Africa, Zaire, Guatemala, El Salvador, and some other Latin American states, particularly when for human rights violations and other reasons it is not convenient for the United States to do so directly. Ex-Chief of Staff General Garcia of Guatemala commended Israel for its "gigantic job" for his country's armed forces.

Zionist-imperialist designs also include making Israel into a "regional metropolis", with the Arab states as suppliers of cheap raw materials and labour. The Israeli "metropolis" will control the economy and financial institutions of the region, and monopolise trade with the rest of the world.

The United States is also trying to establish a Middle East Treaty Organisation (METO) based on Israel and Egypt to replace the defunct Baghdad Pact and Central Treaty Organisation.

Saudi Arabia has been sold AWACS radar planes and other advanced military equipment to the value of \$8.3 billion. To allay the fears and objections of Israel, the United States declared that the highly sophisticated AWACS would be under the control of US personnel. And the vassal nature of the feudal Saudi Arabian state was underlined by President Reagan. According to *Time* magazine of October 12, 1982, he declared:

I have to say Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran.... There's no way we could stand by and see that takeover by anyone that would shut off that oil.

This exposes the hypocrisy of US concern for democracy, respect for sovereignty and non-intervention. It makes ludicrous the assertions of President Reagan in support of Britain in the Falklands (Malvinas) war on the ground that young Britons "fight for a cause, for the belief that armed aggression must not be allowed to succeed, and that people must participate in the decisions of government under the rule of law."

At the same time, US military-political pressures have been stepped up against Libya. These include manoeuvres of the US 6th Fleet in Libyan territorial waters, the shooting down of two Libyan planes in the Gulf of Sidra, US embargo on Libyan oil and withdrawal of US technicians. After these encounters, one US official was quoted by the August 31, 1981, issue of *US News and World Report* as saying: "Ghadafi has got to be reined in: I'm not sure he's not like a cancer - that you can't cure unless you cut it out.... the latest incident will not be the last and that the next confrontation will even be rougher - and more dangerous."³⁵

Pressures have been mounted because, after its revolution of 1969, Libya nationalised oil and dismantled the largest US base in the Mediterranean, the Wheelusfield; condemned the Camp David Accord and the granting of bases to the USA by other states; strongly supports the PLO; consistently exposes US imperialist designs, and works for the unity of all progressive anti-imperialist forces in the region, such as the trilateral alliance between Ethiopia, Democratic Yemen and herself. Because of its firm anti-imperialist position, the holding of the Summit Conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Tripoli, which would have conferred the chairmanship of the Organisation on the Libyan Jamahiriya, was sabotaged on two occasions.

Had the OAU conference been held in 1982, important questions would have been dealt with, such as the independence to Namibia without the linkage proposed by the United States that independence would depend on the departure of Cuban troops from Angola³⁶; attacks against Angola with the aim of putting the US and South African puppet Savimbi in power in Luanda or at least in the southern part of the country; the Israeli aggression against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and imperialism's attempts to get African states to renew diplomatic relations³⁷ with Israel as the puppet regime in Zaire did in 1982; the conflicts in Chad and

³⁵ Conn Halliman, *Daily World*, September 12, 1981.

³⁶ According to Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge, Angola and Cuba had agreed in 1976 on a phased pullout and one had begun in 1979. But South African attacks on Angola had aborted the process. (*Morning Star*, September 27, 1982, p. 7)

³⁷ "African countries severed diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv in 1974 following the decision of an emergency session of the OAU.... in 1973" - Nikolai Stepanov, *Moscow News*, October 3, 1982

Western Sahara; the return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius; and the current economic problems. By sabotaging the OAU Conference, imperialism hopes to weaken African unity and solidarity and to fulfil its aim of dividing and controlling Africa and the Middle East.

Somalia, in the Horn of Africa, with US military bases, is armed with 46,000 troops, 180 tanks and 65 warplanes and encouraged to harass and launch attacks against Ethiopia, and to hold down its own people.

Fascist South Africa, with its racist apartheid doctrine, is propped up as a dagger against progressive and revolutionary Africa. It continues to defy UN resolutions and world public opinion on the granting of independence to Namibia. With imperialist military, economic and diplomatic support, it contravenes the sovereignty of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe and other Front Line states in Africa.

The United States vetoed a UN Security Council resolution condemning South Africa for invading Angola, and was the only country which voted for seating the fascist-racist state in the UN General Assembly Special Emergency Namibia debate. Like Neville Chamberlain, who had said about Hitlerism: "We should use what good are in it," Jeane Kirkpatrick said in the United Nations on September 14, 1981, that "South Africa is a democracy for whites, a dictatorship for blacks", but the situation "has some elements in it, and we use whatever good elements are in it to further open it."

And it seems that the way to do so is to repeal the Clark Amendment, which restricted CIA subversive activities in Angola and arms sales to South Africa for its invasion of Angola in 1975; to deem, as President Reagan has done, South Africa as a "friendly country"; to issue licences in April 1982 for the supply of 2,500 high-voltage batons - similar to cattle prods - to the South African police; and to issue visas to the racist rugby team, the Springboks, to play a series of games in the USA. Meanwhile, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Nelson Mandela and others are detained for life, and a regime of enforced segregation (bantustanisation), liquidation, brutality and systematic and widespread torture is enforced, not only against blacks and coloureds but also against progressive-minded whites.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, now considered

strategically even more important than before the Vietnam war, the United States continues with the consolidation and strengthening of its military positions. This includes about 50 military installations, including facilities for stationing aircraft and naval units, and a total of 14,900 troops: 9,000 in the Panama Canal Zone; 3,700 in Puerto Rico; 2,200 in Guantanamo Bay.

In whipping up war hysteria about the "danger from the East" and the necessity to fight the "communist threat from without and within", the United States has sold and shipped enormous quantities of arms to foreign countries. It accounts for 45 per cent of the world's total trade in arms, with its rates increasing by 10-fold in 1980 compared with its \$1.8 billion in 1971. Sales in 1982 were likely to be about \$2 billion more than 1981. The biggest buyers of American weapons are Israel, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, South Africa, Pakistan, and Chile.

The following table, put together on the basis of data from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), provides a resume of important information on the military spending of the underdeveloped countries in the past two decades.

MILITARY SPENDING IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Area	1960 (in billions of dollars at 1978 prices)	1970	1979
Middle East	2,4	10,3	33,1
Africa	0,9	5,3	10,3
Far East (excluding China & Japan)	3,3	6,3	12,1
Latin America	3,1	5,0	7,8
Southern Asia	1,6	3,4	4,7
TOTAL	11,3	30,5	68,0

Source: SIPRI (Table taken from *New Times*, USSR, No. 51, December 1980, p. December 1980, p. 22)

In 1981, the developing countries' total military expenditure exceeded \$80 billion. This means that their share in world military spending increased over the past decade from 9% to 16%. They also account for two-thirds of the 26 million soldiers in the world today.

It is significant to note that while the gross national products of

the developing countries tripled in the past 20 years, their military expenditures rose almost sevenfold; and while the annual average military growth rate was 9.2% in the 1970-79 period, the economic growth rate in 1981 was only 1.5%.

The arms sales abroad serve to accomplish US global aim of hegemonism and world domination and to earn super-profits for the monopolists of the arms industry.

According to *New Times* (supplement 1982, p. 14):

The arms race is a regular gold mine for the munitions monopolies. Economists have estimated that in the civilian industries the rate of profit is 8-12 per cent, while military orders show a rate of 30-40 per cent. Nor is that the limit. One of the US Senate committees which examined the state of things in 131 monopolies of the military-industrial complex established that 94 of them had made a net profit of 50 per cent; 49, more than 100 per cent; 22, over 200 per cent; three, about 500 per cent, and one corporation, 2,000 per cent on the invested capital.

US military sales are also intended to arm the dictators and fascists to hold down the peoples in their respective countries; and to entrap the developing countries in debts. In 1979, military spending of the developing countries constituted 19% of their total foreign public debt, then estimated at \$350 billion.³⁸ This colossal drain on resources undermines their independence and capabilities to resist the machinations, diktat and threats of imperialism; and at the same time, imposes a tremendous burden on the peoples.

³⁸ By the end of 1983, the total debt of developing countries was estimated by the World Bank at \$800 billion, 30 per cent more than at the end of 1982.

CHAPTER XII

THE CIRCLE OF CRISIS

The Caribbean has long been considered by the United States of great economic and strategic importance, and as its natural and legitimate sphere of influence. It became particularly concerned about the region after the Cuban revolution of 1959 and the "political vacuum" created by the decolonisation process started in the early 1960's.

US response to the Caribbean crisis in the 1960's under the Kennedy administration was based on a flexible "club-and-carrot" policy, on counter-insurgency and reformism – counter-insurgency ensure that there was to be "no more Cubas" in the Western hemisphere; and reformism to ensure that there would be evolution, but not revolution.

In the 1980 election campaign, Reagan's backers referred to the region as a "circle of crisis". They called for strong action, for a return to the "big stick" to ensure there was to be no more Grenadas and Nicaraguas.

As has been shown before, the last year of the Carter administration shifted US policy away from the guidelines of the mid-1970's, which had emphasised "ideological pluralism" and a "human rights doctrine". The 1974 report of the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs, "Human Rights in the World Community: A Call for US Leadership", stated that previous US policy had "led the United States into embracing governments which practice torture and unabashedly violate every human rights guarantee pronounced by the world community,"¹ thus damaging both American prestige and its long term interests. And the 1974 and 1976 reports of the Commission on United States-Latin American Relations, headed by Sol Linovitz, "The Americas In A Changing World" pointed out that "Covert US involvement in the domestic politics of Latin America such as occurred more recently in Chile, is indefensible and should be ended."²

The Santa Fé Committee's report, "A New Inter-American Policy For The Eighties", laid down the guidelines for a shift

further to the Right of President Carter. There was a change in perceptions. The policy makers in the Carter administration, like the Kennedy administration, had seen socio-economic factors at the root of the problems of poverty, hunger and political instability; they saw rising discontent and supported reform. In introducing his Alliance for Progress on March 13, 1961, President Kennedy had pleaded for reform:

Those who possess wealth and power in poor nations must accept their own responsibilities. They must lead the fight for those basic reforms which alone can preserve the fabric of their own societies. Those who made peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable.³

Similarly, the Carter administration emphasised social needs and the necessity for the United States "to get on the side of change"; namely, to guide and manage the great changes sweeping the world with different methods but with the same capitalist-imperialist goals of the past. In this regard, one US official referring to reform linked with repression in El Salvador, which received the highest allocation of US aid in the Caribbean Basin, outlined the political essence of the land reform programme: "In the past, a few large landowners got all the bank credits. Now that credit can be spread among the small farmers and co-operatives. There is no one more conservative than a small farmer. We're going to be breeding capitalists like rabbits".⁴ And the strategists made certain that the "land reform" was under the control of the AIFLD and the CIA.

Ideological pluralism also was not unpalatable, because for long the American ruling class had secured the support of "socialists" linked with right-wing social democracy in the Atlantic Community Alliance, Israel and elsewhere. Indeed, it was seen as a means of forestalling revolution and radical change. This was made clear by Carter's Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Viron Vaky. In a letter on September 8, 1979, he had pointed out:

³ Quoted in Richard Hart, *Memorandum to House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, with special reference to Jamaica and Grenada, on Security, Stability, and Development in the Caribbean and Central America*, London, March-April 1982; p 17.

⁴ Quoted in Y. Gudkov, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹ Quoted in Jenny Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 108

² *Ibid.* p. 109.

From May onward it became clear that Somoza could not survive until the oft-proclaimed end of his term in 1981, and that a military collapse was entirely likely. It was our view that a purely military solution would provide the least auspicious prospect for true self-determination and an enduring democratic outcome to Nicaragua's agony. The growing power of the Marxist leadership in the Sandinista army also raised increasing concerns that the final outcome might be determined by these elements on the basis of their control of coercive military power. We therefore again sought ways to promote an end to the conflict, and a transition that would maximize the possibility for all elements of the opposition to have a say in the transition.

A pluralistic set-up appeared to be the best bet for avoiding an 'ideological or military imposition' of a final outcome.... our purpose in June was to seek an end to the bloodshed and suffering and to avoid radical control."⁵

The Carter administration was prepared to work with the new Sandinista government and had approved an aid package of US\$ 75 million, 60% destined for the private sector. Viron Vaky had pleaded in December 1979 with the House Foreign Affairs Committee: "it is possible in my view for the United States to have a major and significant influence over what happens there. I think we can do no less than try."⁶

Socialist Cuba was seen not so much as the cause of the trouble but as being able to take advantage of the political turmoil. In the earlier period of the Carter administration, even the hawkish elements in the Carter team worked for normalisation of relations with Cuba. In May 1977, Zbigniew Brzezinski had stated: "American longer range interests would be harmed by continuing indifference to the mounting desire in Central America for greater social justice and national dignity, as our indifference will only make it easier for Castro's Cuba to exploit that desire."⁷ Brzezinski and his ilk in that period saw the global conflict not in East-West, but North-South confrontation.

To get to the White House, Ronald Reagan outbid President Carter in jingoistic rhetoric. The domino theory, exploited during

⁵ Jenny Pearce, *op. cit.*, p 126.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

the Vietnam war came into vogue again. During the presidential election campaign he charged:

Must we let Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador all become additional 'Cubas', new outposts for Soviet armed brigades? Will the next push of the Moscow-Havana axis be extended to Guatemala, then to Mexico, south to Costa Rica and Panama?⁸

To translate rhetoric into reality, President Reagan surrounded himself with some of the most reactionary and militaristic-minded individuals. His principal advisers on Latin America and the Caribbean are Roger Fontaine, Jeane Kirkpatrick and James Theberge, with links to the rightist think-tanks, the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University and the American Enterprise Institute, both in Washington. Roger Fontaine, also a member of the board of the right-wing Institute of American Relations, became advisor on Latin American Affairs in the National Security Council to Richard Allen who was bracketed with the purist conservatives. James Theberge in an article in *Commonsense*, (Spring 1980) stated: "It is imperative that the next US administration bring to an end the Carter administration's abandonment of this strategically important area to our adversaries who have grown stronger and bolder while we have slept.... The United States may find it necessary to enforce a political solution if the alternative is civil war and the capture of a power by another Marxist regime in Central America." For her *Commentary* article (expressing support for the dictatorial regimes) which admittedly highly impressed the President, Jeane Kirkpatrick was given the key post of US Ambassador to the United Nations. The *Washington Post*, December 28, 1980 reported her sentiments:

If we are confronted with the choice between offering assistance to a moderately repressive autocratic government which is also friendly to the United States and permitting it to be over-run by a Cuban-trained, Cuban-armed, Cuban-sponsored insurgency, we would assist the moderate autocracy.

General Alexander Haig, former commander of NATO forces

⁸ Quoted in Robert Armstrong, *Guardian* (New York) December 3, 1980, p 1.

in Europe and military adviser to the National Security Council during the Nixon administration was put in charge of foreign policy as Secretary of State. He said that American credibility must be established by "drawing the line" against "communist aggression". Retired General Vernon Walters was made special adviser on Latin American and Caribbean affairs to Haig. Thomas Enders, with long association with Cambodia at the time of the US defeat in Indo-China and a firm believer in tough policies towards small nations like Vietnam, Angola and Cuba which challenge US great-power hegemony, was appointed as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs. Retired general Gordon Sumner, chairman of the right-wing Council for Inter-American Security, became special adviser to Enders.

The State Department began a purge of the "social reformers". Dovish-minded liberals were sacked, including John Blacken who had been decorated for meritorious service in Central America, and former ambassador to El Salvador Robert White, who had deemed Major, later "elected" President of the Salvadorean Constituent Assembly, Roberto D'Abuisson "a pathological killer". Lawrence Pezulla, US Ambassador to Nicaragua, included in the list of "social reformers" was not asked to quit, but he resigned; Sally Shelton was replaced as ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean by Milan Bish. As part of US pressures, he was not accredited to Grenada.

The assumption to power by Reagan in November 1980 and the Seaga victory in Jamaica in December 1980 not only brought jubilation to the Right, but also gave the Conservatives the green light to launch a rightist offensive against the left. This led to the slaughter of six key opposition leaders in El Salvador at the end of November 1980, and a clampdown on all opposition forces in Haiti.

The Reaganites shifted the emphasis in Inter-American relations towards a confrontationist-interventionist direction. During the election campaign, Reagan had suggested that he might blockade Cuba to "punish" the Soviet Union for its role in Afghanistan, and to discourage Cuban involvement in the Caribbean. He had been also critical of US aid to Nicaragua, which the right-wing had deemed "a totalitarian Marxist regime." With security, military and strategic interests its main preoccupation, the new administration

launched a comprehensive onslaught – military, economic, ideological, cultural, political – against the democratic and progressive forces in the region.

PROPAGANDA WARFARE

A "worldwide campaign of propaganda and political pressure" against Cuba and the Soviet Union, initiated in October 1980 by Zbigniew Brzezinski, was accentuated by Reagan's top rightist advisors.

The Santa Fé Committee, claiming that "a cooperative Caribbean and a supportive South America" was essential for US global power projection, pointed out:

Even the Caribbean, America's maritime crossroad and petroleum refining center, is becoming a Marxist-Leninist lake.... The United States is being shoved aside in the Caribbean and Central America by a sophisticated but brutal, extra-continental super power manipulating client states. Soviet influence has expanded mightily since 1959. The Soviet Union is now ensconced in force in the Western Hemisphere, and the United States must remedy the situation.

It called for the application of the Monroe Doctrine in the geographical as well as in the ideological sense, to prevent not only Soviet physical presence, but also its communist ideology. It proposed a security system for the hemisphere against the so-called external military threat, consisting of three elements – the Rio Treaty of 1947; regional security organisations; bilateral arrangements between the various members. Technical and psychological assistance must be offered to counter "terrorism"; military training and assistance must be rendered to the armed forces, particularly to the younger officers and non-commissioned officers; if "the present treaties fail, place the Panama Canal under the protection of the Inter-American Defence Board to ensure that the nations of this hemisphere have free and fair access to the Pacific and Atlantic Basins."

It went on to observe that the "Caribbean rim and basin are spotted with Soviet surrogates and ringed with socialist states"; that Cuba was not only "an effective weapon for the Soviet Union

in Africa and the Middle East", but also "increasingly effective as a force for subversion of our Southern flank – the Caribbean and Central America." It attacked the Carter administration for permitting the Soviet Union to strengthen the defences of Cuba, proposed a reversal of the steps taken for normalisation of relations with Cuba, and called firstly for punitive steps: expulsion of Cuban diplomats from Washington; resumption of aerial reconnaissance; blocking tourism to Cuba; reassessment of the 1977 fishing agreement deemed highly advantageous to Cuba; establishment of a Radio Free Cuba (subsequently named Radio José Martí) for propaganda to influence the Cuban people. "If propaganda fails, a war of national liberation against Castro must be launched."

Other Caribbean Basin countries singled out for attack were Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada and Panama. The then Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, was accused of having close links with Cuba, including Cuban training of the Jamaican police force, and was denounced for supporting the "Cuban Angolan Adventure". Guyana was deemed "a Marxist pro-Soviet state" (sic!), and was criticized for permitting Cuban planes refuelling rights at its international airport during the Angolan war in 1975. Grenada's new airport "commands the deep water channel through which flows 52 per cent of all imported US oil. Panama was under the control of a "left wing military regime", which was the "intermediary in the transfer of Cuban and US arms to the Sandinistas." The Panama Canal "plays a vital role in US oil supply."

The Santa Fe Committee condemned the "Roldos Doctrine"⁹ which stated that outside powers would not be considered as violators of the principle of non-intervention if their involvement was in defence of human rights. This, in the context of US attacks on "anti-communist governments for alleged human rights violations, has provided a timely background for such intervention." It was felt that President Carter's policy, which linked political support and economic and military aid to the observance of human rights, had led to criticisms, attacks and overthrow of non-communist "authoritarian, but pro-US, governments" and their replacement "by anti-US, Communist, or pro-Communist dictatorships of a totalitarian character"; and adversely affected the peace, stability

⁹ Jaime Roldos, a former President of Ecuador, was killed in 1981, like President Torrijos, in an airline crackup.

and security of the Caribbean and Latin American region. It called for its abandonment and replacement by a policy of political and ethical realism."

"Political and ethical realism" meant speaking softly but carrying the big stick, as President Theodore Roosevelt had put it. It meant a new emphasis on human rights: refraining "from all public comment on human rights.... coupled with a rescinding of the congressionally imposed requirement to report on human rights conditions in friendly and allied countries." It meant combining the crumbs with the club, "to wed the most successful elements of the Truman Doctrine and the Alliance for progress" for national security and economic stability. Future prosperity would come from open markets, and the unrestricted flow of investment and technology. And, finally, it meant "revitalising the Rio Treaty and the Organisation of American States; reproclaiming the Monroe Doctrine; tightening ties with key countries; and aiding independent nations to survive subversion."

Thomas Enders, former Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, translated into policy the blueprints outlined by the Committee of Santa Fe. Addressing the luncheon sponsored by the Council of the Americas on June 3, 1981, he accused Cuba of "systematically creating a machine for the destruction of established institutions and governments" and for declaring a covert war on its neighbours. To meet the alleged Cuban challenge, he outlined the principal tasks for US policy in the hemisphere:

... we will help the threatened countries to defend themselves. Once this insurgency takes arms with outside support, there is no alternative to an armed response... we will help the threatened countries to preserve their people's right to self-determination.... help countries of the basin achieve economic success.

Enders said that relations would be improved with Mexico, and alliances with the South American countries which are returning to constitutional rule would be revitalised and their security role in the South Atlantic recognised. Bitter about Cuban aid to Angola and Ethiopia, he said that the United States would join with other "Third World" countries "to bring the costs of that war back to Havana." In a statement before the Sub-Committee on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on

December 14, 1981 launching his Caribbean Basin Plan, he made a vicious attack against Cuba and Nicaragua. He charged that Cuban intervention in Africa was "a special case." But since 1978, "when Cuba decided to back the intervention in Nicaragua", it embarked on a new strategy – "uniting the left in the countries of the region, committing it to violence, arming it, training it in warfare, and attempting to use it for the destruction of existing governments." The second factor, he pointed out, was "a grave general economic crisis, bringing with it misery and despair for many millions of people." The third factor was developing the role of Nicaragua "as a platform for intervention throughout Central America.... there are more than 1500 Cuban military and Security advisers in Nicaragua, twice as many as there were at the start of the year. More are on their way. Preparations for the receipt of MIG's are well advanced." The fourth danger point, was El Salvador; if the land reform and the political reform through elections are defeated by arms, "prospects for peaceful change will be seriously set back." And then he asked in accordance with the domino theory: "If after Nicaragua, El Salvador is captured by a violent minority, what state in Central America will be able to resist.... How long would it be before the major strategic United States interests – the Canal, sea lanes, oil supplies – were at risk."

Enders said that a comprehensive strategy should include economic and military assistance, and "collective action" since "collective security" was at stake. He praised the OAS for its support for the "elections" in El Salvador, and called on the Central American countries for military preparedness and cooperation. And with a final warning, he pointed out that Cuba must be made to understand "that the costs of escalating their intervention in the region will be very high."¹⁰

The TV documentary film "Attack on the Americas", with the status of a White Paper, produced by the American Security Council at a cost of US \$150,000 and distributed through some 200 TV stations at a cost of US \$5 million, started a barrage of propaganda against Cuba. Part of the film commentary stated:

For almost twenty years, Cuba was the solitary outpost of Communism in the Western Hemisphere. Today, Fidel Castro is exper-

¹⁰ Valerie Kreutzer, *ISICA, ARF - 124*, Dec. 14, 1981.

ting revolution throughout Central America and the Caribbean, waging "wars of national liberation" for his Soviet sponsors. But this time the challenge is not half way around the world in Afghanistan or Southeast Asia, but in our own backyard.... Castro has helped sponsor unsuccessful revolutionary efforts in many nations in South America, such as Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia. But Castro's recent and continuing success in Central America is rapidly advancing the Soviets' goal. Their strategic objective is to separate the United States from Latin America. By dominating the land bridge between the Americas, they will succeed in slashing the Americas in half....

What is at stake is more than the freedom of our neighbours to the South: more than the oilfields of Guatemala and Mexico, more than the natural resources of our allies in the Western Hemisphere. Today: El Salvador and Guatemala. Tomorrow: Honduras, Costa Rica, Belize, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Mexico.... the United States....¹¹

In February 1981, the State Department published a *White Paper* entitled "Communist Interference in El Salvador". It declared that "the insurgency in El Salvador had been progressively transformed into a text book case of armed aggression by Communist power." Documents were appended alleging that Cuba, with Nicaraguan assistance, was channelling arms from Ethiopia, Vietnam, the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and various Arab nations to the liberation fighters. These so-called documents were exposed as fakes by Philip Agee, former head of the CIA in Latin America and the Caribbean. Leading US journalists claimed that they contained factual errors, misleading statements and unresolved ambiguities. *The Wall Street Journal* on June 8, 1981 wrote:

A close reading of the white paper indicates.... that its authors probably were making a determined effort to create a "selling" document, no matter how slim the background material.

The Reagan administration also established Radio Free Cuba to bombard Cubans with half-truths and plain falsehoods. A vicious assertion was made that "four top officials of the Cuban government" were involved in the illicit drug traffic between

¹¹ Quoted in Jenny Pearce, *op. cit.*, p 177.

Colombia and the United States – an assertion deemed as absurd and unprecedented, and strongly and indignantly rejected by the Cuban government. It also denounced the CIA charge that it had sent thousands of troops to Nicaragua, and challenged the State Department to provide documentary proof.

In March 1982, CIA Director, William Casey, charged that the Palestine Liberation Organisation was providing Nicaragua with arms, and “this whole El Salvador insurgency is run out of Managua by professionals experienced in guerilla wars.” Nicaragua, claimed Jeanne Kirkpatrick, “probably stands in the first place as a human rights violator in the region.” The Nicaraguan Government was also attacked for allegedly liquidating the Miskito Indians. In February 1982, Secretary of State Alexander Haig, in testimony to the US Congress, displayed a photograph published in *Le Figaro* showing charred corpses in a Nicaraguan street with the claim that they were Miskito Indians massacred by the Sandinistas. Actually, the photograph had been taken in 1979 showing bodies being incinerated by the Red Cross after an attack by Somoza’s National Guard. The Miskito Indians had in fact been re-located from the border zone with Honduras, which the Honduran army and Somoza forces had made into a battleground

In March 1982, the US State Department arranged a press conference with a star attraction, Orlando José Tardencillas, a Nicaraguan captured in El Salvador. He was to provide proof of Nicaragua’s involvement in El Salvador. Instead, he said that confessions which he had made had been extracted when he had been tortured by the Salvadorean army in 1981; he also denounced the Salvadorean junta as “criminal and fascist”.

From CIA connections and the US Embassy in Barbados, lies were spread that Grenada had received sophisticated MIG-23 fighter planes and military equipment from the Soviet Union. Rumours were also spread that Grenada took delivery in August 1982 of tanks, armoured cars, artillery and heavy trucks from Cuba. These lies and rumours were categorically denied by the People’s Revolutionary Government.

In a rabble-rousing, sabre-rattling speech to the OAS on February 24, 1982, President Reagan launched a bitter attack against the Soviet Union and “Soviet expansionism”. He made official much of what had already been stated by the Santa Fe Com-

mittee, Thomas Enders and others, and mounted the anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban and anti-communist hysteria to new heights. He drew attention to the importance of the Caribbean:

The Caribbean Region is a vital strategic and commercial artery for the United States. Nearly half of US 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 neighbours in this region are in our own vital interest.¹²

The President said that the state of unrest and political turmoil in the region was due to a “new kind of colonialism” which is “brutal and totalitarian”. Invoking the Monroe Doctrine, he said: “It is not of our hemisphere but it threatens our hemisphere and has established footholds on American soil for the expansion of its colonialist ambitions”. By “footholds”, he meant Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada. Cuba was deemed as the agent of Soviet-backed “support for violent revolution in Central America”. Grenada and Nicaragua were said to be under “the tightening grip of the totalitarian left”, and accused of violating human rights and not holding elections. Nicaragua was specifically attacked for postponing elections until 1985.

President Reagan apparently forgot his own country’s revolutionary beginning. In the American national liberation struggle against British colonialism, the Articles of Confederation were revised by a Convention in 1787, eleven years after the Declaration of Independence in 1776. And the first general election making George Washington the first US President was held in 1788. And the United States was not faced, as Grenada and Nicaragua, with a vicious destabilisation. It is instructive to note also that elections due in 1956 to unite North and South Vietnam, in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1954, were postponed because, as President Eisenhower admitted, the communists led by Ho Chi Minh would have won. And in Guyana, the United States brought the People’s National Congress to power by manipulating the electoral system, and supports it despite continuous rigging of

¹² *Cuba’s Answer: Reagan Before the OAS Council*, Editora Politica, Havana, 1982, p. 52.

elections. Randolph Cheeks, a former Minister in the Coalition Government (1964-68) of the People's National Congress and the United Force, exposed the rigging of the 1968 elections, stating: "Fraud is a mild word to describe the motions which Guyana went through on December 16, 1968.... The scandal of the overseas vote, the prodigious list of electors at home who will never be found but who voted by proxy, the host of bona fide voters who were denied ballot papers on the grounds that they had already voted, the insertion of spurious ballot papers into the ballot boxes, the denial of ballot papers to overseas voters known to be opponents of the ruling party, the placing of party activists in control of every aspect of registration and election..... these are only part of the irregularities imposed on this country in what is wrongly called an election.... Down the corridors of the centuries, this day will be remembered with shame."¹³ In 1980, an International Team of observers led by Lord Avebury said that the elections were not a free and fair test of the opinion of the people of Guyana; they were a clumsily managed and a blatant fraud designed to perpetuate the rule of the People's National Congress. Lord Avebury, boldly declaring that the PNC had crunched the institutions of democracy in Guyana, stated: "The breaking and bending of laws by the PNC was on such a scale that opposition parties were fighting with both hands tied behind their backs. The right of association and freedom of expression were repeatedly violated during the campaign."¹⁴ The US State Department itself has been forced to record gross violations of human rights and electoral fraud.

Nicaragua was also charged by President Reagan with smuggling arms to guerrillas in El Salvador; and Havana since 1978 "has trained, armed and directed extremists in guerilla warfare and economic sabotage as part of a campaign to exploit troubles in Central America and the Caribbean. Their goal is to establish Cuban-style Marxist-Leninist dictatorships.... guerillas armed and supported by and through Cuba are attempting to impose a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship on the people of El Salvador as part of a larger imperialistic plan." There was the danger of "more totalitarian regimes, more regimes tied militarily to the Soviet Union, more

¹³ Quoted in *Guyana's 1980 Elections: Fraud*, edited by Moses Nagamootoo, New Guyana Company, Guyana, pp 2-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p 44

regimes exporting subversion." He said he would ask "Congress to provide increased security assistance to help friendly countries." And wielding the "big stick", he warned:

Let our friends and our adversaries understand that we will do whatever is prudent and necessary to ensure the peace and security of the Caribbean area.

MILITARY INTIMIDATION

President Reagan's policies heightened tensions in the region. Military aid was greatly increased for 21 Latin American countries. In March 1981, his administration requested US\$92.6 million military aid, a 60% increase on the US\$58 million provided by the Carter administration. El Salvador, Honduras and Colombia were the biggest recipients in Latin America with US\$26 million, US\$10.7 million and US\$13.55 million respectively. In building a more efficient, political and military structure for the Pentagon, Honduras and Colombia are important. Both are strategically located. In addition to its own 20 bases in the Caribbean region with about 30,000 men and officers, the United States wanted the right to use naval and air force bases in these two countries in the Caribbean basin.

The US\$10.7 million for Honduras in 1982 was more than that country had received in the 1950-79 period. This was because of the special role the Honduran military was playing as a US proxy in the war against the liberation fighters in El Salvador, and in the destabilisation of the Sandinista government of Nicaragua. Twenty-one US military advisers, including 4 Green Berets arrived in Honduras to help with "technical things such as communications, aircraft maintenance and detection of smuggled weapons". This brought the total to 50 of such advisers to "assess the needs of the Honduran armed forces". In June 1983, more than one hundred American soldiers were sent to Honduras for the purpose of setting up training camps for Salvadorean soldiers and Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries.

In January 1981, to cope with the major guerilla offensive, the US government restored military aid to El Salvador. It had been suspended in December 1980 after the murder of American mis-

sionaries by security forces. US\$5 million of small arms, grenades and ammunition, and 20 military advisers were sent to El Salvador. And in March 1981, a further US\$25 million for military aid was approved for the purchase of helicopters, vehicles, radar, small arms, communications and surveillance equipment. Military advisers were increased to a total of 56. In the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic received US\$7.6 million and the Eastern Caribbean states US\$5.5 million.

A Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) was established at Fort Bragg to coordinate the activities of the special counter-insurgency units of the army, navy and air forces. President Reagan in mid-November 1981 called for a comprehensive programme of action, including additional military assistance to El Salvador and Honduras, US military visibility in the Caribbean to demonstrate US concern and willingness to act. Soon after, it was disclosed that 1000 Salvadorean soldiers and 500 junior officers would receive training in the United States. And after the guerillas blew up 28 planes and helicopters in a raid against the key air base at Llopango, the Pentagon agreed on a US\$55 million military aid package from its own budget for the supply of military aircraft for the first time, including 12 Huey helicopters, eight A-37 Stoll fighter planes, three or four cargo planes and four O-2 spotter planes.

The Carter administration had ruled out sales of military equipment to the Guatemalan junta on grounds of human rights violations. The Congress was reluctant to lift the restrictions. However, the Reagan administration reclassified military trucks and jeeps as "regional stability control" equipment and approved a US\$3.2 million sale. Previously, classified as "crime control" equipment, they were subject to human rights review. Subsequently, substantial military aid was requested despite blatant violations of human rights and the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians by the Rios Montt dictatorship.

With the connivance of the CIA and FBI, Cuban and Nicaraguan (Somoza's National Guardsmen) exiles set up openly in Florida training camps for at least ten para-military organisations. Jo Thomas reported in *The New York Times* (17 March 1981) that the Nicaraguans disclosed that they had 7 training camps in the United States, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and South American countries, and they had been lent moral

support by Chile, Uruguay, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras. Jorge Gonsalves, administrator of one of the most active training camps in Florida, called "Cuba", said: "The principal aid we've received has been the declarations of the President. It's not weapons we need but freedom of action."

The CIA was unleashed to expand "its most secret clandestine, covert and paramilitary operations overseas, according to agency sources" (*Washington Post*, 15 June, 1981). In November 1981, it presented an 8-point plan of action for the military, political and economic destabilisation of Nicaragua to a National Security Council Sub-Committee. It called for "support and conduct of political and para-military operations against the Cuban presence and Cuban-Sandinista support structures in Nicaragua and elsewhere in Central America." US\$19 million was made available for building a para-military force of 500 Latin Americans with the help of officers from Southern Cone countries, and to operate from camps along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. In December 1980 and January 1981, a "Red Christmas" operation by mercenaries of former Somoza guards had destroyed the indigenous communities along the Coco River and attempted to create a beach-head in Nicaraguan territory. At the same time, US warships, with the most sophisticated communications apparatus, patrolled the waters of the Gulf of Fonseca, between Nicaragua and El Salvador, with the consent of former President Napoleon Duarte.

These operations, deemed by Newsweek as "America's secret war", were escalated in November, 1982. And major joint military manoeuvres with Honduras were soon after carried out. Honduras was granted US\$65 million military aid; and with US financial and technical help, the construction of two naval bases quite near to the Nicaraguan border and three military air strips was speeded up. A powerful \$7 million radar installation to be manned by 70 Americans is also being built. With the "success" of the Israeli genocidal war against Lebanon and the patriotic Palestinian and Lebanese forces, imperialism has become emboldened; it is using Honduras to play in Central America the role of Israel in the Middle East. In March 1983, Nicaragua accused the United States and Honduras of complicity in the invasion of its territory by a counter-revolutionary force of nearly 2000 hired killers from bases in Honduran territory.

In mid-1983, 5000 US soldiers carried out joint military exer-

cises with the Honduran armed forces. These manoeuvres are to be continued, and were complemented with naval exercises on the East and West coasts of Nicaragua. The US aircraft carrier Ranger and its seven escort ships carried out a simulated naval blockade along the Pacific Coast, only 100 miles from the shores of El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua. And the 62,000 ton Coral Sea, which carries about 70 fighter planes, engaged in similar naval exercises off the Nicaraguan coast in the Caribbean Sea. Altogether, about 19 ships and 16,400 men took part in the military threats against Nicaragua.

In Suriname, 7 counter-revolutionary coups were attempted in the past 3 years since a group of soldiers, mainly sergeants, seized power in February 1980. In October 1982, a destabilisation attempt was made by a local reactionary trade union linked to the CIA and Dutch-US imperialism. The revolutionary-democratic government led by Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse, had dealt an enormous blow to "old" petty-bourgeois corrupt and racist politics, destroyed the political and military power of the accomplices of foreign capital, developed anti-imperialist consciousness, heightened the organisational level of the people and guaranteed their direct participation in the transformational process. A strike was called for the restoration of the Westminster style of democracy (the abuse and failure of which had in fact precipitated the coup in 1980), and a downgrading of Suriname's relations with socialist Cuba. Two US diplomats were accused of involvement and expelled. The United States and the Netherlands retaliated by cutting off economic aid.

To implement its policy of direct military intimidation, the Reagan administration expanded its military intelligence and exercises in the Caribbean. In August 1981, a US/NATO exercise "Operation Ocean Venture", code-named "Amber and Amberines", with 250 ships, 1,000 aircraft and 120,000 troops was held, including an amphibious landing exercise on the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico. According to Rear-Admiral Robert McKenzie of the Caribbean Contingency Joint Task Force, the objective of the exercise was to demonstrate "US capability to respond in the Caribbean basin" where there is a "political military" problem. For him, Cuba is a "rotten apple" and Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada are "practically one country".

For the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada,

"Amber and Amberines" meant "Grenada and the Grenadines". Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had previously refused to be pressured by the US government to limit its ties with Cuba. And after disclosing in mid-1980 that the CIA was aiming to reverse the revolutionary process in Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada, he and his entire cabinet barely escaped death when a bomb exploded at a rally in St. Georges, the capital. Earlier in November 1979, he had exposed a plan of 100 mercenaries based in Miami to make a 3-pronged invasion of Grenada in American ships. Subsequently, a group of mercenaries who made an abortive landing in Dominica had declared that their final objective was Grenada. In March 1983, on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Grenada Revolution, the Reagan administration declared that Grenada and its international airport posed a threat to the security of the United States. And a large squadron of battleships "showed the flag" on the Caribbean Sea around Grenada.

In early 1982, the US launched "Operation Safe Passage" in the Gulf of Mexico with 30 NATO warships, 80 planes, a British nuclear submarine and 10,000 men. This was justified by Caspar Weinberger on the ground that Cuba posed a threat to the United States, as "in peacetime, 44 per cent of all foreign trade tonnage and 45 per cent of the crude oil imports into the United States pass through the Caribbean, and in war-time half of NATO's supplies would transit by sea from Gulf ports through the Florida Straits and onwards to Europe." President Reagan's visit to the Caribbean in April, 1982 coincided with the navy manoeuvres of the USA and its NATO partners, codenamed Readex 2-82, and Ocean Venture-82 involving 37 US warships and 200 aircraft. While bearing "gifts", he was wielding the "club".

Cuba is threatened with intervention. The Symms Amendment, adopted by a 69 to 27 vote in the Republican-controlled Senate in mid-1982, like the Johnson Doctrine, empowered the Reagan administration to resort to all means available to the United States including the use of troops to oppose the alleged "Cuban threat" and to contain "Marxist-Leninist subversion" in the region. Earlier in May 1981, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig had stated that if Cuba continued "gun running activities to Latin America, the US has not ruled out a naval blockade of Cuba."

The Pentagon also attempted to implement the Carter administration's proposal for the establishment of an Inter-American

interventionist force by calling for collective military action. On several occasions, such as the meeting in Washington in November, 1981, of military commanders and intelligence officers from 20 Latin American countries (Nicaragua was excluded) and the OAS meeting in December 1981 in St. Lucia, the idea was mooted of invoking the Rio Treaty of 1947 which states that "an attack against any American state shall be considered as an attack against all American states and each one.... undertakes to assist in meeting the attack." Thomas Enders charged that so-called Cuban interventionism was creating a "state of danger in the Caribbean Basin", and called for "collective action" because the "collective security" of the region was at stake. Referring to Nicaragua's alleged import of weapons and Cuban military advisers, he blustered: "should more serious threats emerge, it is in collective security that we should seek solutions."¹⁵

Direct intervention by the United States also cannot be ruled out. With the continued success of the liberation struggle in El Salvador, President Reagan requested in March 1983 emergency military aid, an increase by 400 per cent. For fiscal 1984, \$300 million military assistance is proposed for Central America, mainly El Salvador. With further deterioration of the situation, the hawks in Washington will be tempted to exercise the option of direct military intervention. Thomas Enders told the Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Miguel D'Escoto: "The United States is not going to allow a military triumph of the guerillas; it has the means and the desire to do so, irrespective of the political cost."¹⁶

ECONOMIC WARFARE

Integrally linked to military intimidation and provocation is economic aggression. An economic offensive was launched against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname.

In Cuba this has taken many forms – tourism; trade; imposition of licences for Cuban publications into the USA; tightening of the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917; destruction of pigs, tobacco and other agricultural crops, and dengue fever by what the

¹⁵ *The Daily Gleaner*, Jamaica, December 23, 1981.

¹⁶ Jenny Pearce, *op. cit.* p. 250.

Cuban government called "a policy of bacteriological war". Bill Sharp in an article in *Covert Action* pointed out that the "dengue epidemic that struck Cuba in 1981 was just the latest of a long list of chemical and biological attacks". Earlier the *Washington Post* of September 16, 1979 mentioned the attempts to poison leaders of the Revolution, the burning of canefields and the "Program of war against agriculture". *Newsday* on January 9, 1977 reported that an attempt was made to destroy Cuba's poultry through the use of diseases. Warren Hinckle and William Turner in "The Fish Is Red" had denounced the CIA for introducing through counter-revolutionaries swine fever, which led to the slaughter of half a million contaminated pigs. In 1980, Cuba was hit by another bout of swine fever, blue mould in tobacco and a sugar cane blight.

In April 1981, the Reagan administration lobbied against an Inter-American Development Bank loan to Nicaragua and suspended all aid on the ground that it had violated section 533 (f) of the Foreign Assistance Act by allegedly shipping arms to the Salvadorean opposition. The Carter administration had approved an aid package for Nicaragua with the hope of influencing the process there. The Reagan administration, however, considered Nicaragua a "lost" front in the cold war against communism.

The Carter administration had restricted aid to Grenada, giving only a paltry sum of US\$5,000 for each of a series of projects. The Reagan administration applied pressure on the EEC not to grant aid for an international airport, deemed vitally necessary for tourism and trade, but which US propaganda said was intended as a military base for "Cuba and Russia"; lobbied against an IMF credit to Grenada; excluded Grenada from hurricane relief for the Eastern Caribbean states; and instructed the Caribbean Development Bank to exclude Grenada from participation in a US loan to the Bank.

Prime Minister Oliver Seraphine admitted after a hurricane had devastated Dominica that the aid donors did not like the ideological complexion of the Dominican government. This led to the removal of a Senator and the Minister of Agriculture.

US economic assistance was stepped up to counter the influence of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and the non-aligned movement, and the call for a New International Economic Order. Bilateral aid in 1980 was twice as much as in 1977. Over the 4-years 1980-83 period, US aid was as follows:

US LOANS AND GRANTS TO CARIBBEAN BASIN NATIONS,
1980-1983¹⁷
(In US \$ millions)

Type of AID	1980	1981	1982a	1983b
Development Assistance	225.0	168.4	211.1	217.6
Direct Economic Support	15.2	143.4	490.0	326.0
Food Aid	83.7	108.7	123.1	120.9
Military Assistance	13.8	50.5	172.1	106.2
TOTAL	337.7	471.0	996.3	770.7

Source: U.S.State Department

a Includes Caribbean Basin Plan request

b Requested

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.

Unwilling to agree to a "global round of negotiations" under the auspices of the United Nations for a New International Economic Order, President Reagan put out the same erroneous ideas at the Cancun Summit Meeting in Mexico. And in keeping with the wishes of Big Business, whose magazine *Fortune* as far back as 1976 had proposed that developing countries expecting to receive aid "must adopt more constructive policies", his administration moved from multilateral to bilateral cooperation and reduced

¹⁷. Cited in Richard L. Bernal, *The Struggle For The Old International Order: The Caribbean Basin Plan And Jamaica*, mimeographed paper, CEESTEM Conference, Mexico, March 1981, p. 17.

financial allocation to the international lending institutions like the World Bank and International Development Association (IDA) under its control. Aid was linked to "conditionality". And it would be given to bolster anti-communist governments, like that of Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica, which are faced with social unrest and are willing to adopt a strategy of market-based, private economic development in the fight against communism for a "free world".

To Prime Minister Edward Seaga's and former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's call for a mini-Marshall plan of US\$3 billion for the Caribbean Basin, Enders told the Center for Inter-American Relations on September 9, 1981 that there would not be any big made-in-the-USA "mini Marshall plan"; that there were no easy and quick solutions. He referred to the meeting between President Reagan and President Lopez Portillo of Mexico and the meeting of the foreign ministers of the United States, Mexico, Canada and Venezuela in the search for a multilateral approach. But "there were differences among the four.... Mexico wanted Cuba automatically included. We can contemplate no aid to Cuba." Enders went on to outline other aspects of a Caribbean Basin Plan: the recipient countries must be "fully engaged in planning and execution of what is done", but they must "take the action needed to assure" that the aid they receive "are well used"; they must be helped to create new competitive production capacity; markets must be found for the increased production; more aid for the region, with other donors to include Europe, Japan, Mexico, Venezuela and Canada; "while the overall action concept must be multilateral, actual implementation must be bilateral"; trade and investment must be combined with aid. In other words, the Caribbean Basin countries must embrace Reaganomics and the "freedom of the market place", and must create a favourable investment climate.

The long-awaited recovery plan for the Caribbean, was announced in a greatly truncated form as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) by President Reagan in his speech to the OAS on February 24, 1982. The CBI was proposed as an economic aid package for "those countries which are under economic seige." It is basically the economic aspect of an anti-communist, militarist strategy. Consequently, Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua were excluded.

The main proposals included:

1. Duty-free entry for 12 years for Caribbean Basin products exported to the United States, except textiles, apparel products and leather goods; sugar imports would be subject to a quota.
2. Significant tax incentives to encourage US investments in the Caribbean Basin.
3. A supplemented fiscal year 1982 appropriation of US\$350 million as additional emergency aid, making the total economic and military aid US\$996 million.
4. Offer of technical assistance and training to assist the private sector in the Basin countries.
5. Close cooperation with Mexico, Canada and Venezuela and other donor countries and multilateral agencies for development of the region.
6. Special measures for Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands, such as rebate on the sales tax on rum, to ensure that previous preferential arrangements are not affected.

The duty-free entry of goods into the United States deemed the "centre-piece" might seem a great concession, especially in these days of prolonged recession and protectionism. The fact is, however, that already about 87 per cent of Caribbean Basin goods enter the United States without customs duties. And apart from textiles, apparel products and leather goods, other items can be added to the exclusion list if they adversely affect the interests of producers in the United States. It is important to note that a wide range of goods even sugar, is excluded from the United States not by tariff, but by non-tariff, barriers. Thus, in actual fact, the 12 year free trade concession will affect only about 5 per cent of Caribbean exports. And this meagre benefit will be offset by the sugar quotas imposed after the CBI was announced.

But before granting the right to duty-free trade, 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".

Resort would be made to the kind of mutual defense assistance (MDA) agreements under the Rio Treaty of 1947. The latter had served as a laboratory for the military North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the so-called "Marshall Aid" economic recovery plan for Europe. But while the Marshall Plan had taken US\$6 billion aid to bring about only temporary (note the steady dismantling underway now of the welfare state) recovery to Europe, Reagan's CBI earmarked only a miniscule amount of US\$350 million for the Caribbean Basin countries. In contrast, the Central American governments at a meeting at Tegucigalpa in August 1981 had called for US \$20 billion over the next five years and higher prices for their commodity exports. The aid "will be concentrated on the private sector." It is probably hoped that the CBI will provide a new model for the volatile "third world" countries based on free enterprise and the "freedom of the market place". But as an economic recovery plan, being a combination of "Reaganomics", the Puerto Rican model and the Alliance for Progress, the CBI cannot be taken seriously. Sally Shelton, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs and Ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean, said that it was an excuse to give more military and economic aid to El Salvador. Like previous palliatives, the CBI will also fail.

"Reaganomics" has meant billions of dollars more for warfare, and cuts in welfare. While billions of dollars are spent for the military, social needs programmes affecting a wide cross section of the American people – children, youths, students, the aged – and particularly the Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, undocumented Mexicans and other ethnic minorities, are axed. Meanwhile, the ranks of the unemployed steadily grow. And there is no solution in sight for ailing capitalism – à la Keynes as in the 1930's.

The Puerto Rican model became discredited many years ago. Only Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica has a good word for it. Replying to criticisms of his emulation of this model, he replied: "I wish to God I had that level of failure here. Puerto Rico represents a level of advancement that we hope for. They do have problems of unemployment, crime and so on. Some are saying that Puerto Rico has had CBI type facilities and has failed. Those who say that have obviously not been to Puerto Rico."¹⁸The facts,

¹⁸ *Latin America Regional Reports, Caribbean*, 11 June, 1982, p. 8.

however, belie Seaga's confidence in Puerto Rico. It is still a colony with some 90 per cent of its industry owned by US corporations; the island's per capita income is about half of Mississippi, the poorest US state, while the cost of living is 25% higher than in the United States; the official unemployment figure is over 24 per cent, but the actual rate is over 40 per cent; 60 per cent of the Puerto Rican population live on food stamps; the country's public debt increased from US\$2.4 billion in 1973 to US\$7.5 billion in 1981. The situation would have been far more desperate but for the fact that large numbers of Puerto Ricans can emigrate to the ghettos of the United States.

The Alliance for Progress "lost its way" even though the Kennedy administration had ear-marked US\$20 billion for 10 years, had advocated a programme of fiscal, monetary and land reform, and had a realistic appraisal of the situation, attributing the rising discontent of the masses of the people to social and economic causes. Introducing his Alliance for Progress on March 13, 1961, President Kennedy had stated:

Throughout Latin America, a continent rich in resources and in spiritual and cultural achievements by its populations, millions of men and women suffer the daily privations of poverty and hunger. They lack decent housing or protection against disease.

Their children are deprived of an education or jobs which open the door to a better life.

And every day that goes by, the problems are more pressing. Population growth surpasses economic development — the low standards of living get worse — and the discontent, the discontent of a population that knows that abundance and the elements of progress are at last within reach, that discontent increases.¹⁹

The CBI by comparison has a limited anti-communist focus. The amount proposed as aid is, according to The New York Times, "a drop in the Ocean". It will meet only about 9 per cent of the debt payments of the region, "which is facing a balance of payments deficit of US\$19 billion."²⁰ Only 15 per cent of the aid is earmarked for economic development; over two-thirds is allocated for El

¹⁹ Quoted in *Granma* editorial, Havana, March 8, 1982.

²⁰ Colletta Youngers, "A Closer Look at CBI", *Caribbean Contact*, November 1982, p. 7.

Salvador. And the very thing proposed as a cure — private foreign capital investment — is at the root of the problem.

The CBI is "old wine in a new bottle". Its economic vision, limited to high energy costs and balance of payments difficulties, and linked to the proposition that foreign investment is synonymous with social justice, is myopic. It does take into consideration the structures built over many decades under dependent capitalism, including a deformed industrialisation, capital-intensive technology, an export crop-oriented agricultural economy dominated by transnational agro-industrial monopolies, and a semi-feudal land tenure system which leads to pauperisation of the peasantry, a trek to the urban areas, overcrowding and unemployment.

The main source of foreign capital for Latin America and the Caribbean countries has been the United States. At present the US accounts for 3/4 % of all foreign investments in the region. In recent years however, there has been a greater percentage increase in investments by other developed capitalist states. From 1950 to 1976 American capital investment in Latin America increased from 4.6 to 23.5 billion dollars, i.e. 5 times; and in the manufacturing industry, which became the main sphere of foreign investment, from 0.8 to 9.2 billion dollars, i.e. 12 times. In 1977, investments in this sphere constituted nearly 60% of all US investments in Latin America.

Foreign capital has brought the Latin American and the Caribbean region into a status of capitalist dependency. This is noted by the fact that by the mid-1970's, US corporations controlled 40 per cent of industrial production, including 90 per cent of the output of the chemical industry and 80 per cent of metal-working and engineering.²¹ A 1977 report (E 1024, p 18) of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) noted that "the biggest countries in the region are tightly tied to the international market of private capital. A system of relations radically different from the old one has arisen and operates on that basis.... The governments have been forced to introduce a new system of ties which were largely under the control of the transnational corporations."

The crisis of dependent capitalism is due not to "Soviet expansionism" and Cuban support of "terrorism", but to underdevelop-

²¹ José Gomes, Julio Laborde, Carlos Nunez Anavitarte "Neocolonialism: Arch-enemy of the Latin American Peoples", *World Marxist Review*, No. 11, 1979, p. 131.

ment and blatant exploitation and drain of resources. Secretary General of ECLA Enrique Eglisias warned that the situation was likely to grow more difficult, despite the overall increased volume of exports in 1981 by 12%, principally by Brazil (24%) and Mexico (36%). This was due to lower prices for exports, increased prices for imports, high interest rates, repatriation of huge profits and a crushing debt burden. Lower commodity prices and higher interest rates cost Latin American economies US\$10 billion more in 1981 as compared with 1980. The Latin American Construction Federation (FLEMACON) disclosed that the transnational corporations earn US\$2.4 million a day. Outstanding among them are the corporations based in the United States, which in 1980 had 46 per cent of their investments in Latin America. They control 70 per cent of local reserves and remit to the United States 52 per cent of the total earnings received in the world.²² According to the *Survey of Current Business* (August 1981), US companies took out of Latin America \$2.25 profit for every dollar invested.²³ In 1980, the transnational companies obtained an estimated 23% return on their investments. Economic dependency has led to a vast outflow of capital from Latin America. This increased from US\$5.8 billion in 1975 to US\$17.9 billion in 1980. During this period, more than US\$60 billion was lost, far more than the "influx of capital" and the volume of foreign investments.

To compensate for the drain of capital, resort has been made to extensive borrowing. ECLA estimates that the external indebtedness of Latin American countries has quadrupled since 1977, reaching \$240 billion in 1981, a 16% increase in 1980. Some of the countries with the biggest national debts are: Mexico - US\$81 billion; Brazil-US\$71 billion; Argentina - US\$40 billion; Jamaica - J\$2.2 billion (J\$1 = 56 cents US). Uruguay's public debt jumped from US\$717.9 million at the end of 1973, the first year of the military dictatorship, to US\$3.129 billion in 1981, two-and-a-half times greater than the country's exports. Debt repayments have become a colossal problem - a debt bomb. ECLA says: "In a large number of countries in the region, payments on the external debt take up over 40 per cent of the foreign exchange earned by the export of goods and services". In some countries, the proportion is even high-

²² *Latin American Roundup*, Prensa Latina, Cuba, July 26, 1981, p 13.

²³ *Struggle*, (Jamaica) editorial, April 16, 1982, p 1.

MOST INDEBTED NATIONS - OCTOBER 1983
In thousands of millions of US dollars

Brazil	90.0
Mexico	81.0
Argentina	40.0
Chile	15.0
Peru	11.0

er: over 50 per cent in Brazil and Mexico, 60 per cent in Peru, and 55 per cent in Panama. Specialists from the University of Berkeley in the United States have estimated that if 1966-1974 trends continue, by 1986 "deductions to cover the external debt and remittances to foreign investors (interest, depreciation, profits) will come to 78 per cent of the aggregate export earnings in the region while the external debt will be equal to 61 per cent of the gross product of the whole of Latin America."²⁴

In Guyana, the national debt increased from G\$127 million in 1964 to over G\$3.5 billion in 1983, and debt payments increased from 15 per cent of current revenue (G\$10 million) in 1964 to 80 per cent (G\$401 million) in 1982.

The dependent capitalist way of "development" leads to a vicious circle of backwardness, poverty, instability and further dependence.

Foreign dependency, imperialist-imposed economic planning strategies and reformism, coupled with bureaucratic-administrative and police-military methods of rule, corruption and discrimination have led to a grave economic and social crisis. The influx of private foreign capital in the earlier period contributed to high growth rates, like the "Brazilian miracle". But later, foreign ownership and domination and an archaic agrarian structure, in the context of an ongoing and deepening world capitalist crisis, aggravated problems. In addition, according to Antonio Orteza Mena, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, in an address to the German Council on Foreign Relations in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany, stated; "protectionist tendencies in the industrial countries seem to conspire against our region's prospects." At the time of the annual joint meeting of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in Toronto in September 1982 when World Bank President A.W. Clausen said that the capitalist world economic situation was grim.... onerous and difficult", *The New York Times* (September 4, 1982) wrote: "South America is going bankrupt and the expectation is you might have an international calamity."

The region's economic GDP growth rate for 19 countries in 1981 was 1.2 per cent, the lowest in 35 years; for 17 countries inclu-

²⁴ Quoted in Hugo Fazio, "The Burden of Dependence", *World Marxist Review*, August 1981, p 74. He states that the external debt came to 6.3% of the gross domestic product in the region (excluding Venezuela) in 1960, and to 13.1% in 1976.

ding Brazil and Argentina there was a drop, in Brazil by 3% and Argentina by 6%. The current account deficit rose from US\$7.1 billion in 1974 to US \$28 billion in 1980 and US\$33.7 billion in 1981 with little prospect for improvement in 1982. International payments' deficit was US\$1,650 million in 1980 and US\$2,000 million in 1981.

In the Central American sub-region, the creation of the Central American Common Market (CACM) in December 1960 and the increase of US investment from US\$19 million in 1950 to US\$104 million in 1975 helped to diversify the economy from the traditional reliance on coffee, cotton and bananas. But by 1978, the traditional products accounted for 60 per cent of exports; the remainder coming from beef, sugar, light manufacturers, fruits and vegetables. However, despite the diversification, the CACM began to collapse. It had brought the sub-region under greater dependence upon the United States; it also created regional disparities, which led to the "football war" between Honduras and El Salvador.

The economies of the Central American countries grew by only 1% in 1980, as compared with an average of 6% in the 1970's. Trade deficits and public debt have shown alarming increases, and because of political turmoil, flight of capital has increased to more than US\$500 million per year. In a report delivered on October 14, 1982, the Central American Economic Integration Secretariat (SIECA) said that the region was experiencing the deepest economic tensions which "arose from both internal and external inflationary and recessive factors", leading to "the difficult monetary-financial problem and the countries' growing debt levels."²⁵ Production in El Salvador fell by almost 9 per cent both in 1980 and 1981. Costa Rica had a drop of 1.5 per cent in 1981 and in 1982 faced its gravest debt payment problem and foreign exchange difficulties. The Guatemalan and Honduran economies stagnated.

For the countries of the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM), 1981 was also a year of crisis. A comprehensive report drawn up by the Caribbean Development Bank revealed stagnation and gloom. The majority of the countries are in the red, faced with serious balance of payments deficits and foreign exchange difficulties. Like other oil producers, such as Venezuela and Mexico which benefitted from the post-1973 rise in oil prices, Trinidad

²⁵ *Sunday Chronicle*, Guyana, 31 December, 1982 p 7.

STATISTICAL PROFILE

	Area (km ²)	Population (mid-1978)	GDP at Market Prices (1978 in US\$m)	Per Capita GDP (1978 in US\$)
Antigua	280	73 000	73.1	1 001
Barbados	431	248 000	533.6	2 152
Belize	22 960	130 000	116.5	896
Dominica	750	77 000	36.9	479
Grenada	344	105 000	61.3	584
Guyana	214 970	817 000	496.9	608
Jamaica	11 424	2 101 000	2 729.1	1 299
Montserrat	102	10 700	10.4	972
St. Kitts	269	50 000	35.2	704
Saint Lucia	616	118 000	87.0	737
St. Vincent & the Grenadines	388	103 000	47.0	456
Trinidad & Tobago	5 128	1 118 000	3 895.9	3 485
TOTAL	257 662	4 950 700	8 100.5	

SOURCE: IBRD Economic Memoranda
World Bank Atlas - 1979
Country Official Statistics

and Tobago is also facing difficulties. With a trade deficit of TT\$82 million in the first quarter of 1982, compared with a surplus of TT\$205 million during the corresponding period in 1981, the Trinidad government began a review of its import policies and placed some imported products on the controlled negative list. With the key economic role played by Trinidad in the CARICOM region and the down turn in its economy, the restrictions imposed have caused grave concern. According to Anthony Williams, president of the Jamaica Manufacturers Association:

... any downturn there is sure to have a multiplier effect not only in Jamaica, but also Barbados and a number of other CARICOM territories.

Jamaica's trade deficit, for the period January-April 1982 was expanded to J\$148.3 million, 400 per cent higher than the corresponding period in 1980. Despite all the assistance given by the Reagan administration to the Seaga government, "deliverance" has not come about. Christopher Dickey, writing in the *Washington Post* commented:

This island nation recently seems to have done just about everything right that a developing country should from the Reagan administration's point of view, a kind of flagship in the Caribbean. But if it is not sinking, it is not sailing either, and the main thing keeping it afloat is precisely the kind of massive direct aid that Washington tries to de-emphasise.

Barbados, not too long ago, mooted as the model for economic viability and political stability, is in trouble. Experiencing difficulties are its main income earners, sugar and tourism, with the latter mainly in foreign hands and with about 75 cents of every tourist dollar earned going overseas.

One Vice-President of Guyana declared that "the nation is in the red". Another pointed out that "in some countries their export insurance agencies have withdrawn cover from us. We are not deemed insurance agencies have withdrawn." The Vice-President in charge of the economy told the national Assembly: "To put it bluntly, the performance of the economy in 1981 was disastrous." In 1982, there was a marked deterioration. According to the report (October, 1982) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF):

Economic activity in Guyana has been depressed for the last several years. During the 1977-81 period, real GDP (Gross Domestic Product) declined by close to 9 per cent and the rate of inflation increased from less than 10 per cent in 1977 to 29 per cent in 1981.

For Latin America and the Caribbean peoples, recession, foreign exchange crisis and balance of payments, difficulties are not mere abstractions. On the one hand, they have meant extreme wealth for a small minority, and on the other grinding poverty, malnutrition, severe unemployment, low living standards, high levels of illiteracy, a disastrously high mortality rate,²⁶ poor hygienic conditions and acute housing problems for the vast majority. Half of the population receives only about 14 per cent of the national income; 155 million cannot meet their basic needs; thirty-five per cent or about 100 million Latin Americans are under-fed; 36 million including 15 million children suffer from malnutrition; one child under 5 dies every 30 seconds without receiving any medical attention whatsoever; over 3 million children between the ages of 6 and 15 are forced by poverty to work in inhuman conditions of exploitation; some 15 million were expected to die of hunger in 1981. The annual deficit in calories, according to FAO estimates, is equal to about 2.2 million tonnes per year of the annual world cereal harvest. This is alarming for a region which, about 15 years ago, was self-sufficient in food production, primarily grain and meat. During the 1970's, the area began to run short of food and the food deficit grew rapidly. Technical reports say that these imports cost \$5 billion a year, and that some US\$500 billion dollars will be required to meet the region's food needs between 1980 and 1990.²⁷

The Caribbean region also has a huge food import bill of US\$800 million a year.²⁸ The food problem is closely linked to an archaic land tenure system. For instance, in St. Lucia, a typical example, 80% of the farmers are eking out an existence on only 28% of the cultivable land. Apart from this, the farmers are terribly exploited by the foreign monopolists and the local oligarchy. In St. Vincent, for example, of the 30 cents per pound paid for bananas

²⁶ In Latin America, the mortality rate is 300 times higher than the US rate.

²⁷ *Guyana Chronicle*, February 2, 1981, p. 6.

²⁸ *Guyana Chronicle*, December 8, 1981.

by Geest Industries, 18 cents go to the Marketing Board and only 12 cents to the farmer.

Brazil is a typical example of declining living standards of the masses. In the rural areas, 50% of the population experienced a 33% reduction in their share of income from 1970 to 1980. For the richest 1% of the population, income rose by 179% in the same period. In the urban areas, housing costs which took 10% of income of the poorer sections in 1970, went up to 20% in 1980. Shanty dwellers rose from 2% in 1970 in Sao Paulo to 9% in 1980. There are also regional differences in each country. In Brazil, the per capita income was US\$1,040 in 1979 (\$111 in 1970 and 1,790 in 1980), but for about 30 million in Northeast Brazil, the average was \$77 annually.

In Guatemala, 9 out of 100 children die before they reach one year of age, and 20 out of 100 die before they turn 4 years of age. In 1980, the unemployment rate was 34.3%. The richest 5% received in 1950 48% of the total earnings; in 1978, 59%. The poorest 50% received 9% in 1950 and only 7% in 1978. The minimum daily calories intake should be 2236; for Guatemala, it is 1800. The situation has been steadily deteriorating. The proportion of the population which did not qualify for the necessary calorie intake increased from 42% in 1965 to 70% in 1975 and 80% in 1980.

In Haiti, 5 per cent of the population appropriates 50 per cent of the national income. The average per capita annual income in 1980 was US\$275, the lowest in the Western Hemisphere. Illiteracy rate is about the highest, with an annual expenditure of only US\$1 per person, as compared with US\$18 per person for security.

There was galloping inflation of 53.6% in 1980 in Latin America as a whole. In 1981, the average rate of increase in consumer prices was 60%, higher than in any year except 1976. For some countries, the rate is much higher: Brazil - 100%; Peru - 70%; Argentina - 120%; Mexico - estimated at 100% by December 1982.

The Caribbean countries also face a serious inflationary spiral, particularly Trinidad and Jamaica. And, as a result of wage freeze or wage restraint policies adopted by most of the ruling elites, living conditions are declining. A typical example is Guyana. General Secretary of the Guyana Trades Union Congress (TUC) in early 1983 stated that "the economic pressures on the working class, taken in the context of the wage freeze since 1980, have become unbearable. Children being sent to school with only a cup of tea in the

morning, and workers being able to afford only one meal a day are issues that go beyond party political control." In February 1982, a Technical Committee of the TUC disclosed that the minimum monthly take-home pay after tax for an unskilled government employee was G\$250, but his expenses for the basics for a family of four were \$654; in July 1982, it was estimated that the real wages of the workers declined by about 24 per cent in the January 1981-July 1982 period. The Report declared that it was "obvious that many more families have fallen below the poverty line during 1981" and called for an increase in the minimum wage from G\$12.71 to \$29.70 per day.

St. Lucia is a glaring example of the difficulties facing the people in the smaller Eastern Caribbean English-speaking states which have the same inflationary trends of the other CARICOM states. Here, coupled with an archaic land-holding system, wages are extremely low and unemployment is high. Some sections of shop assistants in the capital, Castries, receive a weekly wage which is little more than the minimum daily wage in Trinidad and Tobago.

The scourge of unemployment is leading to grave social problems. In Latin America, the unemployment rate is about 35% to 40%. In the Caribbean, this problem is becoming acute because of the fall in the percentage of the labour force in agriculture and the drift from the countryside to the urban areas. Moreover, because of the very small accretion of the labour force in the industrial sector, including construction, electricity, gas and water, the trek to the cities means a substantial increase in the services sector – "domestic service, petty trading, marginal and unproductive jobs, public sector jobs and government 'make-work' projects".

Summarising the grave situation facing the CARICOM countries, the "Group of Wise Men", appointed to examine the fragile nature of the Caribbean economies and the challenges facing them in the 1980's, reported:

The demographic situation outlined above for Trinidad and Tobago is approximately the same for the rest of the Caribbean Islands. One obvious conclusion now follows: If in the period of the 1960's and 1970's, when the labour force was growing at a lower rate than that projected for the 1980s and 1990s, unemployment increased substantially, it must clearly follow that, unless some really far-reaching action is taken, there will be a dramatic increase in the rate of growth of

unemployment in the next 10 to 20 years when the much larger accession to the labour force takes place. As some countries which already have an unemployment rate of 30% – which by any standard is unacceptable – are in serious trouble, the prospect of a 40% unemployment rate would be nothing short of a catastrophe. To unemployment must be added extensive underemployment which implies for employment policy the tackling of the additional problem of seasonal unemployment.²⁹

POLITICAL OFFENSIVE

The political objective of the United States is to keep Latin America and the Caribbean countries as neo-colonial appendages and client states of US imperialism. To this end, it has made various moves to incorporate the countries of the region into a pro-imperialist axis to halt if not reverse the on-going revolutionary process. This is facilitated by petty bourgeois nationalists with a Christian and social democratic outlook. Faced with a grave economic situation, they generally become opportunistic, and adopt, under imperialist pressure, a pragmatic, dependent capitalist course.

Soon after the Grenada revolution, the removal of the Patrick John regime by the mass upsurge of the people of Dominica, and the Labour Party victory in St. Lucia, the imperialists and their collaborators, particularly the then defeated John Compton of St. Lucia, proposed the creation of a pro-imperialist axis and the establishment of a Caribbean Defence Force. But because of differences over this and other issues, the proposal for a defense force was shelved. Instead, a coordinated coast guard and fisheries protection service, with a residual defense capacity, was established. At first, Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados, a close friend of the United States, had expressed reservations about a regional defense force because of the "enormous practical difficulties" involved, including costs. But his government and four others were eventually persuaded to agree to its establishment. In October 1982, Barbados, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica and St. Lucia signed a memorandum of understanding bringing into effect the security system, of which the regional coast guard

²⁹ *The Caribbean Community in the 1980's: Report by a Group of Caribbean Experts*, Caribbean Community Secretariat, Coles Printery, Barbados, p 41.

1979) and the social-democratic Michael Manley-led government of Jamaica in 1980.

An attempt was made to expel Grenada from Caricom in the same way that Cuba was expelled from the OAS in 1964. Barbados' Prime Minister Tom Adams had proposed that the Chaguramas Treaty be amended to include in its preamble wording committing member countries to parliamentary democracy and human rights. This proposal had been supported by Edward Seaga of Jamaica, who declared that within Caricom, there had appeared "something called people's democracy, and this was the Cuban model which we reject."³¹ Grenada was consistently attacked by Anglo-American imperialism and its Caribbean clients for violating human rights and not holding elections. This was in keeping with the recommendations of the Committee of Santa Fe, which had stated in its report that a "vigorously and equitably applied human rights program is America's wonder weapon against the Soviet Union, its satellites and surrogates." "Vigorously and equitably applied" meant isolating and attacking Grenada which had a genuine, grassroots people's revolutionary-democracy; easing up on criticisms of human rights' violations in Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, and Chile (with its "protected democracy" and tens of thousands killed and imprisoned, and nearly one million forced into exile) and increasing economic aid and arms sales to these dictatorial regimes.

Jamaica is being set up as a model for the Caribbean based on the example of Puerto Rico with dependency on foreign capital and the free enterprise capitalist system. It is a move away from the self-reliant, non-aligned policy of the former Michael Manley government. Through Edward Seaga, the United States is normalising relations with the fascist regime of Duvalier in Haiti. Soon after taking office, Seaga dispatched in February 1981 his Minister of State in the Foreign Affairs Ministry Neville Gallimore to Haiti. President Jean-Claude Duvalier enthusiastically welcomed him, and made an appeal for a "chain of unity" centred on Haiti and Jamaica as "an oasis of peace", while his foreign minister reiterated the "urgent need" for a firm front against "international communist expansion". Haiti also sought membership in CARICOM, but withdrew its application because of fear by CARICOM member-

³¹ *Latin American Regional Reports, Caribbean*, 20 August 1982, p 1.

states of dumping of goods produced cheaply with virtual slave labour by US corporations in Haiti.

Apart from the creation of a pro-imperialist axis in the Caribbean Community, imperialism has resorted to other manoeuvres to "contain" the revolutionary process. During the election campaign, presidential candidate Ronald Reagan suggested the idea of a North American Community. In his speech to the OAS in February, 1982, he repeated his idea for "an accord with our two neighbours here in the North American continent". Ideas for the accord include an energy alliance of Canada, USA and Mexico, and because of USA's weakening political and economic positions in the world the possibility of a wider market with the inclusion of Central America and the Caribbean. Both Canada and Mexico have huge annual trade deficits with the USA. In the 3-year plan (1978-1980), US exports to Mexico have more than doubled and Mexico's trade deficit increased from US\$900 million to US\$2000 million. With a Common Market and the removal of tariff barriers, the position would deteriorate further in favour of the US transnational monopolies.

But US goals are not only economic; they are also political – the subjugation of its two neighbours' independence and control of their foreign policies. United States hopes that as a result of the different but more favourable perceptions of its neighbours, and with Canada's traditional links with the Caribbean countries and Mexico's ties with Central America, it can, in close cooperation with them, bring about political stability in, and control over, the region. And according to the Winnipeg Free Press, the United States pressured the Canadian government to force the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) "to begin providing gunboats and other types of security assistance including police training to small Eastern Caribbean islands such as St. Lucia, St. Kitts and Dominica." Guyana is also included in the CIDA training scheme.

Venezuela, Brazil and Columbia, as medium-developed states, are expected to play a bigger role in the volatile Caribbean. In the recent past, Venezuela's history has been chequered. It played a progressive role for a short while after the overthrow of the Jimenez dictatorship in 1958. Fidel Castro was given a warm welcome in Caracas soon after taking power in 1959. In late 1960, however, the coalition Accion Democratica (AD) and Christian Democratic (COPEI) Venezuelan government linked up with US imperialism

by signing the San José Declaration, which was aimed at isolating Cuba. At the same time, under pressure from the USA, it raised a long-dormant border claim in 1961 against Guyana during the tenure of the People's Progressive Party in government. And in the late 1960's and early 1970's, the AD government carried out attacks against the territorial integrity of Guyana.

During the latter period of the Caldera (COPEI) government and under the Accion Democratica government led by President Carlos Andres Perez, Venezuela once again played a progressive role. It was a strong backer of OPEC; the oil and iron ore industries were nationalised; firm support was given to the call for a New International Economic Order; against US wishes, aid was rendered to the Sandinista liberation struggle against the Somoza government; aid was also given to the Guyana government when it took a relative anti-imperialist position in the 1974-76 period.

The COPEI government of Venezuela, led by President Luis Herrera Campins, was regarded until recently as one of the most reliable allies of the United States. It supported the Napoleon Duarte Christian Democratic Government of El Salvador, and got the approval of the US administration for the purchase of 24 F16 fighters. It was argued with cold war logic that these planes were necessary to protect Venezuela's life line - its oil shipments through the Caribbean Sea. On April 19, 1981, *Diario de Caracas*, closely associated with the ruling COPEI party, published a document entitled "Problems of War and Strategy in the Caribbean". Mimicking the US psychological warfare propaganda about "Soviet military superiority", "Soviet menace", and "Soviet threat", it referred to "Cuban military superiority" and warned against "aggression by Cuba", and the danger that the Cubans "*may block the flow of Venezuelan oil to other parts of the world, either by intercepting the tankers, destroying the refineries, or even wiping out the Venezuelan army and taking over Venezuela if necessary.*" (*Granma*, 1 June 1981).

Venezuela has played an increasingly active role in the Caribbean. This brought in 1975 from the former Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Eric Williams, the charge of Venezuelan imperialism (Trinidad itself wants hegemony of the countries in the Caribbean Archipelago). Together with Mexico, it has provided aid on concessional terms to the Central American and Caribbean countries through the Venezuela/Mexican oil facility.

In this geo-political context, Venezuelan pressure was exerted on Guyana. After the signing of its first agreement with the IMF in June 1978, the Guyana government had moved backwards from its anti-imperialist posture in the 1974-76 period more or less to the vacillating position held in the 1971-73 period when it had close links with China and Brazil. The New Investment Code of 1979 to encourage foreign private capital reversed the policy guidelines of the December 1974 Sophia Declaration, which underlines state control; its stance on Afghanistan and the China-Vietnam-

Kampuchea conflict, unlike that on Angola, was in accord with the position of the United States. This move was to an extent satisfactory to the Carter administration. The Reagan administration, however, reverting back to the John Foster Dulles era (non-alignment is immoral; if you are not with us, you are against us), would prefer Guyana to move to the outright pro-imperialist and pro-capitalist position held in the 1964-70 period. Unhappy about Guyana's application in December 1977 for associated status with COMECON, its anti-Israel and pro-PLO declarations on the Middle East conflict, and the position taken in the joint Guyana-Cuba communique signed after the visit of the Cuban Foreign Minister to Guyana in January 1981, US imperialism was most likely behind the Venezuelan threats on Guyana to force it to move further to the right.

Diplomatic relations between Venezuela and Cuba were suspended after the Venezuelan courts decided to release the terrorists who had planted a bomb, which led to the mid-air explosion of a Cuban jetliner off Barbados and the death of 73 persons in October, 1976.

Like Venezuela, the Brazilian regime has a cooperative/competitive relationship with the United States. At first, after the military coup in 1964, it played the role of US gendarme; it sent troops to pacify the Dominican Republic after US armed forces had invaded the country in 1965. Brazil worked closely with US imperialism in attaining its cold war objectives in Latin America, and was associated with the proposal for the establishment of a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO), the counterpart to NATO, which included the USA, Uruguay, Chile (under Pinochet) and South Africa. Its free enterprise/foreign capital development strategy was mooted as a model for the region. In 1970, its attempt to extend its influence to the North was facilitated by the Guyana government of

affected in its territorial integrity by the anarchy prevailing in the region.³⁵

The Central American Democratic Community consisting of Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador was created in January 1982. Its creation was a US manoeuvre to legitimise the elections in El Salvador, grant recognition to the "elected" regime, co-ordinate action to stimulate development of the private sector in each country, and provide the framework for the creation of an interventionist force in the Central American area. Colombia, the United States and Guatemala later became members of the Community. The intention is to establish a political and military wall around Nicaragua. As part of this encirclement scheme, Washington is planning to establish naval and air bases on the island of Amapala in the Gulf of Fonseca and on San Andres island in the Caribbean, both of them within the continental shelf of Nicaragua.

President Reagan told the OAS meeting on February 24, 1982 that at the heart of US foreign policy were "democracy, self-determination, economic development and collective security". Nicaragua in league with Cuba was accused of exporting revolution and aiding the guerillas in El Salvador and during his visit to Barbados later in the same year Reagan charged Grenada with spreading "the Marxist virus". The President conveniently forgot his own country's history; that the revolutionaries in the 13 British North American colonies had been helped by Jacobin France in their war of independence (Britain also aided liberator Simon Bolivar in his struggle against Spanish colonialism); that the "American revolution", as stated by Millen Chamberlain, "was not a quarrel between two peoples.... it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries in one party, and the liberals in both countries as the other party",³⁶ and as historian Charles Beard put it: "The contest in America was only the counterpart of the heroic struggle led by Russell, Cobden, Bright and Gladstone at home to establish the dominion of the English mill owners over Crown, Clergy, and landed aristocracy."³⁷ that one of the founding fathers, democrat Thomas Jefferson, who had resided in France and was a disciple of Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau, believed that "a little

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Quoted in Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics*, Herper & Brothers, New York, p 14.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

rebellion now and then is a good thing...." and that "the tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants."³⁸ On the other hand, a retired Justice John Reeve had established a society for the protection of private property against levelers and republicans. Today, Reeve's levellers and republicans are equivalent to Reagan's Marxists-Leninists and communists who are deemed "terrorists". The Guatemalan liberation fighters are called "Marxist-Leninist terrorists". Forgotten is the role of the CIA in the overthrow of the Arbenz Government in 1954, and US history of intervention, rape of democracy, creation of client states and puppet regimes, and collective security for the purpose of maintaining colonial and neo-colonial dependency.

In his address to the OAS, the President posed two different futures for the Caribbean: "either the establishment or restoration of moderate, constitutional governments with economic growth and improved living standards, or further expansion of political violence from the extreme left and the extreme right resulting in the imposition of dictatorships and inevitably more economic decline and human suffering." Eschewing extremism either of the right or the left was a clever way of equating revolutionary-democracy, socialism and communism with rightist authoritarianism and fascism. It was also a means of giving legitimacy to the fraudulent "elections" in El Salvador with the aim of improving the image of the regime, which has over 35,000 victims to its "credit".

The claim that the USA upholds democracy and the right to self-determination is specious. The fact is constitutional governments had been overthrown by the U.S. in several countries.

In the United States, itself which had a glorious revolutionary beginning, even bourgeois democracy is threatened. The traditional rightist Hoover Institution in *War, Revolution and Peace* noted:

We have entered an era of limits and limited government.... A harsher more exacting and more perilous age lies ahead. We do not want to turn our country into a puritanical garrison state; but we will not survive unless we save more than we spend, work more than we play, and spend more on defense and less on welfare.... We must replace rhetoric with resolve and détente with a dynamic defense.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p 40.

³⁹ Quoted in *NACLA*, New York, July-August 1981, p 11.

PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

While imperialism and local reaction are scheming to arrest the tide of history and threaten world peace, prospects are bright for the forces of peace, liberation and social progress. Limits to the arrogance of US coercive power are set by the sharpening class struggles, internationally and nationally, both in North and South America and the Caribbean. The people's battles to maintain and improve living standards are attaining new heights. Diverse political and social forces are participating in the resistance to imperialist and reactionary offensives.

The struggle for peace and social progress is gaining momentum. Increasingly, millions of people, cutting across the entire political spectrum, are realising that peace, liberation and development are interlinked; that peace means jobs, school, lunches and social security. The October 1982 issue of *Reader's Digest* reported that the nuclear freeze movement "has spread like a raging fever throughout the world. From Bonn to Istanbul, Lima to New York, millions and millions of people have joined". They constitute a growing and assertive force against the arms race.

Over 3,000 representatives from 450 non-governmental organisations attended the second Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD II), held at U.N. headquarters in New York from 7 June to 10 July 1982. In view of their increasingly assertive role for progress in disarmament and the cause of world peace, representatives from 53 non-governmental organisations and 22 peace and research institutions, were permitted to make their submissions to the *Ad Hoc* Committee of the session. *The U.N. Secretariat provided the opportunity on 10 June to 20 international and national organisations to present to the Secretary-General, in the presence of 1,000 persons outside the public entrance of the United Nations, a petition with a total of 90 million signatures. On 14 June, civil disobedience exercises were mounted before the entrances of the Missions of the five nuclear-weapon States to express disgust at the slowness of negotiations towards the elimination of nuclear weapons.*

In his opening address, Ismat T. Kittani, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, had sounded a note of alarm,

declaring that nothing had been achieved since the euphoria generated by the SSODI and the Final Document of 1978, which had pronounced: "Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation" (resolution S-10/2, para. 18). He observed that not "a single weapon has been destroyed over the past four years as a result of a disarmament agreement. Nothing of significance has been done to reduce the imminent threat of self-extinction that makes the present so dangerous and the future so uncertain. It is a sorry record of failure". He went on to point out that there was a choice: either, on the one hand, wholesale destruction, both physical and moral, or, on the other, coexistence, based on a shared determination not to commit global suicide. The U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar told the same session that the world lived under a standing threat of uncontrolled conflagration. He pointed out to the assembled dignitaries:

All decision-makers know that, by its very nature, a nuclear war cannot remain limited... An all-out nuclear confrontation would affect the entire world, the entire eco-system. Vital parts of the ozone layer, which protects the earth from ultraviolet radiation, would be destroyed, with catastrophic consequences for human beings, animals and vegetation. All services essential to sustain life would be detrimentally affected. The infrastructure of civilization would be shattered... There is no possibility of winning a nuclear war in any conceivable sense of the word "win": the end of civilization could hardly be anyone's victory. A very apt description of the consequences of a nuclear confrontation is: "The living will envy the dead".¹

The Secretary-General urged that security must be sought not in ever-higher levels of armaments, but "on gradually much lower, less dangerous, less costly levels in the long and painstaking process leading towards the final goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control". Calling for urgent action for the cessation of the nuclear arms race and for disarmament, he pointed out that the prevention of nuclear war was not only a moral imperative but a question of survival.

Many delegations, feeling that insufficient attention was being devoted to the most urgent disarmament and arms control issues,

¹ *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November 1982, pp 10 - 11.

and speaking in consonance with the language of the Final Document of 1978 that peace and security were interlinked and "inseparable", called for collective security arrangements instead of the building up of the most destructive national war machines. Prime Minister of Finland, Kalevi Sorsa, stated that the present difficulties lay in "obsolete notions of national security". Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada called for initiatives to enhance "mutual security". And former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt saw the need for the East and West to build up contractually their "common security".² This concept of "common security" had been developed by a 17-member Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, chaired by Olaf Palme, former and present Prime Minister of Sweden, who was specially invited to address the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

Over 60 proposals and position papers by Member States were circulated. Five draft resolutions were read before the Assembly. They contained proposals for a nuclear arms freeze, the prevention of nuclear war, a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and urgent measures for the prevention of nuclear war and for nuclear disarmament. None of the draft resolutions were pressed to a vote at the special session.

Sweden and Mexico in a draft resolution urged the USA and the USSR to "proclaim, either through simultaneous unilateral declarations or through a joint declaration, an immediate nuclear arms freeze, embracing:

(a) A comprehensive test ban of nuclear weapons and of their delivery vehicles;

(b) The complete cessation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons and of their delivery vehicles;

(c) A ban on all further deployment of nuclear weapons and of their delivery vehicles; and

(d) The complete cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes."³

The two countries urged that the arms freeze would be subject

² Alessandro Corradini, "National Arms Policies And The Message of The 1978 and 1982 Special Sessions On Disarmament", *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November 1982, p 69.

³ Julie Dahlitz, "The Second Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament - An Account and Evaluation", *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November 1982, p 52.

to all relevant measures and procedures of verification which had already been agreed by the parties in the cases of the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties, as well as those accepted in principle by them during the preparatory trilateral negotiations on the comprehensive test ban held at Geneva.

A proposal submitted by West Germany, Japan and the Netherlands, entitled "Prevention of War, In Particular Nuclear War", outlined commitments already made, and proposed additional commitments to be undertaken, for the prevention of the outbreak of war.

India introduced a resolution calling on all nuclear-weapon states to agree to a freeze on nuclear weapons and complete halt in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes, and a draft Convention on the Prohibition of the Use of Nuclear Weapons. Together with Mexico, it proposed another resolution requesting the Secretary General to appoint a group of eminent personalities who could render advice in conflict situations which could escalate into nuclear war.

The socialist community countries urged positive action in favour of peace. Bulgaria introduced a proposal, entitled "Prevention of Nuclear War". The late President Brezhnev, speaking through Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at the UN Second Special Session, declared:

We are convinced that no contradiction between states or groups of States, no differences in social systems, ways of life or ideologies and no transitory interests can eclipse the fundamental need common to all peoples - the need to safeguard peace and avert a nuclear war.⁴

*He declared that the USSR assumed the obligation, with immediate effect after its disclosure from the rostrum of the General Assembly, not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. He challenged the U.S. to join in a no-first-strike pledge, asserting: "if the other nuclear powers assume an equally precise and clear obligation... that would be tantamount in practice to a ban on the use of nuclear weapons altogether."*⁵ Also covered in this presentation to the General Assembly was the Soviet Union's idea of a mutual freeze of

⁴ Quoted in Julie Dahlitz, *op. cit.*, p 53.

⁵ *Time*, 28 June 1982, p 27.

nuclear armaments and the eventual complete elimination and the complete prohibition of chemical weapons: later, the Soviet Union submitted a draft convention on the prohibition of development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons, and on their destruction. Gromyko denied the US charge that the Soviet Union had gained military superiority. On the contrary, he spoke of the need for maintaining "the existing parity" in nuclear arms. Parity must be determined, he said, "by the totality of arms possessed rather than by the quantities of some of the individual types". He stressed the need for equality and equal security and the conservation of positive gains which had been achieved, including the SALT-2 Treaty; he regarded it as essential that everything facilitating the continuation of the strategic arms race in any form should be blocked.

In his presentation to the world body, President Ronald Reagan told the Special Session:

I speak today as a citizen both of the United States and of the world. I come with the heartfelt wishes of my people for peace bearing honest proposals and looking for genuine progress.⁶

The fine sentiments were not matched by action. The US was not prepared to adopt constructive decisions. Having decided to attain strategic superiority over the Soviet Union within 10 years, the United States and the western countries supporting it opposed all proposals for restricting the arms race and reducing the nuclear threat. Consequently, the SSOD II ended with Washington being isolated and attacked for the failure of the Assembly to agree on the main items of its agenda; a review of the progress since SSOD I of 1978, and the adoption of a Comprehensive Programme of Disarmament.

The Mexican Ambassador and Permanent Representative to the Committee on Disarmament Alfonso Garcia Robles was critical of the attitude of the U.S. delegation in the general debate. Statements like "we need deeds not words", that "we should not confuse the signing of agreements with the solving of problems" because "agreements genuinely reinforce peace only when they are kept", he pointed out, contradicted what President Reagan had

POSITIONS OF THE USA AND THE USSR ON MAJOR DEMANDS OF INTERNATIONAL ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

USA		USSR
NO	Renounce the deployment of new medium range nuclear missiles in Europe	YES
NO	Establish nuclear free zones in Europe.	YES
NO	Stop Plans for a "limited" or any other nuclear war.	YES
NO	Renounce the first use of nuclear weapons.	YES
NO	Ban production of the neutron bomb.	YES
NO	Freeze Nuclear armaments.	YES
NO	Stop all nuclear weapon tests.	YES
NO	Destroy nuclear weapons.	YES
NO	Renounce military blocs. Simultaneously disband NATO and Warsaw Treaty Organisation.	YES

These positions of the USA and the USSR are reflected in official documents and statements of the leaders of both countries.

⁶ Quoted in Julie Dahlitz, *op. cit.*, p 53

said in his address to the Assembly on June 17, 1982. The Mexican delegate expressed the view that "the treatment to be given to the banning of nuclear weapon testing may have been the deciding factor in the Assembly's failure to adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament"⁷, it was clearly in contradiction with the commitments, entered into 20 years ago and later under the partial test-ban Treaty, seeking the discontinuance of test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time.

The Deputy Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations, O.O. Fafowora, said some delegations questioned the validity of the provisions of the Final Document of SSODI. Besides, there was a shift in their position with regard to the priority status which had been given to a comprehensive test ban within the framework of nuclear disarmament. Some delegations also questioned the central role of the United Nations, and "saw the comprehensive programme of disarmament as ambitious and, moreover, they considered it to be unrealistic to expect achievement within a 20-year period".⁸

The SSOD II failed to reach a consensus and did not adopt a comprehensive programme of disarmament, largely because of the aggravated world situation and the intransigence of the United States. It did, however, within this context achieve some positive results. The fact that there was so much public activity prior to the session, and that so many notable world leaders attended, was an indication of the seriousness with which the escalating arms race was viewed. It served to focus and perhaps even narrow down some of the differences of approach on crucial issues which had impeded progress on disarmament. By the Concluding Document, the Assembly unanimously and categorically reaffirmed the validity of the Final Document of 1978 and the solemn commitment of Member States to it. It urged all Member States to consider as soon as possible relevant proposals to secure the avoidance of war, and stressed the need for strengthening the central role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament and the implementation of the security system provided for in the U.N. Charter. Agreement was reached on two items – the World Disarmament Campaign and

⁷ Alfonso Garcia, Robles, *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November 1982, p 29.

⁸ O.O. Fafowora, *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November, 1982, p 32.

the U.N. programme of fellowships on disarmament. By so doing, recognition was given to the cardinal role that had been, and is being, played by non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and public opinion in the prevention of a nuclear holocaust.

*Towards the end of SSOD II, a group of NGO's issued a statement on 9 July 1982, asserting that "the obvious failure of this session has caused us such deep concern that it has been difficult to find words properly to express our sense of outrage". They left the session "with the firm determination to educate our people and our Governments in the over-riding need for an end to armed conflict".*⁹

Alarmed about the drift towards war and the danger to the environment, nearly three-quarters of a million people in West Germany marched in protest during the 1983 Easter weekend in various cities and at U.S. military bases against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. The newly-constituted Green Party, in February 1983, organised a "war-crimes tribunal" in Nuremberg where nuclear arms were convicted of being "a crime against humanity".¹⁰ The people of West Germany responded by giving it in March 1983 representation in the federal parliament with 26 seats.

In Great Britain, the Women's Peace Camp organised a 110 miles (198 km.) march with 50 women and their children from Cardiff to the US Greenham Common air base, where cruise missiles are to be stationed in late 1983. Their main objective was to demonstrate their horror at the growing nuclear threat, and to demand a televised debate between representatives of the government and supporters of disarmament. After this was ignored, they founded a tent Peace Camp across the main entrance to Greenham Common. The camp attracted wide attention, and became a symbol of struggle against the Bomb. Manifesting a new wave of support and popularity the 25-year old Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) organised the biggest ever demonstration in its history in protest against the siting of cruise missiles on British soil. Tens of thousands in April 1983 formed a 14-miles long human chain in Southern England between the US Greenham Common military base, Burghfield nuclear weapons factory and Aldermaston Atomic Research Station. In Scotland, thousands during the Easter weekend in 1983 lay pro-

⁹ Quoted in Homer A. Jack, "Non-Governmental Organisations And Public Opinion At SSOD II, *Disarmament*, United Nations, N.Y., November 1982, p 79.

¹⁰ *Time*, 21 March 1983, p 6.

strate on the ground as if they had been victims of a nuclear attack. The CND also launched a "peace studies" programme for schools, and took a decision to oppose in the British general elections those candidates who did not support nuclear disarmament. This resulted in raging controversy over the secretary of the CND, Monseigneur Bruce Kent, and a call for his resignation. He and others were deemed by the Pope's representative in Britain as "idiots" and "blinded idealists who were doing the job of the Soviets." Catholic Cardinal Hume of Great Britain defended Bruce Kent, and the Vatican criticised the Pope's representative.

In the socialist countries, the peace campaign is gaining in proportions and increasing in momentum. Active support is being rendered to the initiatives taken by many countries including the Non-

Aligned Movement to make non-nuclear zones in Latin America, Africa, Middle East and Central Europe, and peace zones in South East Asia, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Caribbean. Leonid Brezhnev told the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU):

To safeguard peace – no task is more important on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world..... Not war preparations that doom the peoples to a senseless squandering of their national and spiritual wealth, but consolidation of peace – that is the clue to the future.

Yuri Andropov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee told the CPSU Central Committee Plenary Session in November 1982: "Mankind cannot endlessly tolerate the arms race and wars, if it does not wish to gamble with its future". Towards its objectives of the attainment of world peace, the USSR made many far-reaching proposals:

- not to start the production of neutron weapons provided other states did likewise, and its willingness to conclude an agreement banning these weapons once and for all;
- the freezing of US and Soviet strategic weapons;
- resuming and bringing to a conclusion the tripartite talks between the USSR, the United States and Great Britain on banning nuclear weapons tests;
- concluding an international convention obliging the nuclear po-

- wers not to use nuclear weapons against nations which do not possess such weapons and do not have them on their territory;
- concluding an international agreement on the non-deployment of nuclear weapons on the territory of states where there are no such weapons at the present time;
- world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations;
- the simultaneous disbanding of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation (or at least mutual curtailment of their military activities);
- the conclusion by all countries represented at the European Security Conference in Helsinki of a treaty pledging not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against one another;
- on measures prohibiting the development and manufacture of new types of weapons and weapon systems of mass destruction;
- the termination of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles all the way to their complete liquidation.

Despite the aggravated world situation, the Soviet Union unilaterally withdrew 20,000 Soviet servicemen, one thousand tanks and a certain quantity of other military equipment from Central Europe, and agreed not to deploy additional medium-range missiles.

During his official visit to India in December 1980, Leonid Brezhnev disclosed a Peace Plan for the Persian Gulf, consisting of five points:¹¹

- Not to set up foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf area and on the adjacent islands; not to deploy nuclear or any other weapons of mass destruction there;
- Not to use or threaten to use force against the countries of the Persian Gulf area, and not to interfere in their internal affairs.
- To respect the status of non-alignment chosen by the states of the Persian Gulf area; not to draw them into military groupings with the participation of nuclear powers.
- To respect the sovereign right of the states of that area to their natural resources.
- Not to raise any obstacles or pose threats to normal trade exchanges and to the use of sea lanes linking the states of that area with other countries of the world.

¹¹ Vladlen Kuznetsov, *The Soviet Union Proposes: The International Situation and Soviet Peace Initiatives*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow, 1982, pp 96-97.

For the volatile Middle East, the Soviet Union made the following proposals for the path to peace:

1. A Palestinian state on the West Bank/Gaza Strip.
2. Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands in keeping with UN resolution 242.
3. Guarantees of the borders and security of all Middle East states, including Israel.
4. End of state of war between Israel and the Arab states, a legal fact which prevents the recognition of Israel by the Arab states.
5. Convening of the Geneva Conference, of which USA and USSR are co-chairman.¹²

The Soviet Union wants also the return to the Arabs of East Jerusalem as an inalienable part of a Palestinian state, and international guarantees of a Middle East settlement under the aegis of the U.N. Security Council.

As regards the Western Hemisphere, Leonid Brezhnev at a Kremlin reception in honour of a government delegation from the Republic of Nicaragua said:

History and the present times are yielding further proof of the fact that the freedom movement is going on and mounting amidst the mass of the peoples of Latin America. The peoples want to be masters of their land, of their homes, be it in Central America or in the South Atlantic. And in the Western Hemisphere too, there emerge dangerous complications and conflict situations, it is precisely because there are forces which are trying to preserve or restore their positions of dominance and to impose foreign oppression on the peoples. They do not stop at threats and pressure, blackmail and blockade or the use of arms, and resort to actions reminding one of the time of colonial brigandage. Here, as in other parts of the globe, the Soviet Union follows its principled policy, that of removing existing seats of tension and preventing the appearance of new ones, preventing interference in the internal affairs of states and peoples and settling disputes by peaceful ways, at the negotiating table. We have one policy on all continents, the Leninist policy of peace and friendship among nations.¹³

¹² *Daily World*, Editorial, New York, 21 September 1982, p 6.

¹³ Quoted in Yuri Gvozdev, *Under the Cover Of Inter-American Solidarity*, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow 1983, pp 67 - 68.

For its peace proposals and its support for strengthening the peace-keeping role of the United Nations, the USSR received the warm praise of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. In an interview with *Tass*, Javier Perez de Cuellar said:

Of those I consider most significant, I would put the solemn declaration from President Brezhnev that the USSR was assuming an unequivocal obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons to the fore. That obligation indicates a broadening of the previous Soviet position, and, to use some of the words of your President, if all states that have nuclear weapons were to make such a pledge and were to adhere to it, "this would be tantamount in practice to banning the use of nuclear weapons altogether".¹⁴

Recognising that in a rapidly expanding movement for peace and disarmament lies the hope for the future, 71 international and national organisations forming the International Working Group of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, met in Geneva on 18 and 19 February, 1983 and issued a call for all groups and individuals, irrespective of ideological, political or religious convictions to join together in the common struggle for a lasting peace. The World Assembly held in Prague from 21-26 June 1983, brought together citizens from 132 countries of the world; peoples of various races and nationalities, of different philosophical views, religious and political positions. The over 3,000 participants came from 1,843 national organisations, trade unions, peace, women's, youth and student's movements, political parties and churches, 108 international and non-governmental organisations as well as representatives from 11 inter-governmental bodies.

Americans mounted in New York City the largest protest rally in U.S. history in favour of peace, jobs and justice. It called for support for the second U.N. Special Session on Disarmament, and for "a freeze and reduction of all nuclear weapons and a transfer of military budgets to human needs." Former senior officials and big foreign-policy figures - Robert McNamara who was Defence Secretary for both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy's National Security Adviser; George Kennan, former Am-

¹⁴ *Soviet News*, USSR Embassy, London, September 8, 1982 p. 291.

Who is leading in the arms-race?

Experts generally agree that acceleration of arms-race is mostly induced by the development of new types of weapons. Former American diplomat George Kennan said that "one should not make the mistake of laying the whole blame on the Soviet Union because it is the United States that has always set the pace". The situation since the end of the Second World War looks as follows.

Arms-system	Year of inception	
	USA	USSR
Nuclear bomb	1945	1950
Hydrogen bomb	1953	1954
Long-range bomber	1953	1957
Medium-range missile	1953	1959
Tactical nuclear weapons	1955	1956
Intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)	1955	1957
Nuclear-powered submarine	1956	1962
Submarine - based under water - launched missile	1959	1966
Anti-missile defence systems	1960	1961
Solid-propulsion intercontinental missile	1962	1969
Multiple warhead missile	1964	1972
MIRV (Multiple Individually targetable Re-Entry Vehicles)	1970	1975
Neutron weapons	1981	-
New generation of cruise missiles	1983	-
Manoeuvrable Re-Entry Vehicle (MRV)	1985	-

Source: Frankfurter Rundschau, October 2, 1981.

The table shows that it is not the Soviet Union who initiated development of new types of weapons, it only reacted to danger

caused by the West. It also limited its activity to measures that assured its and its allies' security.

bassador to Moscow; and Gerard Smith, President Nixon's top arms-control negotiator - in an article in *Foreign Affairs* (Spring 1982) wrote of the "appalling consequences" of even the most limited use of nuclear weapons. They urged President Reagan in early April, 1982, to renounce any first use of nuclear arms in Europe. They argued that a US threat to initiate nuclear strikes to blunt a Soviet attack were so dangerous¹⁵ they must be scrapped. "It is time", the four said, "to recognise that no one has ever succeeded in advancing any persuasive reason to believe that any use of nuclear weapons, even on the smallest scale, could reliably be expected to remain limited".

Leading American politicians Averill Hariman, Paul Warnke and Clark Clifford said that a mutual freeze of nuclear weapons was the most reliable opportunity to halt and reverse the arms race. One hundred and sixty U.S. Senators and Congressmen co-sponsored an Edward Kennedy-Mark Hatfield Congressional Resolution calling for a nuclear weapons freeze. Rejecting President Reagan's approval for a massive build-up of 17,000 additional nuclear warheads to meet the alleged "Soviet threat", Senator Kennedy told a press conference:

The President claims we are behind the Soviets but he offers no reason to believe that. We have 9,000 strategic warheads and they have 7,000.... Millions of citizens sense the danger of nuclear conflict, that is why they have joined the nuclear freeze movement. They have rejected the Reagan-Jackson approach which means more billions of dollars, more thousands of bombs, but no more security. The Reagan-

Warner-Jackson approach is part of the problem, not part of the solution.... We have the support of millions of people across the length and breadth of this country for our freeze resolution. The people are ahead of the politicians.

¹⁵ A group of 14 specialised scientists from various parts of the world, at a meeting in Rome at the end of 1982 under the chairmanship of Professor Carlos Chagas, President of the Pontifical Academy of Sciences, stated: "Any nuclear war would inevitably cause death, disease and suffering of pandemic proportions and without the possibility of effective medical intervention". A study by the Second International Congress of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, held in early 1982 in Cambridge, U.K., concluded that a nuclear war in Europe would result in the death of 150 million people. Half of those who would survive, nearly 140 million, would be seriously injured, while all the survivors would be condemned in the long run to a sure death as a result of famine.



A poll conducted by *Time* showed a 76% support by the American people for a nuclear freeze. The *Miami Herald* in an editorial on October 20, 1982 stated that Noel Gaylor, former head of the National Security Agency, avidly supported the freeze, and former CIA Director William Colby said that it could be verified. The newspaper, pleaded for support for a referendum in Dale County, Florida on November 2, 1982 for a freeze on the international nuclear arms race in the following terms:

Should the President of the United States propose to the Soviet Union and to other nations that possess nuclear weapons a mutual and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze, including an immediate halt in the testing, production and further deployment of new missiles and aircraft designated primarily to deliver nuclear weapons?

In the November 1982 US elections, similar nuclear freeze referenda were passed in 8 out of 9 states and in several municipalities and counties. Haynes Johnson, in the *International Herald Tribune* (November 3, 1982) on the eve of the mid-term congressional US elections, wrote: "Hardly a single business executive interviewed, for instance, favours the kind of military increases Mr. Reagan advocates". The US Congress over-rode the President's veto of a congressional cut of over \$40 billion in his defence budget for 1982. Even the Republican-dominated Senate Budget Committee dealt a severe blow to the administration. Its request for a \$274 billion defense allocation for fiscal 1984, an increase of 10.7%, regarded by the President "as a minimum budget to protest our country's vital interests", was defeated by a 19 to 2 vote. The Committee proceeded to vote by 17 to 4 for an increase of only 5%, thereby reducing the proposed \$274 billion defense budget for fiscal 1984 by \$13 billion. In May 1983, the President suffered his greatest setback. The Republican-controlled Senate by a narrow majority cut the administration's budget by \$30 billion, and agreed to an increase in defense spending of only 6%. And in opposition to Reagan's policy, the Senate proposed an increase in taxes by \$9 billion to reduce the growing budget deficit. The President indicated that he would fight the Congress for his integrated programme based on a cut in taxes and an increase in defense spending.

In April 1983, the House of Representatives, concerned about the lack of the administration's seriousness about arms control, after defeating by votes of 219 to 195 and 229 to 190 administration supporters' watering-down amendments, passed a nuclear-freeze resolution calling for a mutual and verifiable ban on the production of nuclear weapons. A similar resolution was before the Senate. Congressmen also blocked an attempt to increase the strength of the armed forces by 37,300 personnel in 1984.

Pressure of public opinion forced the removal of Washington's hawks: Richard Allen as National Security Adviser and General Robert L. Schweitzer as top military officer in the National Security Council. Richard Allen, who represented the conservative purists and believed in "US military superiority" and a "get tough" policy towards the Soviet Union, was forced to resign over an incident involving gifts from journalists in Japan. General Schweitzer was sacked for his alarmist, anti-Soviet speech in late 1981 to the Association of the United States Army.

Reminiscent of the student uproar during the Viet Nam war, hawkish US Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane Kirkpatrick, was roughly treated by students at universities across the country, in California, Minnesota and New York. She was forced to relinquish awards given by two women's institutions, Smith College and Bernard College, one of them her *alma mater*. At Bernard College, the faculty by more than a two to one vote opposed the award. Faculty and students vehemently opposed her hard-line policies especially in support of the dictatorship in El Salvador and the Somocistas in Nicaragua.

And only the personal intervention of President Reagan and a barrage of telephone calls to waverers led to the confirmation by the Senate of Kenneth Adelman as director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency by a vote of 57 to 42. Earlier, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had issued a report contending that Adelman lacked the "stature, experience, knowledge and commitment" for the job.¹⁶ This, coupled with the 13-weeks long controversy about his confirmation, "is symbolic of a cluster of larger and more complicated questions about the wisdom, competence and even the sincerity of President Reagan's conduct of arms control"¹⁷

¹⁶ *Time*, March 28, 1983, p. 25.

¹⁷ *Time*, April 18, 1983, p. 6.

The fact that Adelman was only the seventh presidential nominee in the past 24 years to have had 40 or more Senate votes cast against him, was indicative of the Senate's view that "the administration has no real intention of reaching arms-control agreements with the Soviets".¹⁸

The influential *Time* magazine, one of the traditional "mouth pieces" of the U.S. ruling class, expressed in a series of stories criticisms of the administration's arms control policies. It debunked repeated propaganda by President Reagan of USSR's "margin of superiority". "Such bad news," it observed, "would be good medicine if it were really justified. But to substantiate his claim, Reagan relies on simplistic charts and selective statistics."¹⁹ Dealing with the same issue, ranking Democratic Senator Daniel Inouye said: "Reagan left the impression that the U.S. is at the mercy of the Soviet Union. Most respectfully, Mr. President, you know that is not true. You have failed to present an honest picture."²⁰ The Hawaiian Senator went on to say that President Reagan had failed to point out that the Soviet Union's advantage in land-based missiles was "more than offset" by American warheads on submarines and bombers; that total U.S. warheads were 9,268 as compared with 7,339 for the USSR (Pentagon figures are 9000 and 8,500 respectively).

In the same vein, Harold Wilens, adviser to the Washington-based Center for Defense Information and State chairman for the 1982 California Nuclear Freeze Campaign, in an article "Overstating Dangers Is A Pentagon Habit" in the *Los Angeles Times*,²¹ wrote:

The "window of vulnerability" myth was debunked when an anonymous Defense Department source revealed to *Reuters* on February 28 that Soviet "accuracy isn't even within the ball park of being able to launch a first strike". The next day the CIA admitted that its official estimates had overstated the growth rate of Soviet defense spending in the last six years as much as 100 per cent. Then on March 2 Richard De Lauer, undersecretary of defense for research and engineering, grudgingly admitted to a congressional panel that the United

States had a 15 to 1 margin of superiority over the Soviet Union in significant military technologies. A few days later a high Pentagon official told reporters that "strategically we are better". The next morning, after he had been pulled back into line, he hastily issued a press release explaining that he had meant to say that the United States had an edge only "in the largest sense - society compared to society".

Senator Edward Kennedy on August 13, 1983 pointed out that 43 per cent of the U.S. armed forces stationed abroad was an unnecessary heavy burden, and did not serve American vital interests. He accused the Reagan administration of conducting a war-mongering, not peaceful policy in Central America, the Middle East and Africa, which might lead to serious U.S. military involvement.

As regards the frequent accusations, particularly from the right wing in the Senate, of flagrant Soviet violations of SALT1, *Time* stated that while "the charges are numerous and persistent, none of them has stuck". Pointing out that the Soviet Union had hinted at flexibility in proposing "cooperative measures" for some on-site inspection in future agreements, it noted that "comprehensive, intensive on-site inspection is not only non-negotiable, it is unnecessary..." This was so because, along with the Soviet limited "cooperative measures", it was possible with technical advances for the United States to monitor Soviet activities from space and the periphery of the USSR.

No doubt, with Reagan's zero-zero option in mind, and other hard-line positions, *Time* observed: "But also without doubt, the US position is utterly non-negotiable. It asks everything of the other side, gives practically nothing, and shows practically no flexibility". In response to "zero-zero option" that the United States would forego deployment of its Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles if the Soviet Union removed all its medium-range SS-20 missiles, CPSU General Secretary Yuri Andropov had replied that after the reduction of medium range armaments, the USSR would retain exactly the same number of missiles of this range as there would be on the side of NATO, that is in the possession of Britain and France, and exactly the same number of medium-range aircraft with a nuclear capability as in the possession of the United States, Britain and France put together. Later, in order to maintain equal security and equality, he said that the Soviet government would be prepared to consider

¹⁸ *Time*, April 25, 1983, p 23.

¹⁹ *Time*, April, 18, 1983, p 10.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Reproduced in *International Herald Tribune*, 13 April 1983.

not simply missiles and launchers but also warheads in the determination of parity at lower levels of arms control.

One of the greatest challenges to the Reagan administration has come from the Catholic Church and its following of nearly 130 million Catholics. On the issue of war, peace and disarmament, the Catholic Church had lagged behind other denominations. In April 1983, the Catholic Bishops Conference by an overwhelming vote of 239 to 9 approved, despite pressures from Washington, a Pastoral Letter, which was nearly 2 years in the making. Attempts to have Pope Paul II influence the Catholic Bishops failed. So were compromises to meet the administration's criticisms: the conference amended the draft Letter presented to it for a curb of the arms race and restored the wording in the original draft which had called for a nuclear freeze and a halt to the expansion of the stockpile of nuclear weapons. The Catholic Bishops in their theology of peace challenged the doctrine of nuclear deterrence of the United States, pointing out that the "balance of terror could all too easily lead to a holocaust".²² They called for a nuclear freeze claiming that a costly nuclear deterrence was not only dangerous, but also taking away money from programmes for the poor. They doubted that a nuclear war can be limited; criticised "the deployment of the new MX missiles on the ground that they would quicken the arms race", and opposed the first use of nuclear weapons by the United States. The conference declared that there was no moral justification for a nuclear war, and under no circumstances should there be resort to it.

The Pastoral Letter of the Catholic Bishops Conference followed a Vatican panel declaration in September 1982 that the prevention of nuclear war "is the greatest moral issue humanity has ever faced and there is no time to lose".²³ Pope John Paul II had added his voice for world peace, and on a visit to Spain in November 1982 deplored as "a scandal of our time" the work of scientists to develop nuclear arms and other weapons. He pleaded with intellectuals and professors to use their influence to stop the arms race, and to serve "the cause of peace and the real progress of man". During his Central American tour, he called for "dialogue" to bring peace in the region.

²² *Time*, November 29, 1982, p 54.

²³ *Ibid.*

A *Los Angeles Times* poll disclosed by a wide margin that the American public was opposed to U.S. involvement in El Salvador, that "efforts to prevent the overthrow of the Salvadorean government by leftist rebels are not morally justified, are not vital to US national defense and will not end in victory".²⁴ Even if the Salvadorean junta was faced with defeat, the majority of the Americans polled were against the use of US troops.

Congressional revolt is increasing in crescendo against the administration with respect to its activities in Central America and the Caribbean. It has the greatest potential for a change of U.S. foreign policy.

The U.S. Congress reduced President Reagan's aid proposals under his Caribbean Basin Initiative for El Salvador. His request for \$110 million emergency military aid for the beleaguered dictatorial regime, additional to the \$26 million voted for 1983, received serious opposition in the Congress. Despite the plea of the Defence Secretary that without additional military assistance the junta faced the possibility of defeat the Republican-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee cut by half the \$60 million that the President wanted switched from Morocco to El Salvador; at the same time, the Democrat-controlled House Appropriations subcommittee withheld its approval of the \$60 million transfer of funds, and rejected a request for an additional \$50 million wanted by the administration for the training of 1000 Salvadorean troops in the United States, and for equipping 14 light battalions, each consisting of 350 men. To the administration's argument that if the training was not done, more advisers (trainers) would have to be sent to El Salvador, Congressmen cried "blackmail".

Alarm is mounting that if the Salvadorean junta has to be proped up with more and more military and economic aid, the fighting will be prolonged, and the United States will get increasingly involved in Central America in a Viet Nam-type guerilla quagmire. According to *Time* magazine, the guerillas are on the offensive; the initiative is with them. They are getting large quantities of weapons supplied by the USA to the regime, deemed by former President Carter as "one of the bloodthirstiest". The Reagan administration is faced with a real dilemma: it can neither defeat the guerillas militarily, nor establish a democratic regime which respects human rights.

²⁴ *International Herald Tribune*, 13 April 1983, p 3.

A large number of Senators joined with Representatives in demanding that any military support for the oppressive junta in El Salvador must be conditional on an improvement in the human rights situation, a ban on the use of US troops in El Salvador, and negotiations with the liberation fighters towards a political solution and peace.

There are, however, marked differences in approach to negotiations. Secretary of State George Schultz, pointing out that the United States was not prepared to allow the guerillas "to shoot their way into power", declared: "We will not support negotiations that short-circuit the democratic process and carve up power behind the people's back". President Reagan wanted a "political solution" with negotiations aimed at getting the guerillas to participate in elections scheduled for December 1983. Earlier, National Security Council document, "US Policy in Central America and Cuba through F.Y. '84, Summary Paper"²⁵ for a meeting of the National Security Planning Group in April 1982, approved by President Reagan, had laid down a policy with the goal of preventing a "proliferation of Cuba-model states which would provide platforms for subversion, compromise vital sea lanes and pose a direct military threat at or near our borders", and agreed to "step up efforts to co-opt negotiations issue to avoid Congressionally mandated negotiations which would work against our interests". Guillermo Manuel Ungo, President of the Revolutionary Democratic Front wants "unconditional" discussions. FDR/FMLN spokesman Ruben Zamora pointed out: "There is no doubt that elections are a necessary part of a democratic process. But they must not be considered as an alternative to a total political solution". He said negotiations should cover six points: socio-economic reforms; the situation of the two armies; the government's international policy; a ceasefire; elections; and the integration of a provisional government with guerilla participation.²⁶ US congressional leaders want from the junta, with a record of 100 victims a week and 35,000 murdered during the past 3 years, amnesty for the guerillas who participate in elections and guarantee of their safety.²⁷

²⁵ *The New York Times*, April, 7, 1983, p A 16

²⁶ *Latin American Weekly Report*, 24 June 1983, p 12.

²⁷ In 1981, 6 leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) were murdered after a political rally in San Salvador. Said FDR leader Guillermo Manuel Ungo: "We are not so stupid as to participate in elections that will result in our ending up in a cemetery" (*Time*, March 28, 1983). They want dialogue leading to negotiations for a real solution.

A House Subcommittee voted in April 1983 to limit aid to the junta to US\$50 million in each of the next two fiscal years. This is less than half that the President had requested. The subcommittee also voted to forbid aid "directly or indirectly" to the contras in Nicaragua, unless Congress specifically approved it. A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate. The Reagan administration's not-so-secret aid to the counter-revolutionaries is being seriously challenged, with "a swelling chorus of congressional voices denouncing the administration's course as illegal and bad policy."

Aid to the Nicaraguan contras was counter-productive, legislators argued. It was, on the one hand, engendering fears about the resurrection of U.S. "big stick" methods and the alienation of international public opinion, including allies in the West; and, on the other hand, uniting and rallying the Nicaraguan people behind the Sandinista government. Democratic Senator Christopher Dodd pointed out that Reagan's policy was "a formula for failure". While the administration was posing communism²⁸ as a danger and Nicaragua as a conduit for Soviet and Cuban arms, and was warning of the grave consequences²⁹ of a "communist" victory in El Salvador, the people of Nicaragua were opposed to "Somocismo" more than anything else. The issue in Central America, he said, was not an East-West confrontation but a North-South struggle.

For supplying funds, arms, training and intelligence on troop movements in Nicaragua's northern province by spy plane, the administration was accused of breaking the law. This was a reference to the Boland (Edward P. Boland, chairman of the Permanent Select Committee of Intelligence) amendment to an appropriations bill, which was unanimously accepted in December 1982 by a vote of 411 to 0, and forbade aid to counter-revolutionaries. "None of the funds provided in this act", it says, "may be used by the Central

²⁸ In a fiery sermon, President Reagan told the 41st annual convention of the National Association of Evangelicals that the Soviet Union and communism "are the focus of evil in the modern world". He summoned the American people to resist "the aggressive impulses of an evil empire", and in effect called for a holy war against the forces of "totalitarian darkness".

²⁹ President Reagan in a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers warned: "If guerilla violence succeeds... El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua as a base for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, even Costa Rica. The killing will increase, and so will the threat to Panama, the canal and, ultimately, Mexico" (*Time*, March 21, 1983).

Intelligence Agency or the Department of Defense to furnish military equipment, military training or advice, or other support for military activities, to any group or individual, not part of the country's armed forces, for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras".³⁰ To President Reagan's answer that his administration was "complying with the law" and its activities were merely "aimed at interdicting these supply lines" (for weapons to El Salvador), democrat Edward Boland levelled the charge of "splitting hairs". In May 1983, two U.S. Democratic Congressmen, Representatives Robert G. Torricelli and Berkley who were included in a 10-member delegation organised by the Private Commission on United States-Central American Relations, said that the Reagan administration "is actively supporting anti-Sandinista insurgents in violation of the law". Gino Lofredo, director of the Commission said that the delegation "has been exposed to enough evidence to conclude that allegations of American support for counter-revolutionary groups operating from Honduras are accurate".³¹

Saul Landau, senior fellow of the Washington-based Institute of Policy Studies, in an article "War on Nicaragua" wrote:

The M-79 grenades, the United States-made rocket launchers, ration boxes and radio equipment, the ex-Guardsman's testimony, the Argentine Defector, the dynamiter, the member of Congress - all add up to war waged by our government under the name of intelligence.³²

Iowa Republican Congressman Jim Leach criticised the administration "for doing to Nicaragua precisely what it condemns the Sandinista for doing in El Salvador, that is, supporting an armed insurrection."³³ This was followed by a decision by the House Intelligence Committee through a second Boland amendment to suspend all secret funding for the Nicaraguan contras - a move deemed by President Reagan as "irresponsible as hell". Specifically, the resolution proposed "to prohibit US support for

³⁰ *The New York Times*, 7 April 1983, p A16.

³¹ Stephen Kinger, "Insurgents said to Get U.S. Help", *International Herald Tribune*, April 13, 1983, p 3.

³² *The New York Times*, March 28, 1983.

³³ *Time*, April 25, 1983, p 23-24.

military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua, and to authorize assistance to be openly provided to governments of countries in Central America, to interdict the supply of military equipment from Nicaragua and Cuba".³⁴ The Senate Intelligence Committee approved a resolution agreeing that money already appropriated for fiscal 1983, which ends on September 30, would "remain available. But to get any more funds, the President will have to submit a plan defining the objectives of CIA covert action in Central America, and have it approved by both intelligence committees."³⁵ This position in May 1983 was an advance on the position in December 1982 when Democrat Thomas Harkin's rider, calling for a ban by the U.S. of any "military activities in or against Nicaragua", had been defeated.

The Reagan administration suffered other setbacks. Panama indicated that it would not take any part of the sugar quota of Nicaragua after the United States had imposed an embargo. And King Hussein of Jordan refused to enter into talks with Israel on the future of the West Bank.

Sally Shelton, former Barbados-based US Ambassador to the Eastern Caribbean, in a testimony in 1982 before the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the House of Representatives, pointed out that in the specific case of Grenada, "our phobia towards and obsession with this small island is hardly warranted. It is in my view incongruous that the most powerful nation on earth should be so disturbed and so threatened by a small island of 116,000 people whose main export is nutmeg"³⁶. She charged that US policy towards the Caribbean had been traditionally shaped by "a Cubaphobia", and the United States was making a mistake by seeking to isolate Grenada. She called for the accreditation of a US ambassador to Grenada and the acceptance of the credentials of the Grenadian ambassador to Washington, and the removal of the embargo on technical, disaster and project assistance to Grenada. Rather than "a revival of an obsolete policy of gunboat diplomacy" for the attainment of "our goals", she pleaded for respect for the national sovereignty of the nations of the Caribbean, support for their economic development and an end to provocative military manoeuvres in Caribbean waters.

³⁴ *Time*, 16 May, 1983, p 32-33.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Quoted in *Caribbean Contact*, April 1983, p 13.

President Reagan's latest attack on Grenada on 10 March 1982 was received with a great deal of skepticism. In an address to the National Association, he said that Grenada "is building now or is having built for it, a naval base, a superior air base, storage bases and facilities for the storage of ammunitions, barracks and training grounds for the military...", and this constituted a threat to the "national security" of the United States. The *Miami Herald*, stated on March 25 that what was being constructed was a civilian airport with funds provided by the EEC and Arab countries. There was no naval base. *The Guardian of London* mentioned the incredibility expressed by members of the US Congress on being told that Grenada was a threat to US security. One member's reaction was that Grenada was "so tiny, who cares if it goes communist". Even the doyen of hardliners, Barry Goldwater, had to caution the CIA representatives to cool down. US Congressman Ronald Dellums told the House of Representatives defense subcommittee that before his visit to Grenada, the Commander and senior officers of the U.S. and NATO forces in the Caribbean acknowledged that Grenada including its new international airport was in no way a threat to the United States. Grenada's Ambassador to the OAS Dessima Williams dismissed Reagan's allegations as untrue and irresponsible, and called on the President to travel to Grenada for a "first-hand inspection" of the situation. "After he had looked and not found the base", said Ms. Williams, "then he will have no choice but to eat his cowboy hat".³⁸ The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada dismissed the President's allegations "as a pack of lies". It stated:

Ronald Reagan, who has enough satellites and planes spying over our skies every day, who has enough spies operating on the ground in our country, in a situation where people can come in here as tourists or as visitors and go everywhere they wish by bus, by taxi, by foot, knows full well the true situation in Grenada. Yet he was bold faced enough to state..... to the American nation and the world that Grenada has naval bases, Cuban and Russian naval bases and other sophisticated military installation. Now Grenada is a country so tiny, with villages and houses in every nook and cranny that it is not possible to hide anything in Grenada for more than a few minutes. So

³⁷ *Catholic Standard*, Guyana, 23 April 1983, p. 2.

³⁸ *Caribbean Contact*, April 1983, p. 13.

we must understand that Ronald Reagan knows the truth and that what we are seeing here is not just a pack of lies, but a statement made in full knowledge, the conscious knowledge that what he is peddling is a pack of lies.

Sol M. Linowitz, a former US representative to the OAS and Galo Plaza, former President of Ecuador, heading a group of Americans and Latin Americans, called in an 82-page report for steps to be taken to end the fighting in Central America. It said: "To end the hostilities in Central America, a many-sided dialogue should begin among the governments of Central America, their opposition movements, the United States, Cuba and the Soviet Union". It contended that "the basic roots of insecurity" in Latin America are not military but economic, social and political. Rejecting the view of some officials that revolutionary governments in Central America and the Caribbean would imperil US security interests, it observed that external confrontation with revolutionary regimes was more likely to breed intensified nationalist and revolutionary sentiment than the more restrained approach it recommended. It called for the working out of "understandings", which would pledge all parties "not to supply assistance to revolutionary movements that might seek to overthrow governments, to terminate any such aid being given, and not to allow their territories to be used for subverting other governments".

The prominent signatories to the report include: from the United States – Sol M. Linowitz, a former US representative to the OAS; former Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance; Gen. David C. Jones, retired, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Mayor Henry Cisneros of San Antonio; David Rockefeller, the banker and chairman of The Americas Society; the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame; Elliot L. Richardson, former Secretary of Defense; Ralph P. Davidson, chairman of the board of *Time Inc.*; Frank Shakespeare, president of RKO General Inc.; Roberto C. Goizueta, chairman of the board of the Coca-Cola Company, and former Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie; from Latin America – former President Galo Plaza of Ecuador; Oscar Camilion, former Foreign Minister of Argentina; Antonio Carillo Flores, former Foreign Minister of Mexico; Daniel Oduber Quiros, former President of Costa Rica; Archbishop Marcos McGrath of Panama;

Gabriel Valdes, former Foreign Minister of Chile; and Javier Silva Ruete, former Finance Minister of Peru.

The Bipartisan Commission on Central America, headed by Henry Kissinger, was told by Cyrus Vance at closed-door hearings at the State Department on 31 August and 1 September 1983 that the problems in Central America were "essentially local in nature". Calling for regional cooperation in finding solutions, Sol Linowitz told the Commission:

We cannot say we are committed to regional cooperation and then undertake to act on our own. We cannot say we believe in self-determination through choice and then try to prescribe what the choice shall be.

SHARPENING CONTRADICTIONS

The camp of imperialism is torn by endless contradictions. President Nixon and Henry Kissinger attempted to play the "China card" against the Soviet Union. There were some early successes. More recently, however, strains have developed in USA-China relations because firstly, the Reagan administration, committed to a policy of staunchly defending "friends", agreed to sell to Taiwan arms to the value of \$800 million; secondly, the United States placed an embargo on the export of high technology to China and restricted the importation of Chinese textiles, despite the huge balance of trade in favour of the USA. This has come after it had been officially recognised that the economic performance of industry and agriculture in China "cannot be considered as satisfactory", the ambitious "four modernisations" programme had failed, and the widely-advertised economic and industrial management reforms had been heavily curtailed. China's doors had been widely opened for the penetration of Western monopolies. In 1981, forty mixed enterprises with overall capital of \$189 million were established in China with the approval of the Chinese government. Besides, over 390 contracts have been signed which envisage the opening of various enterprises with the total value of about \$2,000 million. In the spring of 1982, China concluded nine agreements on geophysical surveys in the South China Sea and the Yellow Sea with 48 oil companies from 13 countries, including the United States, Japan, Britain, France, and Italy for the tune of about

\$900 million.³⁹ And a declaration was made that the level of US investments, which stood at about \$130 million in mid-1983, could be greatly increased.

Ideological differences have also become deeper. *Renmin jibao*, organ of the Communist Party of China wrote: "We have taken leave of the years and months of the chaos of the nation, mistakes of a left-wing deviation in politics, the economy and culture....." Those who were contaminated with "the poison of the ultra-left line" during the "cultural revolution" are being removed. And steps are being taken to improve relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states.

Former Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua, led a high level delegation to Moscow for the state funeral services for President Leonid Brezhnev. In a remarkably warm message on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, the Chinese government expressed hopes for the gradual normalisation of ties and urged both countries to "jointly work for the realisation of this goal through negotiations, concrete actions and the removal of obstacles".⁴⁰

On its part, the USSR has taken one initiative after another to improve relations with China. President Brezhnev told the 26th CPSU Congress that "the Soviet Union has never sought, nor does it seek any confrontation with the People's Republic of China. We follow the course set by the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, and would like to build our ties with that country on a good-neighbour basis. Our proposals for normalising relations with China remain open, and our feelings of friendship and respect for the Chinese people have not changed".⁴¹ Later, in a speech in Tashkent on March 24, 1982 Leonid Brezhnev declared: "We all remember the time when the Soviet Union and People's China were bound by ties of friendship and comradely cooperation. We have never considered the state of hostility and alienation between our countries to be a normal phenomenon".⁴²

There is growing unease in the Western Alliance. NATO's commander, General Bernard Rogers encountered resistance to imple-

³⁹ *Pravda*, 25 June, 1982.

⁴⁰ *Time*, 10 January, 1983, p 15.

⁴¹ Quoted in *Novosti Press Agency*, Moscow, 29 June, 1982, p 1.

⁴² Quoted in *Pravda*, 20 May 1982.

ment with his public-opinion crusade US plans to re-arm Europe. "Politicians just don't want to touch the subject of nuclear weapons", says a Brussels-based diplomat. "There is a collective wish that the subject will go away". That is unlikely'.⁴³

Reagan on a visit to Europe in late 1981, like that of Winston Churchill to the United States in 1946, did not elicit the expected response for a "crusade against communism". The European countries, including Great Britain despite US support for her in the Malvinas (Falklands) war, refused to succumb to pressures for an abandonment of the gas pipeline deal with the Soviet Union. Subsidiaries of US companies in Great Britain and France were forced to ignore the US embargo. Even US-based corporations protested the ban. The Andrew Corporation of Orkland Park, Illinois, prevented from fulfilling a \$3.5 million contract from a French firm Thomson-CSF to supply microwave antennas, pointed out that its subsidiary in the UK, Andrew Antennas Ltd., was compelled by the British Government to go ahead with its sales. 225 other US companies were similarly affected. Two of them, Caterpillar Tractor and General Electric, described the so-called policy of "sanctions against the Soviet Union" as senseless discrimination.

The White House wanted to frustrate the agreement on the construction of the gas pipeline to serve its own selfish aims - to force on its "partners" expensive American coal as an "energy alternative" to Soviet gas. "Washington hoped to kill two birds with one stone: undermine detente and at the same time increase Western Europe's economic dependence on the USA".⁴⁴

International and domestic pressure eventually forced the administration to drop the gas pipeline embargo. But the strains within the Alliance continue. Just before the visit of the new West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Washington in April 1983, his Economics Minister, Otto Lambsdorff, declared: "It would certainly not be wise of (Reagan) to put strains on East-West trade on top of the problems of the missile decision"⁴⁵ When the United States, according to the *New York Times* (29 April 1983), took action which would authorise President Reagan "to restrict imports from countries that sell to the Soviet Union or other Communist-bloc

⁴³ *Time*, 25 October 1982, p 17.

⁴⁴ *Pravda*, 20 June, 1982.

⁴⁵ *Time*, 25 April, 1983, p 24.

nations in violation of American trade sanctions", the 10-nation European Economic Community used strong language to accuse the US of acting "contrary to international law and comity", and was "unacceptable in the context of relations with friendly states". Europeans are becoming increasingly resentful of US double standards: while pressures are put on them to curb East-West trade, increasing quantities of US grain are being sold to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the EEC countries expressed their alarm at the sale to Egypt of 1 million tonnes of wheaten flour at dumped prices.

Simultaneously, there are sharp differences with the United States with respect to its policies in the Caribbean and Latin America. This was noted by the National Security Planning Group in April 1982. In a document, "US Policy in Central America and Cuba Through F.Y. '84, Summary Paper", it stated that the administration's policies were facing "serious difficulties" with public and Congressional opinion in the United States while "international opinion especially in Europe and Mexico, continues to work against our policies".⁴⁶ Despite US lobbying, Grenada received from the EEC aid for its international airport and other projects, and Nicaragua obtained arms from France for its defense.

The United States, by its close links with the dictatorial regime in Guatemala, alienates the CARICOM countries and the United Kingdom. The latter countries support Belize in her struggle against Guatemala's threats; at the same time, their cooperation with the United States is important for Reagan's cold war policy.

The Socialist International, in spite of its long accommodation with imperialism, has played a positive role. Anxious to break out of its "European isolation", and concerned about the growing influence of Marxism-Leninism, it supported the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions, and called for a negotiated settlement in El Salvador.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the British House of Commons, in a Report published in December 1982, stated that Britain was playing a minor role in an area it once dominated, and had been overshadowed by countries such as the United States, Canada, Mexico and Venezuela and jostled by South Korea and Libya. It expressed anxiety over waning political influence and loss of trading

⁴⁶ *The New York Times*, April 7, 1983, p A 16.

opportunities and traditional markets, and pointed out that Britain could play a "moderating influence", since the US view of the Caribbean as its "backyard" had always caused resentment. The Committee, critical of US policies in the region, felt that "a view of the Caribbean Basin dominated by the belief that it is a theatre of East-West confrontation provides an unsatisfactory and insufficient policy frame-work", giving too much emphasis to the containment of communism and too little to the need to help regional state to "solve their own problems in their own way".⁴⁷ It noted the "paranoid" antagonism of the Reagan administration towards any "remotely" left-wing government, and regretted the small amount involved in the Caribbean Basin Initiative, as well as "the divisive nature of the package". It also supported the Mexican position that the embittered relations between the United States and Cuba threatened Caribbean stability and security, and suggested changes in US attitudes and "a broader and more tolerant policy framework".

The French and Mexican governments recognised in August 1981 the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador as a "representative political force"; they also called for a negotiated political settlement.

Canada, Mexico and Venezuela did not agree with the over-emphasis placed on the militarist/security aspects by the United States towards the resolution of the grave problems of the Caribbean; they objected to the exclusion of Cuba, Grenada and Nicaragua from the Caribbean Basin Plan. Canada does not share US views about many questions including the North-South dialogue. With the likelihood that its "quiet, temperate imperialism will be quietly, if not temperately eclipsed".⁴⁸ Canada is asserting its role in the Caribbean. At the Commonwealth Caribbean Heads of Government Summit held in St. Lucia on February 20-21, 1983, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's position was in marked contrast with that of President Reagan. He came out fully in support of the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and ideological pluralism. Addressing the conference, he declared:

We have urged a development approach non-discriminatory with respect to national plans and regional institutions - on the other part-

⁴⁷ Jeremy Taylor, "Rediscovering the Caribbean", *The Caribbean Chronicle*, West India Committee, February/March 1983, p 10.

⁴⁸ Oakland Ross, *Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Canada, December 11, 1982.

ners. In our view, states have the right to choose to follow whatever ideological path their peoples decide. When a country chooses a socialist or even a Marxist path, it does not necessarily buy a "package" which automatically injects it into the Soviet orbit. The internal systems adopted by countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, whatever these systems may be, do not in themselves pose a security threat to this hemisphere

We have not shifted our aid programmes or our support because a regime has moved to the left its internal affairs.

Thus, we prefer to let countries choose their own paths for their own development. If they keep their social and humanitarian obligations to their people in the forefront of their actions, they will have Canada's help.⁴⁹

The Prime Minister went on to announce that Canada's aid to the Caribbean countries during the next 5 years, would be C\$250 million, twice the amount for the 1977-82 period.

Mexico, concerned about instability in Central America, took bold initiatives to bring about peace in the sub-region. Former President Lopez Portillo warned that "any intervention in Central America and the Caribbean would be the greatest error in history; it would provoke a violent continental disturbance and the upsurge of a strong anti-American sentiment in the breast of every person in Latin America". And to cope with internal financial difficulties, the government nationalised the Mexican banks. President-elect Miguel de la Madrid at a pre-election press conference indicated some positive positions: the securing of "world peace against the arms race which seeks a fragile balance of terror in the world"; continued support for "the North-South Dialogue and global negotiations in the United Nations framework"; strengthening the "international agencies" because of the unfortunate event of the Malvinas which "showed the failure of the Inter-American system to support the demands of the Argentinian people. We Latin Americans regret that the United States did not adopt a more reasonable stance" just as "we lament the lack of historic vision of the EEC". He said that, on his assumption of office, he would continue to "broaden and diversify our economic relations with the Socialist Countries", adding that new ways must be explored to eliminate differences in techno-

⁴⁹ *Lucian Times*, St. Lucia, March 5, 1983, p 4.

logy and systems of payment with those nations to "promote a more concrete climate of peace".⁵⁰

The Malvinas (Falklands) war, in which the United States supported its staunchest NATO ally Great Britain, brought about a near-crisis in inter-American relations. It showed the real face of the Rio Treaty, exposed it as an instrument of US imperialism, and brought about a new correlation of forces against it. Many Latin American countries, once very close to the United States, assumed a strong nationalist, neutralist position, and became critical. Attempts by the USA to exercise control over them through the OAS are not entirely successful. At the Opening Session of the General Assembly meeting of the OAS in December 1981, St. Lucia's Prime Minister Winston Cenac reiterated the call for the Caribbean to remain a Zone of Peace if progress was to be achieved in this region. It became clear that not all countries of the OAS were prepared to accept American "aid" unconditionally. At the same meeting, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of St. Lucia pointed out: "We have the right to reject any aid if we find the conditions attached to it objectionable". The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the OAS countries in May 1982 passed a resolution vehemently condemning Britain's attack on the Malvinas, demanding a stop to US backing to Britain and calling on all OAS countries to extend every assistance to Argentina. And the United States suffered a political defeat when the OAS General Council postponed debate in May 1983 on a diversionary US-supported Honduran resolution, which called for a regional and collective review of the situation in Central America. The Council agreed to defer debate until the results of the meeting of foreign ministers of the Contadora Group – Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia and Panama – were known. The Group also decided to send an investigating mission made up of two persons from each country to Costa Rica with the aim of bringing about peace in the border area between Costa Rica and Nicaragua.⁵¹

As regards US support for Britain in the Malvinas war, Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campins declared: "The US has probably never taken a greater risk in its international relations. We never thought that the US would take an active part in the war

against Latin America in this part of the 20th century". He warned that the United States "would have to bear the brunt of all the feelings of anti-colonialism now rising across Latin America".⁵² Deeming US support of Great Britain as a violation of the Rio Treaty, Venezuela called for its modification, due to the "inconveniences" caused by the presence of the United States in the body. Venezuelan OAS Ambassador Hilarion Cardozo said that Venezuela's goal in formally putting forward a revision of the Inter-American System is to "attain the start at once of a formal dialogue on the assessment of the situation and the adoption of decisions on the re-orientation of the system".⁵³ Subsequently, the United States was indirectly attacked when Venezuela spoke in favour of Puerto Rican independence. Speaking to the UN General Assembly in September 1982, Venezuelan Foreign Minister Jose Zambrano Velasco said: "Venezuelans have a deep-rooted feeling that Puerto Rico should be a member of the Latin American family".

In a joint Venezuela-Mexico letter to President Reagan, President Luis Herrera Campins and President Jose Lopez Portillo pleaded for negotiations to contain the conflict in Central America; urged the United States "to put an end to the support, organisation and emplacement of former Somocista guards" in Honduras; and asked for the upgrading of its "dialogue" with Nicaragua to negotiations.⁵⁴ The initiative received the support of Panama and Costa Rica. Earlier, Mexico had also called for US – Cuba dialogue, and had expressed its willingness to mediate in the conflict between the United States and Nicaragua.

Brazil has become increasingly critical of US aid and trade policies, high interest rates and protectionism. In the mid-1970's when its economy ran into trouble, it attempted to have its huge debt payments rescheduled, but the United States refused. Thereafter, it diversified its foreign relations, and sought aid and encouraged investment from and trade with Japan and the EEC countries. It moved away from the proposed South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO). In 1975, it supported the MPLA government of Angola against which a destabilisation attempt had been made by South Africa, Zaire and Anglo-American imperialism. Thereafter, it streng-

⁵⁰ *Latin American Roundup*, Cuba, 2 July 1982, p 9.

⁵¹ A section of the counter-revolutionaries attacks Nicaragua from bases in Costa Rica.

⁵² *Time*, June 26, 1982, p 24.

⁵³ *Latin American Roundup*, Havana, July 2, 1982, p 18.

⁵⁴ *Washington Letter on Latin America*, Washington, USA September 29, 1982, p. 3

thened its links with Nigeria, Angola and Mozambique and supported the call for a New International Economic Order. Expressing the mood of the "third world" towards President Reagan at the Cancun Summit Conference in Mexico in October 1981, a Brazilian official stated: "Our expectations were so modest that the disappointment can't be too great". In April 1983, the Presidents of Brazil and Mexico called for a new constructive dialogue to help resolve the world's economic crisis. They said they were deeply concerned about the marked deterioration of the world economic situation which has plunged the international community into the most serious crisis since the 1930's.

Contradictions also developed between Brazil and the United States, Japan and EEC countries as a result of the imposition of barriers to some of Brazil's exports, 25 per cent of which go to the United States. Brazil was accused of dumping iron and steel, shoe, textile, small Bandeirantes airplanes, orange juice and chicken on the US market, resulting in increased US import duties on these items. In retaliation, it imposed higher taxes on imported industrial equipment and raw materials. This was justified by the head of the Foreign Trade Department of the Banco de Brazil, Benedito Moreira: "The use of customs barriers by the United States, Japan and Western Europe perniciously affects the development of the national economy and puts Brazil into an unequal position with its trade partners in the world capitalist market".⁵⁵ At the same time, the Brazilian regime made an "opening" to democracy. According to President Figueiredo, "democracy, even in trouble, is worth far more than a progressive dictatorship".⁵⁶ Opposition parties (except the Communist Party of Brazil) were legalised and elections were held for a new National Assembly and state governships, in which the democratic forces made significant gains. Governorships were won in four key states by progressives, including leftist Leonel Brizola, who was governor of Rio Grande do Sul when the coup took place in 1964; Andre Franco Montoro won for the center-left Brazilian Democratic Movement in industrial São Paulo.

In Bolivia, a corrupt and brutal military clique, which had seized power after the election in June 1980 of miners' leader Herman

Silas Zuazo, was ejected by protest strikes and mass action, and Silas Zuazo was inaugurated in October 1982 as President.

The newly-elected President of Colombia, Balisario Betancur, suggested the holding of a meeting in Colombia in late 1982 of Latin American heads of state to study the regional situation after the Malvinas conflict. He broke several ceremonial traditions at his inauguration in mid-1982: wore a regular suit, cancelled the evening reception, and after his speech to the Congress took the oath before 30,000 people in the Plaza Bolivar. The Congress was told that he would study putting an end to the "orgy of sumptuary spending", utilise the state's reserves for industry and agriculture, and have Colombia join the non-aligned movement.⁵⁷ He told *Prensa Latina* that a good part of the stagnation affecting Colombia was due to the application of the economic model devised by the US economist Milton Friedman known as the "Chicago school". Speaking with "blunt frankness" during a reception for President Reagan on December 3, 1982, he called for a shift in US policies in Latin America to "reflect the reality of the continent as it is", an emergency economic plan to rescue the countries from their economic plight, particularly crushing foreign debts, and an elimination of "exclusions in the inter-American system",⁵⁸ a clear reference to Cuba. *Welcoming the progressive policies of the new President, Nobel Prize winner Gabriel Garcia Marques declared: "Colombia is achieving a leadership position it should have held long ago, along with Mexico. Now it is taking its proper place, that of a genuinely non-aligned country".*

The Malvinas war also produced eventually cracks in UK-US unity, drew Latin American and Caribbean countries closer to Cuba, and brought about an "opening" to democracy in Argentina.

In an attempt to repair the damage caused by its support for Britain, the United States voted for a UN General Assembly resolution, sponsored by Argentina and 19 other Latin American states, calling for immediate negotiations between Britain and Argentina on the future of the Malvinas. Although the resolution was passed by a 90-12 vote with 32 abstentions, the then British Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym deemed it "cynical and totally unacceptable", and lodged a protest to the United States. And Prime Minister

⁵⁵ *Daily World*, September 30, 1982.

⁵⁶ *Time*, 29 November, 1982, p 21.

⁵⁷ *Latin American Roundup*, Havana, August 10, 1982, p 6.

⁵⁸ *Caribbean News*, New York, December 1982, p 1.

Thatcher arrogantly declared: "The vote will make no difference to our attitude". She said that Britain would not start negotiations with Argentina on the sovereignty issue: "We have no doubt over the question of sovereignty. The Falkland Islanders are British and wish to stay British".

Venezuela's relations with Cuba are being normalised. In mid-1982, President Campins stressed that "there is need to progressively liquidate the zone of friction", after stating that the relations between Cuba and Venezuela should be settled in the framework of respect for forms of government.

A resolution passed by the National Assembly for Community Representatives of Panama accused US ambassador Everett Briggs of espionage and intervention in the internal affairs of that country. It charged the US with wanting to use Panama as a springboard for attacks on Central America and other countries, in violation of the Torrijos-Carter treaties and undermining the integrity and national security of Panama.

Argentina, long regarded as one of Washington's firmest allies, changed its position radically. Its Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Mendez, attending the Plenary Session of the Non-Aligned Movement Coordinating Bureau in Havana, expressed his pleasure at being "in beautiful Cuban land I didn't expect to be received with such solidarity, such a fraternal attitude towards us". He said that his conversation with Cuban President and Chairman of the Non-Aligned Bureau, Fidel Castro, was "extremely positive". At the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in New Delhi in early 1983, President Reynaldo Bignone in his speech paid public homage to Fidel Castro, expressed support for the Mauritian claim to Diego Garcia and the non-aligned call for a "political solution" in Afghanistan rather than the previous condemnation of the Soviet Union, and condemned South Africa for its continuing occupation of Namibia. He also had meetings with PLO Leader Yasser Arafat and Cuba's President Fidel Castro.

Manœuvres by the imperialists and their pawns failed to break the unity of the Non-Aligned Movement and to undermine its anti-imperialist orientation. The Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement in Managua sharply censured US imperialism for its attacks against Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname. And the Non-Aligned Summit in New Delhi in March 1983 allotted to the United States the prime responsibility for the many

ills facing the developing countries. Its Political Declaration came out in support of Nicaragua, Grenada, and Suriname; Belize received backing against the territorial claim of Guatemala; and firm support was reiterated of the right of the Argentine Republic to the restitution of its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands.

The Declaration on Collective Action for Global Prosperity reflected the series of crises facing third world countries, particularly their aggregate gargantuan debt which increased from \$74,000 million in 1970 to \$626,000 million in 1982. In 1980, with debt service payments greater than the flow of currency to the developing countries, many debtor countries were on the verge of bankruptcy. The US administration had resisted a call for a reform of the international monetary system and for a substantial increase in the funds of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This was designed to favour of the big US banks. A high interest rate policy compounded the problem: each 1-point rise added an estimated \$2 billion to the underdeveloped countries' debt bill. Consequently in 1981, according to the IMF, 32 countries were in arrears on their debts, compared with 15 in 1975.

Fearing default on debt payments, particularly by the biggest debtors – Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, South Korea and Venezuela – and a consequent collapse of the international capitalist banking system and the major US banks, the Reagan administration reversed its position and agreed to an increase of IMF funding by a little more than 40%, with an increased US contribution of \$8,400 million. Actually, this amounts to nothing more than the repumping of money from the taxpayers in the Western countries to the coffers of the private banks. Such an operation is not a cure for the ills of the developing countries. Many of them have already been in receipt of IMF credits for a long time, only to find themselves in the position of borrowing to repay the interest on growing sums they owe. Meanwhile, IMF "conditionality" grows more stringent, as indicated by the proposals put to the Guyana Government in early 1983 for:

- 1) a large exchange rate adjustment (66 2/3% to 100% devaluation);
- 2) a rigid holding down of wage and salary levels;
- 3) significant price increases on basic foods, fuel and services (electricity, water), including the removal of remaining subsidies on basics such as sugar and rice);

4) a severe restriction in the Central Government's current expenditure, which would lead to further dismissals of workers.

To dismantle the productive state sector, change state, bureaucratic and parasitic capitalism to free enterprise capitalism and push Guyana further towards a dependent capitalist course, the IMF reportedly stipulated:

1) the handing over of the nationalised bauxite industry to the former owners, the Aluminum Company of Canada (ALCAN), with a management contract;

2) the handing over of the nationalised sugar industry to private investors;

3) the sale of rice not by the state-owned Guyana Rice Board, but by private investors.

These conditions have been described in some quarters as "a recipe for riot". Consequently, more and more countries are becoming increasingly critical of the US-controlled IMF. The Michael Manley government of Jamaica severed relations with it in 1980. Even Caribbean governments friendly to the USA, such as Antigua, St. Lucia and Dominica, are not willing to enter into agreements with the institution. *At the same time, the 24-Nation Group, representing the interests of the newly-emergent countries in the IMF, are demanding "not only larger loans on acceptable terms, but also a sweeping restructuring of the whole system of the functioning of this organisation and a turn to a new economic order in the world to be built on principles of equality and justice".*⁵⁹ Even Jamaica US spearhead in the Caribbean, found itself in conflict with Reagan's policy. The US administration refused to ratify the Law of the Sea, while the Seaga government not only did so, but agreed to the setting up of the permanent administrative body in Jamaica.

US imperialism's adventurist / confrontationist methods suffered a severe setback when Wayne Smith, the most experienced State Department Cuba specialist resigned, and in an article in *Foreign Affairs* magazine denounced the Reagan administration's policy towards Cuba. He pointed out that the so-called Cuban threat had been exaggerated and Cuban intentions had been misrepresented. He went on to say that it was not Cuba but the United States which had been at fault; that Cuba had made at least four overtures, but the administration in Washington had used the talks

⁵⁹ *Pravda*, 15 March 1983.

between Alexander Haig and Vice President Carlos Rafael Rodriguez in 1981 and between General Vernon Walters and President Fidel Castro in 1982 as a "way to parry domestic and foreign criticism". He pointed out that "CIA backing for the armed groups operation against Nicaragua from Honduras must cease, as should the training in Florida of exiles bent on attacking Cuba".⁶⁰ Pressure on Cuba had not worked, he wrote; instead of putting pressures, the US must work to improve relations. This voice of reason, said analysts of the influential *Newsweek* magazine and the *Latin American Weekly Report*, "the Reagan administration would find it difficult to ignore".⁶¹ And Democratic Senator Clairborne Pell charged: "We invade them at Bay of Pigs, we strangle their economy, we try to assassinate their President, and then we wonder why Cuba is hostile to the United States".

During the Congressional debate of the Symms Amendment, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Charles H. Percy, criticised the resolution and said that it was tantamount to "a Gulf of Tonkin resolution"⁶² against Cuba. He added that this resolution would enable the Reagan administration to send US troops to Cuba without specific congressional authorisation, as required under the 1973 War Powers Act.

Reagan's ideological aggression against Cuba and communism was also dealt a severe blow by Nobel prize economist Gunnar Myrdal and the Director of WHO, Dr. Haltdan Mahler. Prof. Myrdal told a press conference in May 1981: "Cuba is an outstanding success among under-developed countries. It is notable from an economic point of view, for it has carried out the greater part of the transformation which I as an economist would recommend to developing countries.... if anyone were to ask me, where there has been success in economic development, I would tell them to look at Cuba".

At a press conference in Cuba in August 1981, Dr. Mahler said that the WHO's goal of "Health for all in the Year 2000" was already a reality in Cuba. "A single index, the infant mortality rate", he added, "is enough to attest to the extraordinary success of the work done in this respect". After his visit, he declared:

⁶⁰ Jim Lobe, *Caribbean Contact*, October 1982, p 12.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Resolution adopted by the Senate in the mid 1960's which enabled then President Lynden Johnson to step up the aggression against the people of Vietnam.

I am leaving fully convinced that all Cubans have the right and access to medical care. I think that the theoretical aspects of which we were informed soon after our arrival in Havana are good but their implementation is even better.

President Fidel Castro also exposed the warmongers and propagandists in Washington. To the charge of Cuban intervention and support for subversion in Central America, he said that his government would be prepared to withdraw all military advisers from Nicaragua provided that other countries pulled out their military personnel from the area. All that came out of the White House was that the proposition deemed consideration! And unlike Fidel Castro, the Reagan administration was not prepared to let the Contadora Group, made up of the governments of Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela, play a leading role in finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America.

Murat Williams, former ambassador to El Salvador, in an article in *The Washington Post* said that the insurrection in El Salvador was for social justice. That was why the insurgents were young men and women; and why 6,000 young people had managed to hold their own against a Washington-backed army of 20,000 men. He charged that millions of dollars spent in training the Salvadorean army during the past 35 years had produced no effective results; and called for a better solution to the Salvadorean conflict.

In the face of counter-revolutionary attacks against Nicaragua and the danger of confrontation with warlike, militaristic puppet regimes in the area, which would increase the danger of a military intervention by the United States, Daniel Ortega, speaking on the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, called for negotiations. He set out the following six points for a peaceful solution: the signing of a non-aggression pact by Nicaragua and Honduras; an end to arms supplies to the conflicting forces in El Salvador; the total cessation of all forms of military aid – arms supplies, training and use of Central American territory as a base for attacks or any other kind of aggression by forces opposed to any Central American government; respect for the people's right to self-determination and non-interference in each country's internal affairs; an end to attacks and discriminatory economic measures against any Central American country; and a ban on the installation of foreign military bases in Central America with the participation of foreign troops.

In the Commonwealth Caribbean, with large-scale labour redundancy, rapidly-deteriorating living standards and a groundswell of discontent, even hitherto pro-imperialist leaders were forced to move towards a progressive position. In September 1981, the CARICOM Foreign Ministers laid down guidelines for a Caribbean Basin Plan. These included 13 principles:

- 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 consideration.
- 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 lessening in resource flow – 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 and other forms of government-to-government assistance are vitally necessary for essential infrastructural development and to create the conditions of 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 in the region.
- 11) The programme should be directed towards strengthening ongoing 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 maxi-

imum economic and developmental benefits at minimal cost through joint efforts.

12) The programme should respect the commitment of individual member states to regional objectives and to goals of the developing countries as a whole.

13) To maintain peace, security and stability, which are essential to the achievements of the social and economic development of the region, the principle of non-interference must be respected.

These principles were ignored by President Reagan in his Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), a reflection of utter contempt and disrespect for the governments and people of the region. Consequently, eyebrows are being raised and noses upturned at the demerits of the Initiative, even by the supporters of Washington. Prime Minister

Pindling of the Bahamas felt that the CBI had nothing to offer. At the same time, he was aware of "not subtle attempts by US agencies to influence a number of Caribbean countries into changing their bank secrecy laws...." Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams complained that in order to receive investments under the CBI, Caribbean countries would have to disclose information which would compromise their sovereignty. He revealed that recipients had to sign a bilateral agreement with the United States providing for an exchange of data which "would require the disclosure of information which normally would not be made available for a foreign government under local law". Even Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica was leery of the CBI. A report quoted her as saying "Our people will say to us, their leaders, you are jokers, and the US is the biggest joker of all... the people and Government of the US are talkers not doers". Prime Minister John Compton, another of Reagan's admirers, compared the CBI to "a fine champagne that has gone flat". And Lester Bird, deputy Prime Minister of Antigua where the United States maintains a military base and a Voice-of-America relay station, complained that the CBI had been "emasculated by special interests".

The CARICOM Summit Conference, held in Ocho Rios, Jamaica, in November, 1982, was a disappointment to the United States and some of its Caribbean spokesmen. It failed to achieve one of its objectives of isolating, if not expelling, revolutionary-democratic Grenada from CARICOM. The Conference reaffirmed the need for the maintenance and deepening of the Caribbean Community. Recognising the emergence of ideological pluralism as a re-

sponse to internal processes and as an irreversible trend within the international system, it expressed concern at the heightening of tension resulting from the recent increase in military activities in the Caribbean area, and called on all States to respect the principles of non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. On the issue of external economic assistance, it pointed out that aid should be given in consultation with, and the fullest respect for, the sovereign wishes of the recipient countries, and that programmes of aid channelled through regional institutions should be supportive of the integrity of such institutions and their autonomous character, and should utilise indigenous resources and expertise. The latter was a veiled criticism of US aid to the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) with the specific condition that Grenada should not be a recipient. The CDB had rejected the loan. Even the Prime Minister of Barbados, Tom Adams, a close friend of the United States, was forced to renounce the political strings attached to the loan.

At the Summit Conference in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad in July 1983, the Caricom leaders placed emphasis on greater inter-state trade, the rationalisation of energy resources, the breaking down of protectionist measures, and a call to the IMF and World Bank for softer lending terms.

The Meeting of the Heads of Government of Commonwealth Western Hemisphere Countries in St. Lucia on February 20-21, 1983, came out positively in favour of the principles of non-intervention and self-determination. It declared:

Noting the disposition of outside forces to intervene in the internal affairs of various countries, the Heads of Government reasserted their view that each state must be allowed to pursue its own path of political, economic and social development, free from all forms of external interference, coercion, intimidation or pressure.

Imperialist misinformation and psychological warfare against Grenada also suffered a setback. Jad Baldwin, former Parliamentary Secretary of the late conservative Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, told the Canadian Bar Association that he had spent a considerable amount of time talking to the man-in-the-street in Grenada and received "a feeling of warmth and friendliness wherever I went". He said that official programmes, budgets and complaints

were openly discussed at public meetings and in the news media: "Ministers, public servants and Government and corporate management are present at these meetings". He went on to observe:

"I found what seemed clearly to be greater Government-to-people interchange on that island than what we have here in Canada". The veteran Canadian politician said that, in terms of a practising democracy, Grenada had a great deal more under the People's Revolutionary Government than under Gairy's former Westminster-type system of parliamentary government. Finally, he stated that he felt "a greater sense of safety in Grenada than in many other places".⁶³

Even the US-controlled World Bank, which is "not exactly on the same wavelengths as the People's Revolutionary Government" as Finance Minister Bernard Coard described it, commented favourably about the economic performance of Grenada. It said that the Bishop government had inherited a deteriorating economy, that the government's objectives "are centred on the critical development issues and touch on the country's most promising development areas". It put the increase in gross domestic product at 2.1% in 1979, 3% in 1980 and an estimated 3% in 1981.⁶⁴ In 1982, real wages increased by 3%, and the economy grew by 5.5%, the highest growth rate in the Western Hemisphere. Non-traditional exports increased by 28.4%, inflation was infinitesimal, and tourism declined by only 1.1%. The unemployment rate declined from 49% at the time of the Gairy dictatorship to 14% in 1982, the lowest in the entire Caricom and wider English-speaking area. According to projections, the country will face an "employment", rather than an "unemployment", problem in five years time. While Guyana and many dependent capitalist-oriented states are groaning under strangling debt payments, Grenada has one of the lowest debt service ratios: debt payments represented only 3.7% of its foreign exchange earnings in 1982. In the same year, it showed a current budget surplus as compared with Guyana, which has a chronic and growing current budget deficit, equivalent in 1982 to about 60% of the current revenue. Consequently, in a story, "Revolution in the Shade", *Time's* Caribbean Bureau Chief, William McWhirter grudgingly lauded the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) and the revolutionary process:

⁶³ CANA, Trinidad Guardian, 8 September, 1982.

⁶⁴ Gail Lam, *The Globe and Mail* (Canada), September 27, 1982.

... All this, in fact, should explain why Grenada's revolution has failed. The country's economy is growing, and a youthful leadership still in its late 30s has proved to be what some neighbouring Caribbean governments are not: competent, noncorrupt and capable of actually working harder than its own citizenry.⁶⁵

Not only has President Reagan made himself look ludicrous with his claim that small Grenada poses a threat to the security of the United States. His charge that Grenada is under "the grip of a totalitarian left" and is exporting "a Marxist virus" is also failing to reap political dividends. Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Bernard Coard, indicated that EC\$9.2 million more in loans received in 1982 over 1981 from Libya, Cuba, Canada and the EEC was "a reflection of growing confidence in the people and revolution, and the PRG's ability to manage the country". France signed a 5-year technical cooperation agreement with Grenada, which would significantly broaden ties between the two countries. After an official visit by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop to Moscow in 1982, the Soviet Union agreed to extend a US\$7.5 million line of credit to the island to finance the construction of a satellite earth station and other technical and feasibility studies. Agreement was also reached on granting Grenada US\$1.5 million to purchase a light aircraft for use in the agricultural sector, as well as 400 tonnes of flour and an unspecified amount of clothing. Further, the USSR, under a 5-year agreement, will buy nutmeg and cocoa from Grenada. A shipment of 8,800 lbs. of flour was given as a gift to the newly-freed people.

The Grenadian revolution is a popular revolution. It is wholeheartedly supported by the people of not only Grenada, but also throughout the Caribbean. *Time's* Caribbean Bureau Chief further noted.

Some of the government's highest marks, in fact, come from its chief critics. "I would vote for them if they trusted us with a free vote", says one of Grenada's leading figures in his own twist of sensible island logic. "But they won't, so I'm one of their attackers". Each time the U.S. appears to go in the overkill, it brings Bishop sympathy votes from every island in the Caribbean. The prospect of

⁶⁵ *Time*, May 2, 1983, p 15.

U.S. invasion was almost a compliment, as if the ultimate accolade in the Third World is to be invaded by the U.S. Nor has it been lost on the other islands that Bishop's Marxist alliance has financially earned Grenada more than its neighbours, some of whom are still waiting for their promised share of the U.S. Caribbean Basin Initiative.⁶⁶

In reply to the charge about human rights violations and abrogation of democracy in Grenada, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had told the Third CARICOM Heads of Government Meeting in Jamaica in December 1982 that Grenada would never again see Westminster style parliamentary elections. "It is dead in our country", he said, "we believe the kind of elections and democracy we see from now on will be based on five principles". These include regular interfacing with the people, accountability, participation by the people at all levels, benefits to the people such as health, education, amenities and jobs, and elections. "We are not all prepared or unwilling to say that elections are a part of democracy", he pointed out, "but democracy cannot just be pinned down to the question of elections". Later, in a major speech at the OAS in Washington in June 1983, he said that unity between the Caribbean and Latin America should be based on the right of member states to choose their own destiny and accept the possibilities of peaceful coexistence, diversity and a variety of political systems. "We cannot", he declared, "in principle subscribe to the attempt to isolate any member of our hemispheric family". In a New Year message, the Prime Minister declared that Grenada, once the "laughing stock of the world under the Gairy regime" has become a country "which although still poor, is full of virtue, creativity, dignity and real achievements".⁶⁷

In contrast, the other Caricom states are faced with growing problems. In a gloomy forecast, the Caribbean Development Bank in its report for 1982 disclosed that Caribbean economies would continue to suffer from high unemployment, worsening balance of payments situation, and large increases in levels of foreign debts and debt service payments. Even if the larger states in the region succeed in current efforts to re-orient their economies away from

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Quoted in Arnaldo Hutchinson, "The Little Jewel", *Prisma*, Havana, April 1983, p. 10.

dependence on exports of primary products and towards production of manufactured goods for export, protectionism in North America and Europe would be an obstacle.⁶⁸

Trinidad and Tobago, the most prosperous territory in Caricom, revealed in early 1983 a balance of payments deficit for the first time since 1973. In the second half of 1982, import spending had grown by nearly a quarter while export earnings had decreased by 18 per cent; and the budgetary deficit had increased to TT\$3.2. This deficit is likely to grow to TT\$3.6 billion in 1983.

In the US showpiece, Jamaica, everything possible was done by the Reagan administration to prop up the new Prime Minister Edward Seaga, who, according to President Reagan, was "making freedom work" and by "turning his country away from socialism... has ended seven years of economic decline that plagued his people". Capital which had flown out during Michael Manley's tenure of office returned. The US tourists also returned. US-controlled financial institutions, like the IMF and the World Bank, which had squeezed the Manley government, poured in funds. And a special Committee headed by US financial tycoon David Rockefeller was set up with the intention of making Jamaica into a Caribbean showpiece and paradise. To help out, the US Defense Department agreed to establish a special 1.6 million tons stockpile of Jamaican bauxite. But the end result has not been the "deliverance" which had been promised. One opposition parliamentarian, describing the administration's policies as "capitalism gone mad", said that they were marked by confusion and chaos. His party, the PNP, stated that it was "misleading and grossly inaccurate" for Reagan to speak of prosperity returning to Jamaica when the country was plunging deeper into problems on a daily basis". It went on to refer to the chaotic situation in the currency market and the "imminent collapse of the productive sectors".⁶⁹ All the three targets set by the IMF had not been achieved. Prices of items such as bread, cheese, rice, milk, beer and soft drinks increased by 30% - 40%. Rents increased in the poorer areas of the capital by 45%. Factory utilisation was only 40 per cent. More layoffs continued, and the expected 97,000 new jobs in the three years fell far below the mark.

The Caribbean has come a long way since the imperialist coun-

⁶⁸ *Guyana Chronicle*, 12 May, 1983, p. 5.

⁶⁹ *Guyana Chronicle*, 16 August 1983, p. 5.

terinsurgency in the 1960's. Then there were various ideological currents – new leftism, Maoism, neo-Trotskyism, Black Cultural Nationalism, Marxism-Leninism. Now in almost every single country, there is a Marxist-Leninist or revolutionary-democratic party or group. They play an important vanguard role. Generally, the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups are still organisationally weak. However, in view of the grave economic and social crisis, they have the possibility in the not too distant future of winning over the workers who have long been under the ideological influence of Christian and social democracy, and the American Institute of Free Labor Development (AIFLD), linked to the CIA.

The working class, peasantry and radical intelligentsia have demonstrated their capacity to struggle. More and more they are realising that mere entreaties to “big brother” of the North will not be enough, that they have unitedly to confront the new methods of domination with the “carrot” and the “club”.

Increasingly, other social strata and forces are being mobilised in the struggle for peace and social progress. In Jamaica, the local bourgeoisie are forced to take a position against imperialism. The powerful Jamaica Manufacturers' Association which had helped to bring Edward Seaga to power, in its magazine *Viewpoint* (February, 1982) cried out:

The effects of deregulation will force the small and medium size local manufacturer to abandon the enterprise because the scale of the operation cannot withstand the international market force or seek partnership with larger entities, local or overseas, whose required input resources are so large that it will enable them to take control.⁷⁰

The military is becoming more and more involved. In some countries, such as El Salvador and Guatemala, it is intimately linked with the oligarchy in the brutal suppression of the masses. On the other hand, following on the revolutionary tradition set by Col. Francisco Caamaño of the Dominican Republic, Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru, Omar Torrijos of Panama, Juan Jose Torres of Bolivia, Liber Sereghi of Uruguay and others, patriotic sentiments are emerging in the armed forces. This was demonstrated in Suriname in 1980.

⁷⁰ Quoted in *Struggle*, Jamaica, April 6, 1982.

WHAT DOES THE ARMS RACE ACCOUNT FOR? (in US dollar m)

1900	1930	1960	1978	2000
10,000	25,000	130,000	400,000	(estimated figure)
				820,000

NATO military expenditure (in US dollar m)

1949	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1979
18,777 =100%	54,165 =288%	62,414 =332%	73,963 =394%	103,281 =550%	145,955 =777%	211,600 =1,124%

The Church is increasingly allying itself with the people in their struggles against imperialism and the local oligarchies. The "liberation ideology" of the "radical clergy", though opposed to the philosophical outlook of Marxism-Leninism, is influenced by its scientific analysis of economic and social development. In this context, the Caribbean Council of Churches and its monthly organ, the *Caribbean Contact*, is generally playing a progressive role.

These trends will be further developed as the struggle sharpens in the Caribbean and Latin America for peace, liberation and social progress: world peace; the Caribbean as a zone of peace; security of the revolutionary bases in Central America and the Caribbean; militant solidarity with El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

The number of warheads stockpiled can explode the world 30 times over. They threaten mankind with annihilation. In the face of 1,500 million people without access to medical care, 570 million suffering from malnutrition⁷¹ and 3,000 million having a shortage of drinking water, arms constitute half of the manufactured goods imported by the developing countries. Peace is necessary to halt the arms race, to divert funds for development, to save detente and to ensure peaceful cooperation on a global scale.

The programme of action contained in the Final Document of the Special Session on Disarmament of 1978 includes the following endorsement of proposals to establish zones of peace in general.

"64. The establishment of zones of peace in various regions of the world under appropriate conditions to be clearly defined and determined freely by the States concerned in the zone, taking into account the characteristics of the zone and the principles of The Charter of the United Nations, and in conformity with international law can contribute to strengthening the security of states within such zones and to international peace and security as a whole...."

In October 1979, the Ninth Regular Session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States adopted a resolution, initiated and co-sponsored by Grenada, which, inter alia, called on all States to recognise the Caribbean as a zone of peace

⁷¹ According to official figures, 40,000 children die daily from malnutrition and other diseases.

"and to devote all their efforts, in appropriate regional and international forums, to the advancement of this concept". The Standing Committee of CARICOM Ministers of Foreign Affairs at its Sixth Meeting held in Grenada on 30 June - 1 July, 1981 reaffirmed its intention to have the Caribbean declared a zone of peace and established a working group "to elaborate a declaration and to formulate measures for giving effect to the zone of peace". The Caribbean Conference of Churches in April, 1982 adopted a resolution which urged the Third Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community to consider "the establishment of a Zone of Peace in the Caribbean, including the ratification of any treaties which may be necessary to ensure this". In addition, several Non-Caricom countries expressed support for the recognition of the Caribbean as a Zone of Peace.

The Working Group established by the Standing Committee of Caricom Ministers of Foreign Affairs held its first meeting in Belize on 20 March 1982. The People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada, firmly of the belief that there could be no progressive development without peace and that there was an interconnection of peace, independence and development, proposed that the concept of a peace zone should be widened, and submitted to the Meeting the following basic elements:

- (1) Adherence to the principles of -
 - (a) non-interference, and
 - (b) the peaceful solution of disputes;
- (2) Strengthening of ties of good neighbourliness and cooperation within the region;
- (3) The right of all peoples to choose their own political, economic and social system free from all forms of outside dictation and pressure;
- (4) The right to develop relations with Governments of different political orientation based on ideological pluralism and peaceful co-existence;
- (5) The need to strengthen and deepen existing economic, technical, scientific and cultural ties among States in the Region;
- (6) The right of States in the Region to develop and utilise their natural and national resources and wealth for the benefit and in the interest of the peoples of the Region;
- (7) The need to secure better terms of trade for the countries of the region;

(8) Termination of colonial status and foreign domination of all territories in the Region;

(9) Prohibition of the establishment of new foreign military or naval bases in the Region and dismantling of such bases where they exist against the wishes of the countries of the Region;

(10) Prohibition of the use of international and regional financial institutions and bilateral and multi-lateral financial or economic assistance programmes as means of exerting pressure or coercion on countries of the Region;

(11) Prohibition of propaganda or diplomatic intervention as a means of intervening in the internal affairs of countries of the Region;

(12) Prohibition of financing, recruitment and training and the use of mercenaries as well as any facility, support or assistance given to them for the purpose of intervening in the internal affairs of Governments in the Region;

(13) Prohibition of all military and naval manoeuvres and exercises of an aggressive or provocative nature;

(14) Acknowledgement of the validity and right of peaceful and unobstructed freedom of navigation and flight over waters of the Region in accordance with the rules and principles of international law and custom; and

(15) Prohibition of the installation or continual maintenance of nuclear weapons in territories in the Region under the control or administration of nuclear powers.

The Seventh Meeting of Caricom Foreign Ministers noted the report of the First Meeting of the Working Group and directed that the Group should convene another meeting to continue its work. The Ministers also agreed that the composition of the Working Group should be expanded to include representatives from all Caricom Member states.

Solidarity and unity are vital issues of our era. To advance the revolutionary process, it is necessary to unite the world's three revolutionary streams – the socialist community, the national liberation movements in the third world and the working class and democratic forces in the capitalist world.

Anti-communism and its modern garb, anti-Sovietism, must be combatted. As former hemispheric Presidents – Juan Arvelo of Guatemala, Juan Bosch of the Dominican Republic and Velasco Alvarado of Peru – had emphasised, anti-communism has always

been the weapon of the reactionary and conservative right-wing elements. For the small Caribbean states, it is suicidal to preach the doctrine of "Caribbean exceptionalism" and "reliance on one's own forces".

Close links must be forged with the Soviet Union and other socialist states. Experience has demonstrated that the imperialists will use all means to attain their ends of domination. Material, moral and political support from the world socialist community is essential to attain political power as in Vietnam and the former Portuguese African territories, to hold power and to change the neo-colonial structure as in the Middle East, Cuba and elsewhere. Soviet tanks and other sophisticated military equipment played a pivotal role in the crucial 1968 Tet offensive in South Vietnam. It is admitted that it was the offer of Soviet help to the Nasser government that forced the British, French and Israelis to stop their war against Egypt in 1956. A note from Premier Bulganin to Prime Minister Anthony Eden on November 5, had warned against the continuation of further aggression against Egypt:

In which situation would Britain find herself if she were attacked by stronger states, possessing all types of modern destructive weapons?

.... Were rocket weapons used against Britain and France, you would most probably call this a barbarous action. But how does the inhuman attack launched by the armed forces of Britain and France against a practically defenceless Egypt differ from this?

With deep anxiety over the developments in the Near and Middle East, and guided by the interests of the maintenance of universal peace, we think that the Government of Britain should listen to the voice of reason and put an end to the war in Egypt. We call upon you, upon Parliament, upon the Labour Party, the Trade Unions, upon the whole of the British people: Put an end to the armed aggression, stop the bloodshed. The war in Egypt can spread to other countries and turn into a third world war.

The Soviet Government has already addressed the United Nations and the President of the United States of America with the proposal to resort, jointly with other United Nations member-states, to the use of naval and air forces in order to end the war in Egypt and to curb aggression. We are fully determined to crush the aggressors by the use of force and to restore peace in the East.

For Soviet aid, President Nasser was to express his deep gratitude. In an interview with the Greek newspaper *Ethnos*, he

said: "The Russians gave us arms when the West refused; they supported our views when the west sought the internationalisation of the Canal; when we were attacked by the West, Russia threatened the aggressors; when others refused our requests for wheat, Russia gave us some and also gave us oil. Thus US had frozen \$50 million, and Britain \$150 million, whereas Russia had helped Egypt. Twenty days ago Egypt had asked for wheat from the West, but had met with refusal because the West wanted payment in dollars. The West refused to buy cotton, but Russia bought, with the result that prices had risen. All this has provoked the keen gratitude of the Egyptian people for the Soviet Union."

Similarly, the great leader of the Guinea-Bissau revolution, Amilcar Cabral expressed his gratitude in his speech at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, and again in his address to the jubilee session dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the USSR on what was his last visit to that country. "On behalf of our people", he said, "we wish to express fraternal thanks and appreciation to the Soviet people, the CPSU and its Central Committee for the multiform help you are giving us in our mortal combat with the Portuguese colonialists, in our struggle against war and genocide, for independence, peace and progress of our African motherland".

During the Bay of Pigs invasion, the US government was sent a sharp note by the Soviet Union which no doubt influenced President Kennedy not to launch a full-scale attack against Cuba. And President Fidel Castro on more than one occasion has referred to the generous assistance, military and economic, from the Soviet Union without which the Cuban revolution would have encountered many more difficulties.

In an interview given to the newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestia* on January 23, 1962, Fidel Castro said that "Cuba highly appreciate its friendly relations with the countries of the socialist camp. This favourably affects the economic development of Cuba. Everything it produces now has a market" The socialist community accounted for 74.7 per cent of Cuba's exports and for 86.1 per cent of its imports at the time. And unlike the relationship of unequal trade between third world countries and the developed capitalist states — selling cheap and buying dear — Cuba received from the Soviet Union 35 cents per pound for sugar as compared with a world price of 7 cents, and secured mineral oil at half the world's price.

In his speech to the 4th Conference of Non-Aligned Nations in Algiers in 1973, Dr. Fidel Castro stated:

There are those who, with patent historic injustice and ingratitude, forgetting the real facts and disregarding the profound, unbridgeable abyss between the imperialist regime and socialism, try to ignore the glorious heroic and extraordinary services rendered to the human race by the Soviet people, (APPLAUSE) as if the collapse of the colossal system of colonial rule implanted in the world up to World War II and the conditions that made possible the liberation of scores of peoples heretofore under direct colonial subjugation, the disappearance of capitalism in large parts of the world and the holding at bay of the aggressiveness and insatiable voracity of imperialism — as if all that, had nothing to do with the glorious October Revolution (APPLAUSE).

The Soviet Union and Cuba helped to break in 1963 a CIA-imposed airlines and shipping blockade of Guyana, which was directed at strangling the country and crushing the PPP government. Fuel (gasolene and kerosene), cut off from neighbouring Trinidad, was supplied by the Caribbean socialist state. And a Soviet ship brought wheaten flour and other goods.

In September 1974, Soviet-made tanks appeared in the streets and rockets at the borders of Peru when the reactionary forces attempted to replicate what had been previously done in Chile against the Allende government. During the 1975 crisis in Angola, military and economic aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and military personnel from Cuba assisted in repulsing the interventionist forces of the clients of imperialism, fascist South Africa and Zaire. On pressure from Washington, the Barbados government cancelled landing and refueling rights to Cubana Airlines for their flights to Angola. In 1983, Soviet aid is playing an important role in defeating the counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua.

And finally, contacts must be deepened with the people of the United States, "the other America" — the people who have a tradition of struggle for freedom, fairplay and justice, who were instrumental in helping to end U.S. direct military intervention in Vietnam, and are also fighting for their own liberation from state-monopoly capitalism.

Concerned that "President Reagan may draw the US into a

new war" 73% of US citizens felt, according to a Harris poll in 1981, that all nuclear powers renounce the production, accumulation and use of nuclear weapons; 86% called for the conclusion of a US-Soviet treaty on a reduction of nuclear arsenals; and 72% wanted the development of trade between the USA and the USSR. US peace fighters agreed at a conference in Europe in May 1983 to intensify their struggle, to carry out civil disobedience and block the entrances of storage depots of Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles so as to prevent their transfer to, and deployment in, Europe.

Concerned about growing unemployment⁷² (nearly 20 million jobless though only 12 million are registered at the labour exchanges) and declining living standards, and aware that funds diverted from defense to social needs could produce more jobs,⁷³ the American working people are fighting back. Reflecting this mood, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland told an executive council meeting in February 1982 that "to union men, the worst enemy is Reaganomics", that the Reagan administration was practising "Jonestown economics", giving "Kool-Aid to the poor and the deprived and the unemployed in this country", a reference to the mass suicide in Guyana in 1978 in which the deadly portion was a soft drink laced with cyanide.⁷⁴ At the 73rd Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Glen Watts, president of the 650,000 Communication Workers Union, described the work of the Reagan administration as a "record of desperation"; Senator Edward Kennedy rated the government as "the most anti-civil rights administration in the history of the USA"; Margaret Bush Wilson, President of NAACP Bureau, accused the administration, Congress and Judicial Power of launching an "ideological war" against the poor. Little wonder that a *Time* (March 21, 1983, p. 26) poll showed that, despite a feeling by Americans of an economic upturn for themselves and the nation, 70% in March 1983, up from 58% in June 1982, felt that

WHAT BETTER USE COULD BE MADE OF THE MONEY SPENT ON THE ARMS RACE?

- 1 F-14 fighter
- 1 strategic B I bomber
- 1 aircraft carrier
- 1 Leopard 2 tank
- 1 tank battalion exercise
- 1 Trident nuclear submarine
- 1 intercontinental MX missile

- costs the same as
- nine schools
- 16 hospitals
- 1 hydroelectric station or 90,000 flats
- 36 three-room flats
- 28 kindergartens
- 416 schools or one year's schooling for 16 million children
- 5 hospitals

⁷² For the 24-member countries of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the alarming forecast is 35 million jobless by 1985, up from 10 million at the beginning of the 1974-75 crisis.

⁷³ A billion dollars invested in the US war industry created roughly 75,000 jobs, whereas in the public health service about 150,000, and in the field of education up to 200,000 jobs.

⁷⁴ *Time*, 1 March, 1982, p 48.

Reagan represented the interests of the rich rather than the average American.

*Speaking for the exploited, oppressed and suppressed Black people, the Congressional Black Caucus, in an "Alternative Budget for Fiscal 1983", proposed cutting the Reagan military budget by \$24 billion and support for a freeze on new nuclear weapons and weapon systems. "It also calls for creating a \$6 to \$8 billion program for federal jobs, vocational education and jobs training; creating a \$4 billion mass transit and highway construction program, and extending unemployment insurance benefits to 52 weeks."*⁷⁵

The American people's fight-back led to a serious defeat of President Reagan and his Republican Party in the mid-term elections in November 1982. Republican candidates did not want the President on their platforms. Underlining this, syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak referred to the President's visit to Las Vegas twice in 2 weeks, "because his advisers could find no other states where he was welcomed and where they could risk sending him". The Democratic Party won 26 seats for the House of Representatives, and several governorships. And although the Republican Party maintained control of the Senate, many conservative "hawkish" Senators were defeated.

Objective conditions and subjective factors favour progress towards national and social liberation, for democracy, peace and emancipation. The election of Nicaragua to a seat in the Security Council of the United Nations was a diplomatic defeat for the United States, and a slap in the face of imperialism. It proves that political blackmail – cutting off aid in the form of wheat for the poor – does not pay political dividends. Congressman Tom Harkins sponsored a resolution of enquiry, signed by 56 US Congressmen to force the White House to clarify US participation in the undeclared war on Nicaragua. Despite US harassment, Nicaragua has made significant progress. In the context of a general stagnation in Central America, it achieved an economic growth rate of 6% in 1981. It has made remarkable progress in the field of education. "Eradication of illiteracy is one of the most important tasks of Sandinismo," it had declared. Its progress in

health has caused it to be viewed as a model country in the region by WHO and the Pan American Health Organisation.

Nicaragua and Cuba stand out as beacons of hope and provide an inspiration to the oppressed and exploited peoples of the Caribbean and Latin America.

The Caribbean is nobody's backyard. It must become a region of peace and social progress.

⁷⁵ *Daily World*, New York, 11 November, 1982, p 20.

EPILOGUE

...the United States seems destined by providence to plague America with torments in the name of freedom.

(Simon Bolivar, August 5, 1829)

US invasion of Grenada was a dastardly and despicable act. It was a case of an eagle descending on a peaceful dove in a calculated move to snuff out its life; a bully using superior force to crush a small heroic people.

What was even more distasteful was the connivance and complicity of the regional hawks with the fiendish eagle. It was a dark and shameful day in the history of the Caribbean people.

The treacherous position taken by Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica and Antigua/Barbuda was reminiscent of the sordid role played by the Commonwealth Caribbean political leadership in 1953 when British imperialism, acting through the Churchill government was lauded for sending troops, suspending the Constitution and forcibly removing the People's Progressive Party (PPP) from government.

In order to secure crumbs under the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), the Caribbean states reduced themselves to a vassal status like Latin American countries three decades earlier under the Rio Treaty and Mutual Defense Association Agreements. Just before the invasion, US State Department officials had carried out bilateral discussions with them to determine which ones would qualify under the CBI aid and trade arrangements. No doubt some arm-twisting had taken place, and they jettisoned their sovereignty and national independence and became client states of the USA. In a disgraceful show of servility, they invited "Big Brother" to intervene to "restore democracy" and establish the rule of law in Grenada. Their sordid role provided the pretext to the hawks in Washington for their criminal aggression.

The fascist-minded militarists in the Pentagon and their minions in the Caribbean prattled about democracy and hypocritically claimed that they wanted to establish law and order in Grenada. But they flagrantly violated international law and the Charter of the United Nations. Freedom was undermined in the name of freedom, and the means they resorted to was a transgression of the very law that they said they wanted to uphold.

President Reagan used the thread-bare excuse of moving in to protect the lives of Americans. This was exposed by Charles Modica, Chancellor of St. George's School of Medicine, who said that he felt "there was no danger to the safety of the students". On October 24, the Foreign Ministry of the Military Council of Grenada, expressing to the Government of the United States its concern over reports of a US military forces' planned invasion of the country, in a statement declared: "*We repeat that the personal well-being and property of citizens of the United States and any other countries resident in Grenada are fully protected and guaranteed by our government.*"

A paid statement in *The New York Times*, signed by dozens of noted US figures and organisations, and headed "There is no Legitimacy in Depriving a People of Their Right to Determine their own Future", *inter alia* stated:

1) The Grenadian authorities sent repeated messages to the United States guaranteeing the safe evacuation of all US citizens;
2) On October 22, that is, three days before the invasion, the Cuban government sent a diplomatic note to the United States assuring it of its full cooperation in the evacuation of the US and Cuban citizens and expressing the desire to avoid any violent confrontation; and

3) The United States responded to Cuba's diplomatic offer first with the invasion and later with a note to Cuba three hours after the invasion started.¹

The United States tried to cover up its violation of international law with the excuse that it had received "a formal and urgent request" from the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). *This request is not in keeping with the OECS Charter which provides for arrangements for collective security only against external aggression, and for decisions to be unanimous among the seven members.* Three of the members (Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis and Montserrat) did not vote for the invasion.² According to *The New York Times*, the formal request "was drafted in Washington and conveyed to the Caribbean leaders by special

¹ GRANMA, Havana, 27 November, 1983.

² Cathy Sunshine and Philip Wheaton, *Death of A Revolution: An Analysis of the Grenada Tragedy and the US Invasion*, Ecumenical Program For Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA) Washington, D.C., 25 November 1983, p. 12.

American emissaries".³ And the US Ambassador to France, Evan Galbraith, admitted in Paris on October 26 "that the preparations for the US invasion had been begun two weeks before, on October 12 – the same day that Bishop was placed under house arrest".⁴

Crocodile tears were also shed for Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and some of his colleagues. What utter hypocrisy! Since when are the hawks in Washington concerned with human lives? Previously, they wanted Bishop's head; now, they are emblazoning his name on their bloody banner. From the days of the Monroe Doctrine (1823) and more particularly the Roosevelt Corollary (1904), the US ruling class has resorted to plunder, destruction, assassinations and murder.

In violation of Article 51 of the UN Charter and Article 18 of the OAS Treaty, the US imperialists resorted once more to "gun-boat diplomacy" and rode roughshod over the sovereignty of another state, not as professed to "save lives", to "forestall further chaos" and "to assist in the restoration of law and order". If these were really the objectives, means other than military were open to the US administration. A meeting of the Heads of CARICOM Governments, except Grenada, in Trinidad and Tobago on October 21-22 had reached a consensus which stated that any resolution of the Grenadian situation should be wholly regional in nature, should not violate international law and/or the United Nations Charter, should have the restoration to normalcy in Grenada as its primary purpose, and should have no external intervention, particularly extra-regional military intervention.

But after the first day's adjournment, Jamaica, Barbados, Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Antigua/Barbuda, St. Kitts/Nevis and Montserrat at a resumed meeting at 10 a.m. on Sunday October 22 insisted that there had not been a consensus and, with the exception of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Belize and Bahamas, agreed to impose sanctions against Grenada, including possible outside intervention.

What later became clear was that, while this Summit meeting was in progress, an "invitation" by the Organisation of Eastern

³ Grenada: US Terrorism in Action, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow 1983, p 61.

⁴ Sean Griffin, "US troops strive to 'wipe out a memory'", *Canadian Tribune*, 9 January 1984, p 5.

Caribbean States (OECS) had been issued since October 21 to the United States for military intervention, and US troops already had been made by the United States since October 15, and on October 19, it had consulted Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams on the invasion.

Moreover, the Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) had issued a statement that it would pursue the same policies of the People's Revolutionary Government and was prepared to have discussions with other states. According to Dr. Jeffrey Bourne, Vice-Chancellor of St. George's Medical School (mainly for US students), the RMC was prepared to concede the holding of elections. It has also opened the new international airport and had made arrangements with US Canadian and British diplomats for the evacuation of those of their citizens who wanted to leave. Indeed, it was the invasion with indiscriminate bombing and shelling which led to the big loss of lives. And behind the fig-leaf of the restoration of democracy and law and order was the intention of Washington to establish in St. George a government to its liking. In this regard, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada noted: "I think they (Americans) went in Grenada just to set up a different type of government".

Prime Minister Eugenia Charles of Dominica, who stood at the side of President Reagan when he first spoke of the intervention, gave a specious argument for the attack. She called it "a pre-emptive defense strike in order to remove a dangerous threat to peace and security in the region".

The fact is there was no dangerous threat. It was ridiculous to assume that tiny Grenada of only 344 square kilometres and with a population of only 115,000 could threaten the security of the USA (9,363,123 square kilometres and more than 299 million inhabitants) and the Caribbean states which had a "regional system of defense and security" and close political links with Anglo-American imperialism.

If Grenada posed a threat, it was not military, but of a different kind. It was becoming for the oppressed, exploited and betrayed Caribbean peoples a shining example, an inspiration and hope. The People's Revolutionary Government was giving the lie to the oft-repeated dictum from Washington that a "Marxist model" held no future for the Caribbean. Indeed, revolutionary-democratic Grenada was posing an alternative socio-economic-political

system, which was based not on dependent, distorted capitalism but on grassroots democracy, anti-imperialism and socialist orientation.

It was against this background that imperialist aggression had been planned long before and conveniently launched at the time of the conflict within the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government. According to US House of Representatives Speaker, Tip O'Neill: "For two years the President had been looking for an opportunity to go into Grenada, since the days when Haig was in the cabinet."⁵ In March 1983, Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had declared that President Reagan's fulminations that Grenada was a threat to US security and a Cuban-Soviet military buildup was equipping Grenada with a naval base, a "superior air base" and other military installations, amounted to "undeclared war". An official statement called the President's speech "an extremely serious and provocative act against our country.... laying the basis for further destabilisation and even for direct military attack". Similar charges by Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman at an OAS meeting were deemed as "hysterical" by the US Ambassador there.⁶

The military-industrial complex had also other objectives: to give President Reagan a foreign policy success⁷ for the forthcoming elections; to assure the American people, influenced by the "Vietnam syndrome", that the United States can secure victories against "the evil empire" at little cost; and lastly, to intimidate the progressive and revolutionary forces in the Caribbean, Latin American and the rest of the world. For the White House and the Pentagon, the landing of marines and "victory" in Grenada, the heightening of tensions in Central America and the Middle East, and the deployment of missiles in Europe formed part of the reckless policy of "moving from a position of strength" in US global strategy for the containment of national and social liberation and the destruction of existing socialism.

The US marines and Caribbean puppet troops won the first round in Grenada. But it will prove to be a pyrrhic victory.

⁵ *The New York Times*, 31 October, 1983.

⁶ *The Caribbean Chronicle*, London, June/July 1983, p 13.

⁷ Florida Senator Lawton Chiles said that he was worried about the invasion, since the comment was going around that "perhaps we are seeking a war that we can win".

Capitalism is in a deep and prolonged structural crisis. Dependent, distorted and undeveloped capitalism in the Caribbean, Latin America and the rest of the "third world" is in even more serious trouble. And the imperialist camp is torn by innumerable and insoluble contradictions.

Some of the US partners in the Western Alliance were critical of the brutal invasion of Grenada. The French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy told the National Assembly in Paris: "Nothing can justify the intervention of the United States." Sweden called the US action a "crime against international law". Peter Boenisch, spokesman for West Germany's centre-right coalition told a news conference in Bonn: "had we been consulted, we would have advised against the intervention". West German Social Democratic leader Hans Jurgen Wischnewski said, "It is time for the allies to openly tell the President of the United States that his policy regarding his near neighbours can no longer be accepted because it is a burden on our alliance." British Labour Party's Foreign Affairs spokesman Denis Healey accused Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of being an "obedient poodle" to the US administration, of showing "servility" towards Ronald Reagan and acquiescing in the violation of international law: "It's time she got off her knees and joined other allies who are concerned about American foreign policy".⁸ *While the British government had advised against the Grenada invasion, it failed to condemn the United States. However, in her strongest criticism, Margaret Thatcher declared: "I am totally opposed to Communism and terrorism...., but, if the United States intervenes wherever Communism prevails, we will have terrible wars in the world."* Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau of Canada criticised the invasion, saying that he had not been consulted. Expressing sentiments similar to Margaret Thatcher's, he asked: "What would happen in the world if the United States were given the right to enter any country to change governments that are not to its liking?" In Europe, fears were expressed even in traditional conservative quarters that if the Reagan administration could act unilaterally and contrary to international law against Grenada, its hand could not be trusted on the nuclear trigger.

⁸ *The Globe and Mail*, Toronto, Canada, October 27, 1983, p 19.

⁹ *Grenada: The World Against The Crime*, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana 1983, p 93.

Vietnam called the invasion "brazen aggression". The People's Republic of China deemed it "an act of intimidation by force committed by a strong nation against a weak one".¹⁰

Countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, traditionally friendly to the United States, voiced criticism of the invasion at the OAS and elsewhere. At a meeting of the OAS, several delegates openly called it "a flagrant and brutal violation of the principle of non-intervention and the OAS Charter". Representatives from 13 of the 18 countries participating in the OAS session warned that the invasion of the island violated the principles of self determination, non-intervention and respect for the territorial integrity of one of the members of the regional organization. Mexican Ambassador Rafael de la Colina, dean of the OAS Ambassadors, described the action taken against Grenada as "an act of aggression". Colombian Ambassador Francisco Posada pointed out that the invasion "constitutes a frank and overt violation of the principle of non-intervention". Expressing dissatisfaction and tendering his resignation one year before the expiry of his term of office, OAS Secretary General Alejandro Orfila stated:

America, the bastion of the principles of non-intervention, of self-determination of peoples, and of the judicial equality of states, is ensuring traditional and new forms of intervention, adventitious interpretations of the limits of self-determination, and disregard in practice of the equal rights of the nations.

The Secretary General also pointed out that the US manipulated OAS "has been alien to or barely involved in many of the major issues that affect or determine the future of America".¹²

In his condemnation, Luis Echeverria, former President of Mexico, head of the Centre for Social and Economic Studies of the Third World (CEESTEM) and Vice President of the World Peace Council, placed the US aggression in its proper historical, regional and international setting. He declared:

... the question of Grenada is one more case within the context of US geopolitics that began with the doctrine and the myth of manifest

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *Guyana Chronicle*, Georgetown, 15 November, 1983, p 8.

¹² *Granma*, Havana, 4 December 1983, p 10.

destiny early last century. I think it is one more act that endangers world peace and must be related to the arms race, the preparations for nuclear war that the United States started when it dropped the first bomb on Hiroshima in 1945, at a time when it was unnecessary since Germany had surrendered and Japan was about to do so. When we refer to the extremely dangerous current situation that could lead to nuclear war, we forget about who has the historical responsibility of having started it in 1945.¹³

The Chairman of the Organisation African Unity (OAU), President Mengistu Haile Mariam of Ethiopia, condemned the invasion and called on the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to bring about the withdrawal of the invading forces.

In an emergency meeting at the UN headquarters in New York on October 26 and 28 1983, the Coordinating Bureau of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries expressed grave concern over the invasion of Grenada by the United States. The Bureau saw these events as a threat to peace and international security. The Bureau also noted that during the 7th Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, the meeting of the Heads of State or Government in New Delhi had "condemned the overt or covert actions and political and economic pressure exerted by imperialist forces against Grenada".¹⁴

The World Council of Churches joined the Caribbean Council of Churches in deploring the military aggression against Grenada. At a meeting in Cuba, the Christian Peace Conference denounced the "unjust, brutal invasion that the Government of the United States of America has carried out against a small country, Grenada."¹⁵ And Pope John Paul II expressed his "anguish and profound concern".

The blitzkrieg attack on Grenada will initially bolster the theory of "geographical fatalism", namely, that no one can successfully oppose the "colossus of the North". But as the Speaker of the US House of Representatives Tip O'Neill pointed out, there was "no honour" for the "world's most powerful nation" claiming "victory

¹³ *Granma*, Havana, 13 November 1983, p 11.

¹⁴ *Grenada: The World Against The Crime*, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, Havana 1983, p. 96.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p 101.

over a tiny island many times smaller", and "violating the territorial integrity of any nation". In the UN Security Council debate on Grenada, the United States was totally isolated and was forced to use its veto to kill a motion of condemnation. The UN General Assembly passed a similar motion with an overwhelming vote. Apart from the six Caribbean states which jointly mounted the invasion, only pro-imperialist Israel and El Salvador sided with the United States.

Peace, independence and development are interlinked. Despite the temporary setback in Grenada, the democratic and peace forces in the Caribbean will overcome. The Caribbean revolution cannot be stopped. The "Marxist virus" cannot be destroyed.

Forward Ever! Backward Never!

APPENDIX

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre

RESOLUTION ON THE CARIBBEAN BASIN PLAN

We, Caribbean and Central American intellectuals and social scientists meeting in Mexico from 15 to 19 March 1982, under the auspices of CEESTEM wish to make the following declaration:

After the most in-depth and detailed analysis of the Caribbean Basin Plan, proposed by the United States of America, as well as the consideration of the concrete political and military steps that country has been taking, including the naval manoeuvres *Safe Passage'82*, and the escalating intervention in Central America, we conclude that the implications of implementing the CBP would be in complete contradiction to the common objectives of and struggles by the Caribbean people for economic, development, peace and self-determination. The economic, military and political objectives of CBP are not those of the Caribbean nations and was formulated without adequate consultation with all the governments in the region. The CBP is an attempt to restore the imperialist hegemony of the United States, against which the Caribbean nations have been struggling since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

Our analysis indicates that the effect of the CBP will be to: Undermine strategies of economic development which aim at greater self-reliance and continual increases in the welfare of the masses of the people. The CBP intends to promote dependent capitalist underdevelopment and to reinforce Caribbean economic subordination to and integration with the United States. The CBP seeks to open their economies to US capital in the form of transnational corporations and to US exports, while procuring strategic minerals and raw materials. These strategies lead to a destruction of the internal dynamic of capital accumulation, drains capital out of these economies, denationalises decision-making about resource allocation and sacrifices the welfare of the majority of people to a minority through the extremely unequal distribution of means of production and income.

The CBP seeks to manipulate the cultural and political heterogeneity, to destroy the emerging Caribbean unity, to penalize non-alignment in foreign policy and to prop up pro-US

client regimes, including some of the most oppressive and antidemocratic dictatorships. The US is escalating the militarization of the region not only by arming military dictatorships, but also other regimes to enable them to repress the just and over-due demands of the people, by increasing the US naval presence and rapid deployment of military forces, including mercenaries, and by utilizing covert means of destabilizing governments. The dangerous and fraudulent injection of a Cold War dimension into the affairs of the region, as part of a global superpower conflict must be repudiated.

The large scale naval manoeuvres *Safe Passage 82* being held in the Gulf of Mexico with the participation of 30 warships, 80 planes and 10,000 men, is a particular cause of concern. These manoeuvres are in open contradiction with Article 2, paragraph 4 of Charter of the United Nations, the declaration of the Inter-American Juridical Committee of 1 February, 1972 and the OAS resolution No. 456 of 31 October, 1979 which declared the Caribbean Sea a "zone of peace".

On the basis of these considerations we:

- 1 - Call on the governments and leaders of the Caribbean countries to meet and to formulate a policy of resistance to the CBP by stressing the consolidation of Caribbean unity and the coordination of policies against external interference and to formulate a plan for the cooperative development of the Caribbean which will recognize and permit national differences in the pursuit of economic transformation and self-determination in an environment of peace.
- 2 - Demand that the right of all peoples to decide their own historical destiny without external interference be respected and consequently we demand that the aggressive hostility against Cuba, Nicaragua and Grenada ceases.

We also demand an end to the growing US intervention against the People of El Salvador and the support a negotiated political settlement that takes into account the interests and organisations of the popular masses.

Finally, we demand that the US government as member of the United Nations, implement the resolution adopted by the Decolonization Committee which reaffirms Puerto Rico's right to self determination and independence and that this crucial issue be included in the next agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

3 - We regard peace as a necessary condition for the development of societies in which humanity can achieve its full potential. This requires that the United States of America desist from military intervention, immediately terminate militarization and remove the danger of nuclear war.

We condemn energetically the naval manoeuvres *Safe Passage* being carried out by the naval forces of NATO in the Gulf of Mexico. These manoeuvres endanger peace and security in the region, thus violating the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. They also are in contradiction with international principles of non-intervention, since they are being carried out in the sea and airspace of countries which have not been consulted. Finally these manoeuvres violate the aspirations of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples for peace, which is reflected in the OAS resolution No. 456 of 31st October 1979 and which declares the Caribbean Sea as a 'zone of peace'.

STATEMENT

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF CARIBBEAN COMMUNIST, WORKERS, REVOLUTIONARY, DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

The Communist, Workers, Revolutionary Democratic Parties and Organizations of the Caribbean attending the 21st Congress of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana held a consultative meeting on August 3rd, 1982.

In their discussions, the Caribbean Parties and organizations reviewed the general situation in the region and heard reports on the most recent development in each territory.

The meeting agreed that the main new feature of the Caribbean situation was the more desperate and aggressive drive by US imperialism to halt and to reverse the revolutionary process in the area. This offensive is aimed first and foremost at Socialist Cuba and at the revolutionary democratic transformations now underway in Nicaragua and Grenada and beginning in Suriname. At the same time the meeting noted that the offensive of imperialism is limited by the unfavourable balance against US imperialism in the world and by the deep crisis of monopoly capital.

Attention was given to the fact that imperialism and its consequences are deepening and broadening the social character of the movements for national liberation in the region. These movements have been and are compelled by the circumstances of imperialist domination to strive not only for freedom from imperialism, but also to carry out deep thorough-going changes in the internal structures of the economy, of the society and most of all of the state. In Grenada and Nicaragua for example the revolutions have gone beyond a bourgeois democratic framework to the establishment of revolutionary democracy.

In the other territories popular discontent is developing to embrace more social sectors and the conditions are being created for an intensification of the working people's struggles and for more nation-wide political crises, as were the experiences, in Dominica in 1979, in St. Vincent in June 1981 and in St. Lucia in March 1981 and January 1982.

Within this framework, progress is being scored in strengthening

parties and organisations more along working class lines and in increasing their influence amongst the people.

The parties and organizations were unanimous on the need for their continued close co-operation in the interest of advancing the regional struggle against imperialism and appreciated the opportunity made possible by the PPP for the continuation of this process.

The parties and organizations bearing in mind the present regional situation:

1. Demand the complete decolonization of the region.
2. Condemn the resurgence of the Cold War and militarism by imperialism and pledge support for world peace, for disarmament and for the Caribbean and Central America to remain a Zone of Peace.
3. Condemn the propaganda onslaught of imperialism which is particularly characterised by open advocacy of "limited nuclear war" and its use of anti-communism in an attempt to divide the revolutionary movement.
4. View the C.B.I. as inimical to the interests of the Caribbean peoples and demand adoption of the 13-point programme of the Caribbean (CARICOM) Ministers' Conference of August 1981.
5. Express solidarity with the revolutions of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and Suriname, and for the liberation forces in El Salvador. In particular, we condemn the recent statements of Seaga and Adams which are aimed at the isolation and expulsion of Grenada from Caricom.
6. Call for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian and Lebanese people.
7. Condemn all military dictatorships such as in Haiti, Chile and Guatemala and call for the release of political prisoners and the restoration of democratic liberties.
8. Give support to the people of Belize and Guyana in defense of their territorial integrity.

FOR THE DIALOGUE OF THE AMERICAS

This is the beginning of a great dialogue between the cultures of America, committed to the mobilizing currents of ideas and peoples in their struggle for liberation. America, in all its progressive manifestations, has waged a secular struggle in which it has made important and original contributions to the political culture of contemporary humanity.

Human rights find in the thinkers and peoples of America one of the most profound expressions of humanism. These expressions are not solely abstract. When Benito Juárez stated: "Among individuals as well as among nations, respect for the rights of others is peace", he introduced into the most advanced thinking of his time a new and decisive element, whose validity is both universal and immediate. The struggle for human rights in the Americas takes place not only in defense of individuals but also of peoples. Therefore this Dialogue of the Americas has sought to be a first collective attempt to respect the rights of individuals and nations through the collaboration of America's cultures and their deepest progressive traditions; it is thus, in the spirit of Juárez, a concrete act on behalf of peace.

When we think of progressive intellectuals in the United States, we cannot forget such names as Emerson, Whitman, Mark Twain, Hemingway, Black Elk, Langston Hughes, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Carlos Castaneda, Charles Eastman and Margaret Mead. When we think of the intellectuals of Latin America and the Caribbean, we cannot forget, among others, the names of Martí, Dario, Quiroga, Alfonso Reyes, Gabriela Mistral, Graciliano Ramos, Vallejo, Fanon, Neruda, Carpentier and Roque Dalton. They and many more never spoke of popular sovereignty in general and abstract terms but in relation to concrete struggles to which they were deeply and actively committed, from the quest for political independence in the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean to the movement against neo-colonialist intervention in Vietnam, to mention only a few of the most important struggles of the past.

The continuation of the exemplary attitude of these intellectuals exists today also in specific movements whose various points we must emphasize:

1. Defense of the revolutionary process in Cuba, Grenada, Surinam and Nicaragua, as well as the systematic and vigorous denunciation of the specific, daily, planned aggressions designed to undermine the accomplishments of these liberated peoples.
2. Denunciation of the covert war undertaken against Nicaragua on political, economic, diplomatic and of course military fronts, involving grave violations of its territory and the strangulation of its economy.
3. Defense of the revolutionary movements of the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala in their anti-colonialist struggle against mass misery and for the establishment of a democracy with deeply national roots.
4. Support for the resistance against dictatorships in the Southern Cone, Haiti and other American countries whose peoples are fighting to exercise their sovereignty and to establish respect for individual rights against torture, disappearances and political crimes.
5. Support for the democratic and popular movements in the United States, for minorities and nationalities, as well as for workers increasingly punished by unemployment and inflation, with special attention to the struggles for survival of the indigenous nations, which are currently suffering increasing government hostility toward their centers of education, their cultures, their language, their natural resources and their land.
6. Immediate denunciation of interventionist acts, such as the so-called Symms Amendment, directed specifically against Cuba, which authorizes the president of the United States to intervene in the Caribbean and in Central America, and of the monetary policies imposed against Latin American and Caribbean workers.
7. Reactivation of the French-Mexican declaration toward the search for a joint political solution in El Salvador, support of the just demands of Panama for full sovereignty in the Canal Zone, and promotion of a dialogue between the United States, Nicaragua and Cuba as the basis for the only logical and lasting solution of the international problems in the region.
8. Support for the people of Puerto Rico in their historic quest for independence and cultural identity, as well as solidarity with Chicanos, Puertorriqueños and the rest of the Spanish-speaking groups in the United States which are claiming the right to express themselves in Spanish as well as in English, with full freedom in their linguistic and cultural development.

9. Denunciation of the financial and economic war which the Reagan administration has declared against the peoples of Latin America and its own North American people, combined with the search for intelligent, realistic solutions to the grave problems posed by relations between the two Americas.

10. Support for the international protest against the arms race, and denunciation of the fact that the problems of this hemisphere are being used as elements in the new cold war while local armies continue to be trained for internal "conventional" wars against their own peoples.

11. Solidarity with the popularly-based religious movements for liberation, democracy and human rights.

12. Support for the international right to provide the means for protecting peoples from genocide, from armed intervention and from the usurpation of our territories and resources, and support for a call to all nations for the ratification of the Convention Against Genocide.

In addition, and especially, the Dialogue of the Americas reiterates its support of the president of Mexico, José López Portillo, for the historic and sovereign act of nationalization of the private banks.

Intellectuals of North America and Latin America have lived and created up until now in closed compartments, and although there are North American writers and artists who are well known in both zones of the hemisphere, this knowledge has not included a liberating and complementary dialogue.

A stimulating new aspect of this encounter has been the open and hopeful attitude of North American and Latin American intellectuals, ready to understand a continental reality which affirms the creative strength of their peoples. Another important new aspect has been the healthy disposition of North Americans and Latin Americans to abandon old prejudices and stereotypes and thus to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding.

Intellectuals of the North and South are fully aware that we are not enemies but that our common enemies are those sectors of economic and military power which in the South and in the North falsify, besiege, mystify and destroy the best features of our respective communities. Our common enemies are those who darken the Caribbean with their threats; those who discriminate against racial minorities; those who kill, disappear and torture their fellow

citizens, and also those who train those professional torturers; those who and over national patrimony for dishonest privileges, and also those who plan out human exploitation on a transnational scale.

Out of this Dialogue come inescapable responsibilities for the intellectuals of the Americas: to utilize every means of expression and communication to truthfully inform the public of the gravity of the present situation in this hemisphere, especially in Central America and the Caribbean, emphasizing the risk it implies for world peace if the peoples' sovereignty is not respected, and to involve themselves actively in those movements in our countries which demand that their governments exercise a policy of non-intervention and self-determination.

We are convinced that sovereignty is much more than an abstraction, much more than a word, precisely because it is nothing less than the destiny chosen by a people despite all blackmails, pressures, threats, blockades and clandestine prisons. The arrogance of the exploiter or dictator is not compatible with the dignity of the exploited or oppressed, but the sovereignty of a people is always the sister of that of another people.

We are certain that this continental dialogue of intellectuals is only a forerunner of a greater dialogue among the peoples of America.

The most beautiful victory we can achieve is the one that emerges from the war we prevent.

For the Dialogue of the Americas!

For the Sovereignty of our peoples!

For peace and for life!

(Declaration of Meeting of Intellectuals of North and South America and the Caribbean in Mexico in October 1982)

A FORMULA FOR FAILURE

In reply to President Reagan's address to the joint session of Congress on 27th April, 1983, requesting \$600 million as aid for Central America in 1984, as spokesman for the Democratic Party Senator Christopher Dodd said:

To begin with, we believe the administration fundamentally misunderstands the causes of conflict in Central America. We cannot afford to found so important a policy on ignorance, and the painful truth is that many of our highest officials seem to know as little about Central America in 1983 as we knew about Indochina in 1963.

... If Central America were not racked with poverty, there would be no revolution. If Central America were not racked with hunger, there would be no revolution. If Central America were not racked with injustice, there would be no revolution.... unless those oppressive conditions change, the region will continue to seethe with revolution....

Instead of trying to do something about the factions or factors which breed revolution, this administration has turned to massive military buildup, at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. Its policy is ever increasing military assistance, endless military training and further military involvement. This is a formula for failure, and it is a proven prescription for picking the loser....

... His request for El Salvador alone will bring the total aid to that country during his term to more than one billion dollars to counter a rebel army that according to all reports does not exceed 7000 guerrillas. That means you and I are paying 140 000 dollars in hard-earned tax dollars for each one of those guerrillas we are trying to defeat.... It raises the question of why we should invest in the future of El Salvador when the wealthiest citizens of that country are investing in Swiss banks.... American dollars alone cannot buy military victory. That is the lesson of the painful past and of this newest conflict in Central America. If we continue down that road, if we continue to ally ourselves with repression, we will not only deny our own basic values, we will also find ourselves once again on the losing side. It is folly, pure and simple, to pursue a course which is wrong in principle in order to wage a conflict which cannot be won.... We must offer an alternative policy that can work. First, we should use the power and influence of the United States to

achieve an immediate cessation of hostilities in both El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Second, the United States should use all its power and influence to work for a negotiated political settlement in Central America.... Every major ally of ours in the region - Mexico, Panama, Venezuela and Colombia - is anxious that such a step be taken and has offered to make the arrangements....

... the insurgents we have supported are the remnants of the old Somoza regime, a regime whose corruption, graft, torture and despotism made it universally despised in Nicaragua."

The Sandinistas may not be winners, but right now we are backing sure losers....

... We must help governments only if they help their own people. We must hear the cry for bread and schools, work and opportunity that comes from campesinos everywhere in this hemisphere. We must make violent revolution preventable by making peaceful revolution possible. Most important, this approach would permit the United States to move with the tide of history rather than stand against it. For us, the stakes are diplomatic, political and strategic, but for the people of El Salvador life itself is on the line...."

... We can take the road of military escalation, but we really don't know what the next step will be, where it will lead or how much it will cost. This much, however, we do know: it'll mean greater violence, it'll mean greater bloodshed, it'll mean greater hostilities and inevitably the day will come when it will mean a regional conflict in Central America.

When that day comes and dogs of war are loose in Central America, when the cheering has stopped, we will know where the president's appeal for more American money and a deeper American commitment has taken us.

(Granma, Havana, May 8, 1983).

APPEAL

FOR PEACE AND LIFE, AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR

Humanity stands at a crucial crossroad of history. One step in the wrong direction – and the world could be irrevocably thrown into the abyss of a nuclear war.

Never before has the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, reached such threatening proportions as today. All negotiations for the limitation and reduction of armaments are in fact being blocked. New military programmes are being approved. Additional weapons of mass destruction are being designed. Attempts are made to impose on people the idea of the “acceptability” of nuclear weapons, of the possibility of carrying out a “limited” or “protracted” nuclear war.

Explosive situations exist in various parts of the world, above all in the Middle East, Central America and the Caribbean, Southern Africa, South-East Asia and Far East. Aggressions are committed against sovereign states. Military conflicts between different countries are provoked from outside, thus hindering peoples in their just aspirations for political and economic independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and endangering world peace. The network of military bases on foreign territories is expanding.

An especially acute danger is represented by plans to deploy new first-strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe. The realization of these plans will sharply increase the danger of a nuclear conflict. Such a conflict will not be limited to the continent of Europe, but will lead to a global holocaust. It is urgent to stop the deployment of missiles in Europe, to reduce all nuclear arms on the European continent and to work for the total elimination of all nuclear weapons throughout the world.

Being extremely concerned by the increasing danger of nuclear war and realizing our great responsibility to safeguard peace, we have gathered at the World Assembly for Peace and Life, against Nuclear War from 21 to 26 June in Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. We are citizens of 132 countries of the world, peoples of various races and nationalities, of different philosophical views, religions and political positions. We represent 1843 national organisations, trade unions, peace, women's, youth and students movements, political parties and churches, 108 inter-

national and non-governmental organisations. Representatives of 11 inter-governmental organisations also took part in the Assembly.

We declare:

Preparation of a nuclear war is the most serious crime against humanity. But war is not inevitable. It is not yet too late to prevent a nuclear holocaust. Salvation is in the hands of the people themselves, of each man and woman, resolutely standing together for peace.

The mass movement for peace is a powerful force, a determining factor in the international situation, capable of influencing the practical policies of governments in the direction of peace.

The strength of this broad and diversified peace movement lies in its ability to *act together*. Whatever differences on other issues exist between us, we are strongly convinced that *nothing* must divide us in the face of our common purpose – to save peace and life, to prevent nuclear war.

We appeal to all peoples:

Let us not allow 1983 to become yet another springboard to a new and mortally-dangerous round of the arms race, to further intensification of confrontation!

Let us concentrate our efforts to achieve the most urgent demands of the peoples of the world.

NO TO NEW MISSILES IN EUROPE!

YES TO REAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF ALL TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE!

FREEZE ALL NUCLEAR ARSENALS NOW!

NO TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE WEST OR IN THE EAST, AROUND THE WORLD!

STOP THE ARMS RACE, NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL!

YES TO NUCLEAR WEAPON-FREE ZONES!

FOR GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT!

PEACEFUL POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS, NOT MILITARY CONFRONTATION!

THE WORLD'S RESOURCES FOR PEACE AND LIFE!

PEACE, FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE AND PROSPERITY FOR ALL NATIONS!

(World Congress of Peace and Life, against Nuclear War, Prague, May 1983)

JOINT COMMUNIQUE

ISSUED BY CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF CARIBBEAN PARTIES - GEORGETOWN 4th March, 1984.

1. A Consultative meeting of communist and revolutionary parties and organisations was held in Georgetown from 2-4 March, 1984.

2. The meeting was attended by representatives from the Movement For National Liberation (MONALI) of Barbados; The Communist Party of Cuba; Action Committee For a Socialist Movement (ACSAM) of Curacao; The Dominican Liberation Movement Alliance; The People's Progressive Party of Guyana; The Communist Party of Guadeloupe; The Worker's Party of Jamaica; The Martinique Communist Party; The United People's Movement of St. Vincent and the Grenadines; The Worker's Revolutionary Movement of St. Lucia; The February 18th Movement and The People's Popular Movement of Trinidad and Tobago.

3. Meeting for the first time since the illegal and unjustified US led invasion of Grenada which was condemned internationally and by the U.N, the delegations made a profound assessment of developments in Central America and the Caribbean and concluded that the Grenada tragedy introduced a renewed emphasis on the use of force by U.S. imperialism as a solution to the Region's problems.

4. Participants unanimously agreed that the deteriorating economic situation and the declining living standards of the Caribbean peoples are endangering peace and security in the Region. Delegates emphasised that the Reagan-sponsored Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI) is basically an instrument aimed at creating a military/political block linked to imperialism and against the interests of the peoples of the Region.

5. Speakers emphasised the need to counter U.S. imperialist military offensive in the Region. Attention was paid to the increasing dangers facing the Nicaraguan Revolution as well as to the heroic struggles being waged by the revolutionary forces of El Salvador. In this connection, all participants re-iterated their whole-

hearted support and solidarity with the people and government of Nicaragua and with the revolutionary forces of El Salvador, led by the F.M.L.N./F.D.R. Firm support and solidarity was also reaffirmed with the people and government of Cuba in their endeavour to build a socialist society. Emphasis was made on the necessity to step up the fight for world peace and to make the Caribbean A Zone of Peace.

6. All delegates expressed their firm repudiation of U.S. military bases in the Region, against all aggressive military manoeuvres, Washington's increased militarization of the Region and in particular the proposed Washington sponsored and controlled Eastern Caribbean Sub-Regional Interventionist Army, being established against the dignity, sovereignty and wish of the Caribbean peoples for the peaceful and independent development of their respective countries.

7. Participants in the meeting highly appreciated the positive stand taken by the Governments of Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, the Bahamas and Belize for the dignified and sovereign stand in their rejection of the criminal invasion of Grenada by U. S. imperialism.

8. Delegates expressed deep regret at the death of Maurice Bishop and his colleagues and agreed to take appropriate actions in their respective countries to sustain the memory of the Grenada Revolution. Delegates also recognised the heroic resistance put up by patriotic Grenadians and Cuban internationalist workers to the U.S. aggression against tiny Grenada; lamented the loss of civilian life and agreed to protest vigorously against the illegal occupation of Grenada and insist on the recognition of the Human Rights of all Grenadian citizens.

9. Representatives exchanged information and experiences pertaining to the work of the parties and organisations in their respective countries.

10. Participants agreed that meetings of this kind are very useful to the fight for peace, the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all Caribbean countries - and the well-being of the Caribbean peoples.

11. There was a coincidence of views among delegates that the parties and organisations should continue working in a spirit of equality and cooperation in the interests of peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism.

12. The discussions took place in a frank, constructive and comradely atmosphere.

Georgetown - Guyana.
4. March, 1984

US MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, 1946-76

(By fiscal years in millions of US dollars)

MAP Grants: Grants of arms, equipment and services under the Military Assistance Program.

FMS Credits: Credits awarded under the Foreign Military Sales programme for the purchase of US arms.

Excess Items: Deliveries of "surplus" US arms.

IMETP: Training provided under the International Military Education and Training Program.

Sec. Supp. Assist: Subsidies awarded under the Foreign Assistance Act to threatened pro-US regimes.

Country	MAP	FMS	Excess	IMETP	Sec.	Total
	Grants 1950-76	Credits 1950-76	Items 1950-76	Grants 1950-76	Supp. Assist. 1946-76	
Costa Rica	0,9	-	0,1	0,9	-	1,9
Cuba	8,6	-	5,5	2,0	-	16,1
Dominican Republic	21,7	1,5	3,9	9,1	209,2	245,4
El Salvador	4,9	3,5	2,5	5,4	-	16,3
Guatemala	16,4	10,9	6,7	7,1	33,5	74,6
Haiti	2,4	-	0,2	0,9	47,7	51,2
Honduras	5,6	5,5	1,9	7,0	1,6	21,6
Jamaica	1,1	-	-	-	?	1,1
Nicaragua	7,6	5,5	5,3	10,7	-	29,1
Panama	4,3	0,5	1,8	3,5	27,0	37,1
Trinidad and Tobago	-	-	-	-	29,7	29,7

Source: *Michael T. Klare, Supplying Repression: US Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad, Institute for Policy Studies, 1977.*

**TRAINING OF FOREIGN MILITARY PERSONNEL BY THE UNITED STATES,
FISCAL YEARS 1950-76**

(Students trained under the Military Assistance Program and International Military Education and Training Program in the United States and in the Panama Canal Zone)

Costa Rica	696
Cuba (1950-60)	523
Dominican Republic	3,945
El Salvador	1,925
Guatemala	3,213
Haiti (1950-63)	593
Honduras	2,888
Jamaica	11
Nicaragua	5,167
Panama	4,389

Source: *Ibid.*

**US ASSISTANCE TO FOREIGN POLICE FORCES UNDER THE PUBLIC SAFETY
PROGRAM, FISCAL YEARS 1961-73**
(in thousands of US dollars)

Country	Students trained in the US	US Public Safety Advisers	Total Expenditures
Costa Rica	160	4	1,921
Dominican Republic	204	3	4,193
El Salvador	168	1	2,092
Guatemala	377	7	4,855
Guyana	53	—	1,299
Honduras	105	3	1,741
Jamaica	92	1	780
Nicaragua	81	2	315
Panama	202	3	2,148

Source: *Michael T. Klare, Supplying Repression: US Support for Authoritarian Regimes Abroad, Institute for Policy Studies 1977.*

THE JOHNSON DOCTRINE

'A government freely chosen by the will of all the people...'

The following is an extract from an address by President Lyndon B. Johnson broadcast over nationwide radio and television on 2 May 1965:

'There are times in the affairs of nations when great principles are tested in an ordeal of conflict and danger. This is such a time for the American nations...

I want you to know that it is not a light or an easy matter to send our American boys to another country, but I do not think that the American people expect their President to hesitate or to vacillate in the face of danger, just because the decision is hard when life is in peril...

The American nations cannot, must not, and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western Hemisphere...

Our goal is a simple one. We are there to save the lives of our citizens and to save the lives of all people. Our goal, in keeping with the great principles of the inter-American system, is to help prevent another Communist state in this hemisphere. And we would like to do this without bloodshed or without large-scale fighting.

The form and the nature of the free Dominican government, I assure you, is solely a matter for the Dominican people, but we do know what kind of government we hope to see in the Dominican Republic...

We hope to see a government freely chosen by the will of all the people.

STATISTICAL PROFILE OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Country	Population (millions)		Population Growth (1970-79) (%)	Urban Population 1980 (%)	GNP per capita (1979 dollars)	Exports (millions US\$)	Imports (millions US\$)
	(1) = 1979	(2) = 1980					
Costa Rica	2.2 (2)	2.5	2.5	43	1,820	923 (79)	1,392 (79)
El Salvador	4.8 (2)	2.9	2.9	41	670	1,029 (79)	1,024 (79)
Guatemala	7.3 (2)	2.9	2.9	39	1,020	1,192 (79)	1,504 (79)
Honduras	3.7 (2)	3.3	3.3	36	530	733 (79)	830 (79)
Nicaragua	2.7 (2)	3.3	3.3	53	660	774 (78)	848 (78)
Panama	1.9 (2)	2.3	2.3	54	1,400	292 (79)	1,185 (79)
Barbados	.26 (1)	0.6	0.6	46	2,440	-	-
Cuba	9.8 (1)	1.4	1.4	65	1,410	4,456 (78)	4,687 (78)
Dominica	.08 (76)	1.9	(70-76)	-	400	-	-
Dominican Republic	5.9 (2)	2.9	2.9	51	990	822 (79)	1,062 (79)
Grenada	.11 (2)	-	-	-	620	16.1 (80 est)	49.9 (80 est)
Guyana	.9 (1)	2.2	2.2	46	580	685 (76)	927 (76)
Haiti	5.8 (2)	1.7	1.7	28	260	184 (79)	221 (78)
Jamaica	2.2 (1)	1.6	1.6	50	1,260	769 (79)	1,010 (79)
Puerto Rico	3.2 (1)	1.7	1.7	-	1,990	3,346 (76)	5,432 (76)
St Lucia	.11 (76)	2.0	(70-76)	-	780	-	-
St Vincent	.11 (76)	2.8	(70-76)	-	330	-	-
Trinidad & Tobago	1.2 (1)	1.3	(70-76)	-	3,390	4,895 (78)	4,721 (78)

*Includes underemployment.

Country	Unemployment (%)	Percentage Labour force 1979		Literacy (%)	Population provided with drinking water (%) 1977	Infant Mortality (Age 0-1) averages (1975-80) (per 1000)	Life Expectancy at birth 1979
		Agriculture	Industry				
Costa Rica	4.6	30	23	90 (75)	80	45	70
El Salvador	35 (77)	51	22	62 (75)	55	79	63
Guatemala	45	56	21	47 (75)	40	89	59
Honduras	10	63	14	60 (79)	42	95	58
Nicaragua	45 (80)	40	14	90 (80)	74	96	56
Panama	25	34	18	80 (79)	82	38	70
Barbados	-	-	-	-	100	-	71
Cuba	-	24	31	96 (75)	60	24	72
Dominican Republic	40 (78)	50	18	68 (78)	57	74	61
Grenada	-	-	-	95 (80)	-	-	69
Guyana	33	-	-	-	98	-	68
Haiti	70	74	7	4	10	121	53
Jamaica	24.5 (75)	* 22	25	-	82	-	71
Puerto Rico	25 (77)	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Lucia	40-50 (est)	-	-	-	-	-	-
St Vincent	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trinidad & Tobago	12 (78)	16	36	95 (75)	89	-	70

Sources: The World Bank, World Development Report, 1981.

Inter-American Development Bank, Economic and Social Program in Latin America, 1979.

CEPAL, Statistical Summary of Latin America, 1960-1980, 1981.

Unity is Strength. LAB, 1980

Intermix Guide to 18 Latin American Countries, 1980

**A FEW EXAMPLES OF U.S. INTERVENTION TO IMPOSE
THEIR CONCEPT OF "FREEDOM" AND "PEACEFUL"
SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL CONTROVERSIES**

- 1712: Slaves revolted in New York, April 6. Six committed suicide, 21 were executed. Second rising, 1741 - 13 slaves hanged, 13 burned, 71 deported.
- 1846: MEXICAN WAR. President James K. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor to seize disputed Texan land settled by Mexicans. After border clash, U.S. declared war May 13; Mexico May 23. About 12,000 U.S. troops took Vera Cruz March 27, 1847, Mexico City September 14. U.S. took over Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, part of Colorado in 1848.
- 1864: Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, November 29, in a raid by 900 cavalymen who killed 150-500 men, women and children; 9 soldiers died. The tribes were awaiting surrender terms when attacked.
- 1866: Ku Klux Klan formed secretly in South to terrorize Negroes who voted. Disbanded 1869-71. A second Klan was organized in 1915.
- 1890: Battle of Wounded Knee. December 29, the last major conflict between Indians and U.S. troops. About 200 Indian men, women, and children, and 29 soldiers were killed.
- 1893: HAWAII - U.S. Marines, ordered to land by U.S. Minister Stevens, aided the revolutionary Committee of Safety in overthrowing the native government. Stevens then proclaimed Hawaii a U.S. Protectorate. Annexation, resisted by the Democratic regime in Washington, was not formally accomplished until 1898.
- 1899: Filipino insurgents, unable to get recognition of independence from U.S., started guerilla war, February 4. Crushed with capture, May 23, 1901 of leader, Emilio Aguinaldo.

- 1900: CHINA - Boxers (a group of Chinese revolutionists) occupied Peking and laid siege to foreign legations. U.S. troops joined an international expedition which "relieved" the city.
- 1903: PANAMA - After Colombia had rejected a proposed agreement for relinquishing sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone, revolution broke out, aided by promoters of the Panama Canal Co. Two U.S. warships were standing by to protect American privileges.
- 1904: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC - When the Dominican Republic failed to meet debts owed to the U.S. and foreign creditors, Theodore Roosevelt declared the U.S. intention of exercising "international police power" in the Western Hemisphere whenever necessary. The U.S. accordingly administered customs and managed debt payments of the Dominican Republic from 1905-07.
- 1911: NICARAGUA - The possibility of foreign control over Nicaragua's canal route led to U.S. intervention. The U.S. landed Marines in Nicaragua (Aug. 14, 1912) to protect American interests there. A detachment remained until 1933, that signifies 21 years of illegal occupation.
- 1914: MEXICO - An incident involving unarmed U.S. sailors in Tampico led to the landing of U.S. forces on Mexican soil. Vera Cruz was bombarded by the U.S. Navy to prevent the landing of munitions from a German vessel. At the point of war, both powers agreed to mediation by Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Huerta abdicated, and Carranza succeeded to the presidency.
- 1915: HAITI - U.S. Marines imposed a military occupation. Haiti signed a treaty making it a virtual protectorate of the U.S. until troops were withdrawn in 1934, that signifies 19 years of illegal occupation.
- 1916: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC - Renewed intervention in the Dominican Republic with internal administration by U.S.

- naval officers lasting until 1924 (9 years of illegal occupation).
- 1921: Ku Klux Klan began revival with violence against blacks in North, South and Midwest.
- 1943: Race riot in Detroit June 21; 34 dead, 700 injured. Riot in Harlem section of New York City; 6 killed.
- 1945: First atomic bomb, produced at Los Alamos, N.M., exploded at Alamogordo, N.M. July 16. Bomb dropped on Hiroshima August 6, on Nagasaki August 9.
- 1950: President Truman authorized production of H-bomb January 31. Truman ordered Air Force and Navy to Korea June 27 after North Korea invaded South. Truman approved ground forces, air strikes against North Korea June 30. U.S. sent military advisers to South Vietnam June 27, and agreed to provide military and economic aid to South Korea.
- 1953: President Eisenhower announced May 8 that U.S. had given France \$60 million for Indochina war. More aid was announced in September. In 1954 it was reported that three fourths of the war's costs were met by U.S.
- 1958: LEBANON – Fearful of the newly formed U.A.R. abetting the rebels of his politically and economically torn country, President Chamoun requested American military assistance. U.S. troops landed in Beirut in mid-July and left before the end of the year.
- 1961: The U.S. severed diplomatic and consular relations with CUBA January 3, after disputes over nationalizations of U.S. firms and U.S. military presence at Guantanamo base. Invasion of CUBA's "Bay of Pigs" April 17 by Cuban exiles trained, armed, and directed by the U.S., attempting to overthrow the regime of Premier Fidel Castro and resulting in a fiasco.

- 1963: VIETNAM – U.S. troops in Vietnam totalled over 15,000 by year end; aid to South Vietnam was over \$500 million in 1963.
- 1962-64: CIA destabilisation of the government of the People's Progressive Party in British Guiana.
- 1965: President Johnson in February ordered continuous bombing of NORTH VIETNAM below 20th parallel.
- DOMINICAN REPUBLIC – On April 28, when a political coup-turned-civil war endangered the lives of American nationals, President Johnson rushed 400 Marines into Santo Domingo, the beginning of an eventual U.S. peak-commitment of 30,000 troops. They remained until September 1966.
- 1966: U.S. forces began firing into Cambodia May 1. Bombing of Hanoi area of North Vietnam by U.S. planes began June 29. By December 31, 385,300 U.S. troops were stationed in South Vietnam, plus 60,000 offshore and 33,000 in Thailand.
- 1968: Martin Luther King Jr., assassinated in Tennessee April 4.
- 1969: SOUTH VIETNAM – Massacre of hundreds of civilians at Mylai, South Vietnam in 1968 incident was reported November 16.
- 1973: CIA involvement in military overthrow of Salvador Allende's government in Chile.
- 1981-1982: U.S. intervention in national affairs of Nicaragua and El Salvador.
- 1982: ARGENTINA – U.S. military support of Great Britain's expedition to reinstate colonialism in the Malvinas Islands.

U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTIONS:

To: 1945

(Inserted into the Record by Sen. Everett Dirksen, S 6957)

June 23, 1969

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - SENATE

- 1899 - Nicaragua - To protect American interests at San Juan del Norte, February 22 to March 5, and at Bluefields a few weeks later in connection with the insurrection of Gen. Juan P. Reyes.
- 1899 - Samoa - March 13 to May 15 - To protect American interests and to take part in a bloody contention over the succession to the throne.
- 1899-1901) - Phillipine Islands - To protect American interests following the war with Spain and to conquer the islands by defeating the Filipinos in their war for independence.
- 1900 - China - May 24 to September 28 - To protect foreign lives during the Boxer rising particularly at Peking. For many years after this experience a permanent legation guard was maintained in Peking, and was strengthened at times as trouble threatened. It was still there in 1934.
- 1901 - Colombia (State of Panama) - November 20 to December 4 - To protect American property on the Isthmus and to keep transit lines open during serious revolutionary disturbances.
- 1902 - Colombia - April 16 to 23 - To protect American lives and property Bocas del Toro during a civil war.
- 1902 - Colombia (State of Panama) - September 17 to November 18 - To place armed guards on all trains crossing the Isthmus and to keep the railroad line open.

- 1903 - Honduras - March 23 to 30 or 31 - To protect the American consulate and the steamship wharf at Puerto Cortez during a period of revolutionary activity.
- 1903 - Dominican Republic - March 30 to April 21 - To protect American interests in the city of Santo Domingo during a revolutionary outbreak.
- 1903 - Syria - September 7 to 12 - To protect the American consulate in Beirut when a local Moslem uprising was feared.
- 1903-14 - Panama - To protect American interests and lives during and following the revolution for independence from Colombia over construction of the Isthmian Canal. With brief intermissions, United States Marines were stationed on the Isthmus from November 4, 1905 to January 31, 1914 to guard American interests.
- 1904 - Dominican Republic - January 2 - February 11 - To protect American interests in Puerto Plaza and and Santo Domingo City during revolutionary fighting.
- 1904-5 Korea - January 5, 1904 - November 11, 1905 - To guard the American in Seoul
- 1904 - Tangier, Morocco - "We want either alive or Raisuli dead". by a squadron to force release of a kidnapped American Marine guard landed to protect consul general.
- 1904 - Panama - November 7 to 24 - To protect American lives and property at at the time of a threatened insurrection.
- 1904-05 - Korea - Marine guard sent to Seoul for protection during Russo-Japanese war.
- 1906-09 - Cuba - September 1904 to January 22, 1909 - Intervention to restore order and protect foreigners and establish a stable government after serious revolutionary activity.

- 1907 – Honduras – March 15 to June 8 – to protect American interests during a war between Honduras and Nicaragua; troops were stationed for a few days or weeks in Puerto Cortez, San Pedro, and
- 1910 – Nicaragua – February 22 – During a... war, to get information of conditions as May 19, to September 4, to protect American interests at Bluefields.
- 1911 – Honduras – January 24 and some time thereafter – To protect American lives and interests during a civil war in Honduras.
- 1911 – China – Approaching stages of the nationalist revolution. An ensign and 10 men in October tried to enter Wuohang to rescue missionaries but retired on being warned away. A small landing force guarded American private property and consulate at Hankow in October. A marine guard was established in November over the cable stations at Shanghai. Landing forces were sent for protection to Nanking, Chinkiang, Taku and elsewhere.
- 1912 – Honduras – Small force landed to prevent seizure by the government of an American-owned railroad of Puerto Cortez. Forces withdrawn after the United States disapproved the action.
- 1912 – Panama – troops on request of both political parties supervised elections outside the Canal Zone.
- 1912 – Cuba – June 5 to August 5 – To protect American interests in the province of Oriente and Habana.
- 1912 – China – August 24 to 26, on Kentucky Island, and August 26 to 30 at Camp Nicholson – To protect Americans and American interests during revolutionary activity.
- 1912 – Turkey – November 18 to December 3 – To guard the American legation at Constantinople during a Balkan War.

- 1912-26 – Nicaragua – August to November 1912 – To protect American interests during an attempt revolution. A small force serving as a legation guard and as a promoter of peace and governmental stability remained until August 5, 1925.
- 1912-41 – China – The disorders which began with the Kuomintang rebellion in 1912, which were redirected by the invasion of China by Japan and finally ended by war between Japan and the United States in 1941, led to demonstrations and landing parties for protection in China continuously and at many points from 1912 on to 1941. The guard at Peking and along the route to the sea was maintained until 1941. In 1927, the United States had 5,670 troops ashore in China and 44 naval vessels in its waters. In 1933 we had 5,027 armed men ashore. All this protective action was in general terms based on treaties with China ranging from 1858 to 1901.
- 1913 – Mexico – September 5 to 7 – A few marines landed at Olaria Estero to aid in evacuating American citizens and others from Yaqui Valley, made dangerous for foreigners by civil strife.
- 1914 – Haiti – January 29 to February 9, February 20 to 21, October 19 – To protect American nationals in a time of dangerous unrest.
- 1914 – Dominican Republic – June and July – During a revolutionary movement, United States naval forces by gunfire stopped the bombardment of Puerto Plata and by threat of force maintained Santo Domingo City as a neutral zone.
- 1914-17 – Mexico – The undeclared Mexican-American hostilities following the Dolphin affair and Villa's raids included capture of Vera Cruz and later Pershing's expedition into northern Mexico.
- 1915-34 – Haiti – July 20, 1915, to August 16, 1934 – To maintain order during a period of chronic and threatened insurrection.

- 1916-24 – Dominican Republic – May 1916 to September 1924
– To maintain order during a period of chronic and threatened insurrection.
- 1914-15 – World War I – Fully declared.
- 1917-22 – Cuba – To protect American interests during an insurrection and subsequent unsettled conditions. Most of the United States armed forces left Cuba by August 1919, but two companies remained at Camaguey until February 1922.
- 1918-20 – Mexico – After withdrawal of the Pershing expedition, our troops entered Mexico in pursuit of bandits at least three times in 1918 and six in 1919. In August 1918 American and Mexican troops fought at Nogales.
- 1918-20 – Panama – For police duty according to treaty stipulations at Chiriqui, during election disturbances and subsequent unrest.
- 1918-20 – Soviet Russia – Marines were landed at and near Vladivostok in June and July to protect the American consulate and other points in the fighting between the Bolshevik troops and the Czech army which had traversed Siberia from the western front. A joint proclamation of emergency Government and neutrality was issued by the American, Japanese, British, French and Czech commanders in July and our party remained until late August. In August the project expanded. Then 7,000 men were landed in Vladivostok and remained until January 1920, as part of an allied occupational force. In September, 1918 5,000 American troops joined the allied intervention force as Arch-angel, suffered 500 casualties and remained until June 1919. A handful of marines took part earlier in a British landing on the Murman coast (near Norway) but only incidentally.
All these operations were to offset effects of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and were partly sup-

- ported by Czarist or Kerensky elements. No war was declared Bolshevik elements participated at time with us but Soviet Russia still claims damages.
- 1919 – Honduras – September 8 to 12 – A landing force was sent ashore to maintain order in a neutral zone during an attempted revolution.
- 1920-22 – Russia (Siberia) February 16, 1920 to November 19, 1922 – A marine guard to protect the United States radio station and property on Russian Island, Bay of Vladivostok.
- 1920 – China – March 14 – A landing force was sent ashore for a few hours to protect lives during a disturbance at Klu-kiang.
- 1920 – Guatemala – April 9 to 27 – To protect the American Legation and other American interest such as the cable station, during a period of fighting between Unionists and the Government of Guatemala.
- 1921 – Panama-Costa Rica – American naval squadrons demonstrated in April on both sides of the Isthmus to prevent war between the two countries over a boundary dispute.
- 1922 – Turkey – September and October – A landing force was sent ashore with consent of both Greek and Turkish authorities to protect American lives and property when the Turkish Nationalists entered Smyrna.
- 1924 – Honduras – February 28 to March 31, September 10 to 18 – To protect American lives and interests during election hostilities.
- 1924 – China – September – Marines were landed to protect American and other foreigners in Shanghai during Chinese factional hostilities.

- 1925 – China – January 15 to August 20 – Fighting of Chinese factions accompanied by riots and demonstrations in Shanghai necessitated landing American forces to protect lives and property in the International Settlement.
- 1925 – Honduras – April 19 to 21 – To protect foreigners at La Ceiba during a political upheaval.
- 1925 – Panama – October 12 to 28 – Strikes and rent riots led to the landing of about 600 American troops to keep order and protect American interests.
- 1926-33 – Nicaragua – May 7 to June 5, 1926, August 27 1926 to January 8, 1933 – The coup d'état of General Chamorro aroused revolutionary activities leading to the landing of American marines to protect the interests of the United States. United States forces came and went, but seem not to have left the country entirely until January 8, 1933. Their work included activity against the outlaw leader Sandino in 1928.
To the above extracts from the Congressional record up to 1945 must be added the following interventions:
- 1954 – organisation and equipment by the CIA of the army which invaded Guatemala from Honduras and overthrew the elected government.
- 1961 – organisation, equipment by the CIA and transportation of the unsuccessful invasion force which landed at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba.
- 1962-64 – CIA destabilisation of the PPP government of British Guiana.
- 1965 – invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines to prevent the “constitutionalists” (persons pledged to uphold constitutional government), who had taken power on April 25, from consolidating their position.

- 1973 – military overthrow of the Salvador Allende government of Chile with the complicity of the CIA.
- 1980 – CIA destabilisation of the Michael Manley government of Jamaica.
- 1983 – U.S. invasion of Grenada.

SUBJECT INDEX

- American war of Independence 18
 Aztec Empire 14
 Atlantic Charter 66
 Alliance for Progress 92, 109, 111, 113, 117, 118, 121, 157, 223, 239, 240
 Aid 35, 91, 96, 98, 99, 100, 106, 107, 108, 109, 114, 134, 143, 217, 229, 232, 283
 American Federation of Labor (AFL) 70, 124, 125, 129
 Anti-Communism 73, 126, 129, 133, 134, 139, 160, 162, 187, 196, 314
 Anti-Sovietism 133, 142, 143, 187, 196, 314
 Anti-Communist Literature 134
 Anti-imperialism in Latin America 164, 165
 Andean Common Market (ANCOM) 163, 164, 259
 Africa-progressive, 167
 anti-imperialist developments 151, 169
 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 147, 148, 212, 213
 Arms race and developing countries 215
 Arms Race, Control 199, 266, 277
- British Caribbean territories 44, 73, 79, 101, 104, 140
 British intervention 12, 14, 16, 18, 19
 Bay of Pigs invasion 52, 81, 301, 316
 Bureaucratic and Cooperative
- Capitalism 244
 "Brinkmanship" Policy 191
- Capitalism-emergence 20, 28
 Christianity 14
 Colonization 115
 "Chattel" slavery 20,
 Chapultepec Act 47,
 Crown Colony System 64
 Commonwealth Caribbean 63, 101, 104, 105, 116, 121, 122, 123, 143, 149, 188, 303
 CLC-Caribbean Labour Congress 68, 70, 71
 Central Intelligence Agency 73, 80, 82, 83, 88, 91, 93, 98, 100, 124, 128, 129, 131, 135, 136, 138, 168, 217, 226, 278, 284
- Cuba-isolation of 153
 Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) 115
 Caribbean Free Trade Area (CARIFTA) 115, 116
 Caribbean Community (CARICOM) 115, 116, 117, 123, 245, 247, 250, 253, 191, 305, 309
- Christian Anti-Communist Crusade 135, 139
- Co-operative Socialism 146, 148, 176.
 Contradictions in US ruling circles 220
 Cuba-US relations 165, 166, 170, 218
 Caribbean-progressive, anti-

imperialist developments 168, 169, 171, 216
Cold-war reactivation 172, 180, 184, 190,

Clark Amendment 213,
Caribbean Basin Initiative, 237, 238, 239, 240, 281, 292, 304
Cubana Ariline Sabotage 257
Central American Democratic Community 260
Contadora Group 294, 302,
Caribbean as a zone of peace 294, 312, 313
Cancun Summit 236, 296

Declaration of Lima 36,
Dependent Capitalism 205, 241, 244.
Destabilisation 232,
Decade of detente 160, 169

Economienda System 14
Expansionism-U.S. 77
Ewart Doctrine 31
Elections rigging 94, 96, 227
Economic blockade (Cuba) 100, 162, 165, 170, 220
European Economic Community 62, 115, 143, 144, 154, 155, 177, 178, 201, 235, 286, 291, 307.

French Revolution 18
Free immigrants 20
Fascism 35, 38, 149
Finance Capital 54
French Caribbean 57, 58, 59, 60
Foreign Capital-influx of 163, 241, 242, 244

Gold 14-17
Great October Socialist Revolution 38, 41, 44
Geneva Agreement on Vietnam 86, 227

Haitian Revolution 18
Hispanic Caribbean 53
Hegemonism 144, 145, 178, 210, 215

Indigenous Indians 14, 16
Inca Empire 14, 15
Indentured Labour 20
Inter-imperialist rivalry 35.
Inter-American Defense Board 37, 47
International Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance 47, 162
Independence Struggles 162
International Confederation of Free Trade Unions 70, 179
Inter-American Peace Force 96, 163
"Ideological-Geographical Frontiers" 96, 115
International Monetary Fund 106, 176, 177, 235, 244, 247, 257, 299, 300, 309
Inter-American Regional Organisation of Workers (ORIT) 124, 126, 179
Ideology 115, 221
Ideological Struggle 136, 301, 318
Ideological pluralism 166, 175, 216, 292, 303, 304, 313

Johnson Doctrine 90, 233

Middle Passage 17
Maroon War 18, 19.
Manifest Destiny 22.
Monroe Doctrine 22, 23, 25, 27, 31, 32, 221, 223, 227
Military Intervention 44, 61
Mutual Defense Association (MDA) 48, 49, 52, 239.
Marxism-Leninism 44, 141, 146, 165, 175, 291, 310, 312
Marshall Plan 57, 62, 76, 100, 109, 134, 237, 239
McCarthyism 94
Maoism 141, 143, 145, 147, 310

Middle-East Treaty Organisation 211

Neo-Colonialism 28, 62, 158, 162, 180

"New Deal" policy 32, 34, 46, 103
National Liberation 41, 54, 78, 97, 99, 114, 180, 181, 193, 222, 319
Netherlands' Antilles 62, 63, 171
Non-Aligned Movement 142, 145, 157, 161, 298,
New International Economic Order 155, 170, 174, 175, 235, 236, 256, 296
Nuclear War—"Winnable", "Limited" 197, 198, 199, 200, 263, 275, 280

Old-New World 8, 11, 14, 15, 18
Organisation of American States 82, 97, 163, 164, 166, 170, 172, 184, 223, 224, 234, 237, 254, 263, 294, 308

Primitive Accumulation 17,
Pan-Americanism 24, 36
Protestant Reformation 12
Papal Decree 18
Piracy 27

Platt Amendment 26
Panama Canal Zone Treaty 27, 180
Puerto Rican Model of planning 101, 102, 104, 105, 110, 111, 112, 119, 121, 140, 168, 239
Partnership 98, 117, 118, 119
Pan-Africanism 151
Peaceful-Coexistence-its effects 156
Peace-the fight for, contribution of religious circles 269, 270, 280, 312

Roosevelt Corollary 27, 32
Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act 33
Religious Sects 14, 15
Raw materials and investments 173, 175
Roldos Doctrine 222
Reagan Administration vs US Senate

and Congress 220, 230, 273, 276, 281
The Rio Treaty 47, 172, 184, 221, 223, 234, 239, 294, 295
Reaganomics 237, 239, 318

Sugar Market 16
Spanish Conquistadores 15
Slavery 16, 17, 19, 20
Sugar revolution 17
Slave trade 17
Slave revolts 18
Seven years' war 18.
Spanish-American War 26, 27
State-Monopoly capitalism 34
Self-determination 55
Subversion (CIA) 85, 93, 130, 153, 207, 213.
Sectarianism 151
Socio-economic crises of capitalism 244.
Sante Fe' Committee 192, 193, 216, 221, 222, 223, 226, 254
"Soviet military threat" 180, 182, 183, 190, 192, 197, 206, 256, 275
South Atlantic-British-Argentine military conflict 294, 297
South-Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO) 98, 257, 295
Symms Amendment 233, 301
Soviet Peace proposals 265, 271
Sino-Soviet relations 289

Treaty of Tordesillas 12
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 16
Treaty of Madrid 16
Truman Doctrine 38, 40, 56, 69, 96, 192, 206, 223
Two-Super-Powers-Two-imperialisms line 142, 143, 161
Trotskyism 141, 149

Unemployment 63, 123, 182, 239, 250, 318
US vs the Caribbean 168, 179
US military build-up 172, 214

US military budget 158, 180, 183, 194, 319
US global military strategy 172, 178, 193, 194
US vs the Middle East 194, 210
US vs Central America 164, 165, 218, 281, 282
US Declaration of Independence 227
US military manoeuvres 172, 212, 233
US loans and grants to Caribbean countries 173, 176, 177, 187, 230, 236
United Nations Special Session on Disarmament 262, 273, 312

US policy towards Grenada 176, 189, 233, 235
US-Latin America Contradictions 165, 216, 220
"Vietnamisation"-US policy 97
Wars of Independence 21, 25, 54, 260
World War II 35, 38, 39, 49, 54, 53, 62, 65, 75
West Indies Federation 68, 79
World Federation of Trade Unions 70, 71, 124
World Assembly for Peace and Life against Nuclear War 264, 273

NAME INDEX

Atahualpa 14, 15
Adams John Quincy 22, 23
Arevalo Juan José 27, 46, 162, 314
Arbenz Jacobo 46, 52, 80, 85, 125
Adams Grantley 45, 65, 70, 71
Atlee Clement 66
Angarita Isaias S. M. 80
Armas Castillo 80, 84, 85
Allende Salvador 52, 93, 131, 167
Acheason Dean 89, 106, 107
Alvarado Juan Velasco 162, 164, 310, 318
Arafat Yasser 209, 298
Adams Tom 251, 254, 304
Andropov Yuri 270, 279
Allen Richard 219, 277

Bolivar Simon 21, 22, 260
Beveridge A. J. 25
Bevin Ernest 40, 67, 69
Bustamante Alexander 65
Butler Uriah 65
Bird Vere 65
Burnham Forbes 49, 79, 83, 94, 110, 124, 128, 142, 146, 148, 170
Balaguer Joaquin 84
Bosh Juan 84, 125, 130, 162, 314
Bocklemann Dr. Horst 105
Braden Thomas W. 129, 138
Brown Irving 129
Bowes Stuart 136
Bakunin Mikhail 150, 151
Bevin Aneurin 150
Brezhnev Leonid 158, 166, 265, 270, 271, 272
Brandt Willie 159

Braithwaite Ted 168
Bishop Maurice 171, 189, 233, 307, 308
Brzezinski Zbigniew 173, 181, 190, 218, 221
Brown Harold 183
Bayer Alexander 197
Backen John 220
Bouterse Desi 232
Bush George 191, 207, 259
Bundi George 273
Boland Edward P. 283, 284
Betancur Balisario 297
Bignone Reynaldo 298
Briggs Everett 298

Columbus Christopher 11
Cabot John 12
Cortes Hernando 14
Churchill Winston 38, 39, 40, 54, 66, 67, 69, 72, 101, 180, 289
Critchlow H. N. 45, 65, 70
Cipriani A. A. 65
Creech-Jones Arthur 66, 68, 69
Church Frank 99
Castro Fidel 82, 91, 92, 109, 111, 137, 142, 158, 161, 170, 224, 255, 298, 301, 316, 317
Castle Barbara 151
Carmichael Stokely 152
Compton John 171, 251, 304
Carter James 174, 176, 180, 182, 190, 217, 218, 281
Carter Rosalyn 175
Casey William 226
Cheeks Randolph 228

Cardozo Hilarion 295
Campins Luis Herrera 256, 294, 295,
298
Costa Mendez N. 298
Cabral Amilcar 125, 316
Charles Eugenia 304
Coard Bernard 306, 307
Cenac Winston 294

Drake Sir Francis 13
Dulles John Foster 55, 138, 156
De Gaulle Charles 57, 58, 59
Deno Francisco Caamano 84
Davenport W. 105
Demas William 123
Doherty William C. 130
Davis Horace 136
Dawda Jawara 148
Dimitrov Georgi 151
Du Bois W. E.B. 151
Daaga Makandaal 152
Dijoud Paul 187
D'Escoto Miguel 234
Duvalier Jean Claude 254
de la Madrid Miguel 293

Eisenhower Dwight 42, 81, 85, 86,
90, 108, 138, 227
Edun Ayube 65
Eden Anthony 68, 315
Estenssoro Pas 109
Echeverria Luis 167
Enders Thomas 220, 223, 227, 234,
237

Fulbright William J. 81
Ford Gerald 99, 182, 200, 206
Furtado Celso 112
Ferrer Jose Figueres 167
Feinburg Dr. Richard 189
Fontaine Roger 218
Fafowora O. O. 268
Freidman Milton 297

Garvey Marcus 44
Gallegos Romulo 46, 52, 84, 85, 89

Gomes Albert 65
Gutch John 72
Gaitan Jorge E. 80
Goulart Joao 52, 82, 96, 130, 158
Gonsalves Dr. Ralph 109, 121
Grace J. Peter 126
Geneen Harold 131
Galbraith K. 141
Gadaffi Muhammad 167, 212
Gallimore Neville 254,
Gromyko Andrei 265, 266
Garcia Marques Gabriel 297

Hawkins John 13, 17
Hien Piet 15
Hitler Adolf 35, 36, 39, 57, 58, 147.
Hill Ken, Frank 71
Hart Richard 71
Henry Arthur 71
Ho Chi Minh 91, 227
Heath Edward 143
Hector Tim 153
Habib Philip 175, 209
Haig Alexander 191, 193, 199, 208,
219, 226, 233, 301

Ishmael Richard 127, 128

Jagan C. B. 55, 82, 83, 92, 93, 110,
126
Jacob C. R. 65
Jackson D. L. 75, 89
Johnson Lyndon B. 96, 97, 99, 115
Jefferson Owen 102
Jagan Janet 125
Jackson Andrew 124
James C.L.R. 151, 152, 153
Jarrin Edgardo M. 162
John Patrick 171, 251

Kennedy J. F. 55, 81, 82, 87, 91, 109,
111, 112, 113, 157, 182, 217, 239,
316
King Dr. Kenneth 105
Knowles William H. 124
Kissinger Henry 93, 131, 142, 154,
158, 164, 181, 288

Kwayana Eusi 153
Kennan George F. 201, 273
Kirkpatrick Jeane 203, 207, 213,
219, 226, 277
Kittani Ismat T. 262
Kent Bruce 270
Kennedy Edward 275, 279, 318
Kohl Helmut 290
Kirkland Lane 318

Las Casas 15
Lee Theo 65
Lewis Sir Arthur 105, 122, 140
Lovestone Jay 129, 130
Linovitz Sol 287, 288
Lopez Portillo José 237, 293, 295

Montezuma 14
Miranda Francisco 21
Martin San 21, 22
Monroe James 22, 23, 32
McNamara Robert 50, 141, 273
McLeod Tain 55
Mitterand Francois 60
Manley Norman 65, 71
Marryshaw 65
McDonald Malcolm 65
Marshall George C. 69
Mossadegh M. 52, 85
McMillan Harold 64, 78, 114
Mussolini Benitto 35
McCabe William 82, 128
Mentus Ric 95, 96
Mondale Walter F. 99
Marcos Perez Jiminez 85
Mandle Jay 122
McIntyre Alistair 123
Mirsky G. 119
McCone John 131
Meany George 125, 126, 130
Marcuse Herbert 150
Mariam Mengistu Haile 167
Manley Michael 143, 167, 170, 175,
222, 300, 309
Marcos Ferdinand 206
Mandela Nelson 213

Myrdal Gunnar 301
Mahler Haltdan 301

Nixon Richard 88, 91, 97, 118, 142,
156, 158, 169, 182
Ngo Dinh Diem 91
Nkrumah Dr. Kwame 52, 129, 151,
158
Nascimento Kit 143, 148
Nyerere Julius 158

O'Keefe Gerald 82, 128
Ortiz Frank 189

Pizarro 14, 15
Prestes Luis Carlos 45
Pearson Drew 74, 82
Padmore George 151, 152
Perez Carlos Andres 167, 256
Peterson Peter 159
Pipes Richard P. 194
Perez de Cuellar Javier 263, 273
Palme Olaf 264

Raleigh Sir Walter 13
Roosevelt Theodore 27, 34, 223
Roosevelt F. D. 32, 34, 35, 38, 54
Rockefeller Nelson 76, 108
Rusk Dean 79, 93, 113
Rogers William P. 79, 118
Rockefeller David 112, 287, 309
Riesel Victor 127
Rodney Dr. Walter 136
Ramsaroop Cammie 143
Roberto Holden 148
Roa Dr. Raul 161
Reagan Ronald 193, 197, 199, 208,
211, 213, 218, 226, 227, 228, 230,
233 255, 278
Robles Alfonso G. 266
Rogers Bernard 289
Rafael Rodriguez Carlos 301

Sandino Cesar A. 46
Seaford Sir Federick 69
Strachan Billy 71,

Schlesinger Arthur 83, 92, 93, 157
Sheehan Neil 82
Singh Rickey 96
Serafino Romualdi 125
Sadat Anwar 148
Senghor Leopold 148
Sorel Georges 150
Shelton Sally 178, 220, 239, 285
Schweitzer Robert L. 194, 277,
Sheer Robert 199
Salvatori Henry 205
Seraphine Oliver 235
Schmidt Helmut 237, 264
Sorsa Kalevi 264
Silas Zuazo Herman 297

Truman Harry 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47,
76, 89.
Trukhanovsky V. G. 39
Trujillo L. R. 84, 89
Tello Rupert 125
Thomas Norman 134
Toure Sekou 58, 158
Torres Camillo 162
Todman Terrence 174, 175, 176,
179
Trofimenco Henry 180, 181
Thatcher Margaret 180, 298

Torrijos Omar 191, 310
Theberge James 219
Tardencillas Orlando 226
Trudeau Pierre 264, 292

ul-Haq Zia 207

Vaky Viron P. 176, 217, 218
Vance Cyrus 175, 184, 190, 287
Valdez Abelardo L. 173
Velasco J. Zambrano 295

Wilson Woodrow 27, 30, 31, 43
Wong Harold 95, 96
Williams Dr. Eric 121, 152, 167, 170,
256.
Wilson Harold 151
Weinburger Casper 193, 198, 199,
200, 201, 205, 233
Washington George 227
Williams Dessima 286
Wilens Harold 278
Walters Vernon 220, 301

Young Andrew 175, 190

Zelega José Santos 28

Cheddi Jagan Research Centre