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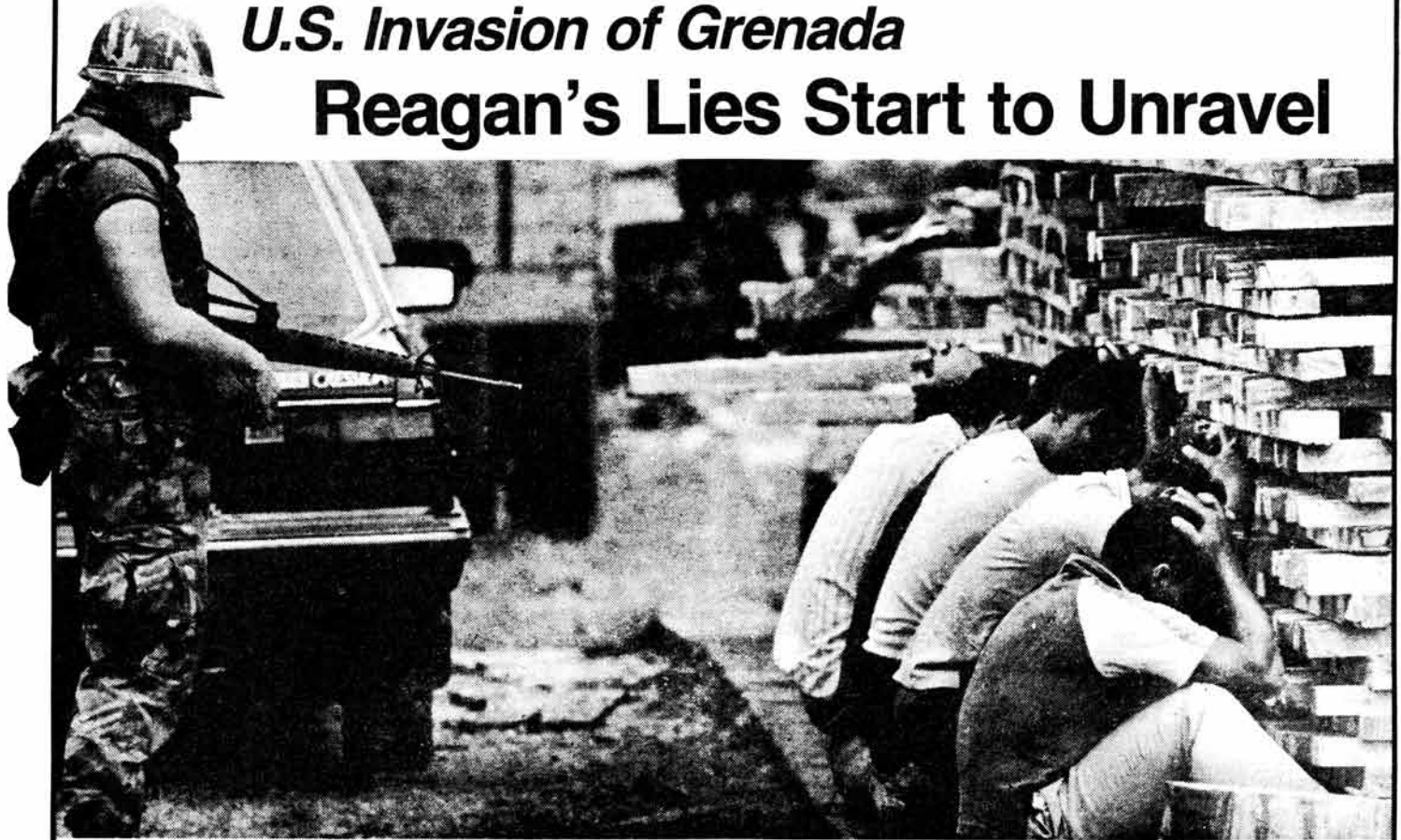
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U.S. Invasion of Grenada

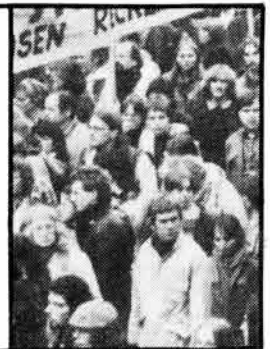
Reagan's Lies Start to Unravel



- **Worldwide Protests Hit U.S. Aggression**
- **The Truth About Cuba's Role**
- **Sandinistas Warn of Wider U.S. War**
- **New Jewel Leaders Speak Out**

***Interview With
Nicaragua's
FSLN Commander
Jaime Wheelock***

**Giant Marches
in Europe Demand
'No U.S. Missiles!'**



The 'lessons' of Grenada

By Steve Clark

U.S. government officials and pundits of the big business news media in the United States have wasted no time in drawing the "lessons of Grenada."

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* put it most bluntly October 28. The lesson, they said, "is that when necessary and appropriate, the U.S. can and should rely on its military power to achieve its political goals. . . ."

"The lesson is that it's once again known that the U.S. is *willing* to use its military as an instrument of policy."

A top administration official posed the question, "What good are maneuvers and shows of force, if you never use it?" Washington, he said, had now erased an image of being a "paper tiger."

The message for Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Salvadoran rebels could not be clearer.

And the lessons are being extended beyond the Western Hemisphere. Reagan expects that U.S. threats to "retaliate" against Syria and Iran for their alleged role in the Beirut bombing will be taken more seriously now.

Washington is seeking to justify its actions in the Caribbean and new threats in the Middle East by a strident political offensive to convince the U.S. population that the "Soviet-Cuban threat" requires such moves.

Reagan says the U.S. people must act to prevent Lebanon from falling "into the hands of a power or powers hostile to the free world." As for Grenada, it was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy."

The U.S. rulers can't afford to wait for a public consensus before launching military action to defend their interests against anti-imperialist struggles and the advance of the socialist revolution. They view the dispatch of troops to Lebanon and the invasion of Grenada as a *centerpiece to gaining such support* for their policies. They justify these actions after the fact.

At least for crucial periods, the rulers can create confusion and win a substantial measure of backing and acquiescence, including from sections of the working people and the oppressed. That's a lesson the working class can learn from the invasion of Grenada.

Thus, the *Wall Street Journal* editors advise that the best way to deal with the "Vietnam syndrome" is "to unashamedly repudiate it. Mr. Reagan is doing that in the streets of Grenada."

The lies by the ruling class to justify these moves cannot be swept aside; they must be answered. The class-conscious vanguard of the labor movement must explain, over and over again, that the threat of war today comes not from the Soviet Union or Cuba, which are gigantic conquests of our class, but from the

drive for profits by our own imperialist governments and the monopoly interests they serve.

Since the end of World War II, the U.S. capitalists have used massive military might to defend their dominant position internationally. But the misery and oppression engendered by the imperialist system call forth resistance, rebellion, and revolution. That is the source of the fight by working people in Grenada and the Middle East for higher living standards, land reform, self-determination, and democratic rights.

These struggles are a threat to the U.S. profiteers, who have not hesitated to respond with military force whenever and wherever they judge they can get away with it.

In Cuba and Vietnam, the U.S. rulers were defeated; that pushed back their capacity to

wage war. But the imperialists are determined to restore their ability to use U.S. troops and planes to prevent future defeats and to roll back the Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are not the source of war and aggression. As countries where working people have ripped themselves free from the international system of capitalist exploitation, they too are victims of imperialism's economic pressures and military threats. The Soviet and Cuban workers states are powerful bastions of defense for anti-imperialist struggles. Moreover, the revolutionary Cuban leadership pursues a conscious internationalist policy to strengthen the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

This is what the labor movement must understand and be able to explain if it is to counter the lies used by the rulers to send working people at home and abroad to the slaughterhouse. The discussion in the unions and the protests against imperialist intervention in the Caribbean, Central America, and the Middle East provide an expanding audience for these Marxist explanations. □

Lebanon: U.S. digs in deeper

By Fred Murphy

The Reagan administration has taken steps to escalate its military intervention in Lebanon following the October 23 bombings in Beirut in which more than 200 U.S. marines and more than 50 French soldiers died.

On October 29, the Pentagon announced that a rifle company of 200 marines was being added to the 1,600 marines already stationed in Beirut. The new unit came in addition to marines already dispatched to replace those killed and wounded.

Plans were also reportedly under way to expand the U.S. Marines' presence beyond the Beirut International Airport. A Reagan administration official cited in the October 27 *New York Times* said the marines would be assigned to an "expanded secure zone." According to the *Times*, "He specifically spoke of the possibility of putting marines in villages. . . ."

Times correspondent Drew Middleton reported October 24 that U.S. officials are also considering "an unleashing of the marines for active combat patrols beyond their present perimeters. Such patrols, a senior officer said, would inevitably involve fights between the marines and guerrilla forces."

Even before the bombings, Washington had launched a major buildup of the Lebanese army, which is being trained by some 100 U.S. advisers. Under the cover of the shaky ceasefire in Lebanon's civil war, the Pentagon rushed in 68 M-48 tanks — enough to more than triple the army's tank corps — plus helicopter gunships, armored personnel carriers, cannon, and huge quantities of equipment and ammunition.

By helping the right-wing Christian regime of President Amin Gemayel to extend its au-

thority beyond the capital and the surrounding area, the Reagan administration hopes to turn Lebanon into a stable, proimperialist state. This is central to Washington's broader aim of crushing the struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland, still the biggest obstacle to imposing a Pax Americana throughout the Middle East. Doing so requires upholding the status quo in Lebanon, which denies any real governmental power to the oppressed Muslim and Druse majority of the population.

Reagan spelled out this aim in statements following the October 23 bombing. Pointing to the Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt, he said the U.S. goal was to create "more Egypts" in the Middle East. (In 1979 the Egyptian regime became the first Arab government to sign an accord with Tel Aviv recognizing the legitimacy of the Israeli state and its dispossession of the Palestinians.)

Reagan returned to this theme in a televised speech October 27. "At stake," he said, "is the fate of only the second Arab country to negotiate a major agreement with Israel." The Gemayel regime signed a Camp David-style accord with Tel Aviv last May legitimizing continued Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon and ending Lebanon's longstanding commitments to aid other Arab countries and the Palestinians in the anti-Israeli struggle. The pact galvanized opposition to Gemayel inside Lebanon and paved the way for the new outbreak of civil war at the end of August.

In Washington's view, the diplomatic and military support provided to Gemayel's opponents by the Syrian government is a major obstacle to its plans. Syria also comes under U.S. attack for accepting military and economic aid

from the Soviet Union. Thus the Reagan administration has coupled its stepped-up intervention in Lebanon with new threats against Syria. The threats have been extended to Iran, whose government has also lent support to the Lebanese opposition.

Reagan claimed October 26 to have "evidence" that the Beirut bombings involved Iranian "terrorists" who were "facilitated" by Syria. In his televised speech the next day, he declared that "those who directed this atrocity must be dealt justice." U.S. officials subsequently stated that retaliation for the attack was being planned.

French President François Mitterrand chimed in October 28. "Those who consider themselves our enemies," he said, "must not believe they will act for long with impunity."

Washington has released none of the "evidence" it claims to have against Iran and Syria. For their part, the regimes in Tehran and Damascus flatly rejected the U.S. frame-up charges. The Iranian government news agency cited a foreign ministry official who "said that because of its inability to grasp the resistance of the Lebanese people against the multinational forces, the U.S. was trying to divert world public opinion by blaming this or that country for its repeated setbacks."

The news agency of the Palestine Liberation Organization correctly noted that Reagan and his aides were the ones "directly responsible for the bloodshed of the U.S. marines. . . . It was President Reagan who sent those marines to the quagmire of the dirty war."

The U.S. threats of reprisals against Iran should be taken especially seriously in light of the dispatch to the Persian Gulf area in early October of a U.S. naval battle group headed by the aircraft carrier *Ranger* and including a force of 2,000 marines. It was revealed at the same time that the Pentagon has secretly trained a strike force of up to 8,000 Jordanian troops for use in the Persian Gulf.

Washington has also dropped its formal opposition to the French government's sale of Super-Etendard jet fighters to Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein for use in his war of aggression against Iran. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz blasted Iran October 24 as "the regime of fanatics with which we have had earlier experience"; three days later, he praised the Iraqi government for the "potential constructive role" it could "play in the Arab consideration of the Mideast peace process."

Saddam Hussein's is one of the few Arab regimes to have expressed approval of last May's pact between Lebanon and Israel. Iran has stood with Syria in sharply opposing that accord and the imperialist intervention in Lebanon that produced it.

The marine casualties in Beirut — virtually the entire headquarters company was wiped out — were the highest U.S. combat losses in a single day since the Vietnam War. This has forcefully brought home to the people of the United States the danger of a prolonged U.S. intervention in the Middle East. News coverage of the attack included frequent references

to Vietnam, often made by the families of the dead marines or even by marines themselves.

The Beirut bombings have thus deepened the debate and polarization in the U.S. population over Washington's military actions in the Middle East. But despite widespread opposition, Reagan has declared that withdrawal is an "option that we cannot consider."

Besides portraying the marines as "peacekeepers" in Lebanon, Reagan is making more open use of anti-Sovietism to try to whip up support for continued intervention. "Can the United States, or the free world, for that matter, stand by and see the Middle East incorporated into the Soviet Bloc?" he asked in his televised speech.

Intervention in Lebanon continues to have broad support from both Republican and Dem-

ocratic members of the U.S. Congress. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill, a Democrat, says that to withdraw U.S. troops would be "the worst possible thing we could do. It would be heartwarming to the terrorists of the world."

Keeping U.S. troops in Lebanon will mean mounting U.S. casualties. While condemning the October 23 bombings, Lebanese Druse leader Walid Jumblatt also pointed out that "What happened . . . may be repeated as long as the U.S. continues its hostile policy toward the Arab and Islamic world in support of the Phalangist establishment of Amin Gemayel."

"If the Americans are here to make peace, welcome," a Shi'ite Muslim militia leader in Beirut's southern suburbs told the *Washington Post*. "If they are going to fight," he added, "it is going to be another Vietnam for them." □

—IN THIS ISSUE—

Closing news date: November 1, 1983

FEATURES	657	Protests hit U.S. missiles — by Steve Wattenmaker
GRENADA	648	U.S. meets stiff resistance — by Ernest Harsch
	650	U.S. lies start to unravel — by Ernest Harsch
	651	Cuba's internationalist role — by Geoff Mirelowitz
	653	Protests condemn invasion — by Steve Wattenmaker
USA	648	SWP leader Farrell Dobbs dies
NICARAGUA	655	Grenada invasion portends wider war — by Steve Wattenmaker
	661	Revolution's "great challenge" — Part I of interview with Jaime Wheelock
IRELAND	667	Meaning of antiabortion vote
SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT	658	The antimissiles movement
STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL	668	Solidarity with Philippine struggle
DOCUMENTS	654	New Jewel leaders speak to press

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U.S. invaders meet stiff resistance

Drive to crush revolution, impose proimperialist regime

By Ernest Harsch

"I would say the fighting here has been as intense" as in Vietnam, a U.S. Army Ranger at Point Salines, on the southern tip of Grenada, told a reporter a few days after the massive U.S. invasion October 25.

The intensity of the fighting was not the only parallel. The aims of the U.S. rulers are the same: to wipe out the gains of a popular revolution and to reimpose imperialism's brutal domination over the country.

President Reagan's various justifications for the invasion — the need to rescue U.S. medical students, to eliminate Cuban "terrorism," to "restore democracy" — are all lies designed to cover up the real purpose of this unprovoked U.S. aggression.

Washington's target has been the workers and farmers government that came to power through the March 1979 revolution, a revolution led by the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The advances working people made in Grenada — free medical care, trade union rights, a sharp reduction in unemployment, land reform, women's rights, the establishment of mass organizations and new neighborhood and workers councils — have been tremendously popular, within Grenada and abroad.

Washington has sought to eliminate the example of the Grenada revolution from the very beginning. U.S. threats, terrorist attacks, and economic sabotage were all employed. Preparations for an invasion have been under way for several years.

The October 19 murder of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other central NJM leaders by a group of military officers provided the Reagan administration with the opportunity it had been waiting for. With Grenada in political turmoil, Washington quickly jumped in to strike a decisive deathblow at the revolutionary process.

Massive invasion force

The size of the U.S. invasion force is truly massive. Although Grenada has a population of only 110,000, the Pentagon sent in 6,000 marines, paratroopers, and Army Rangers. Another 10,000 or so were stationed offshore, on the armada of U.S. warships that surrounded the island.

Counting only the U.S. troops who actually landed on Grenada, that is one soldier for every 18 Grenadians. In proportion to the size of the population, it is more than five times larger than the U.S. military force in Vietnam at the height of the war there.

As in Vietnam, the U.S. troops in Grenada have been supported by aerial bombing, artillery fire, offshore shelling, and attacks by

helicopter gunships.

Despite efforts by U.S. commanders to impose a blackout on all independent news from Grenada during the first days of the invasion, reports have begun to filter out on the extent of the carnage wreaked by the invaders.

More than 1,000 Grenadians have had to flee their homes because of the fighting and bombing, which was especially heavy in the capital, St. George's, and the area south of there toward Point Salines.

The U.S. commanders in Grenada have sought to cover up the number of Grenadian casualties; some even made the preposterous claim that no Grenadians were killed. This is intended to reinforce their contention that the invasion was aimed at freeing Grenada from Cuban "occupation" and that the only military resistance came from Cubans on the island.

But journalists who managed to reach Grenada observed Grenadian troops firing at U.S. planes and reported seeing bodies of Grena-

U.S. SWP leader Farrell Dobbs dies

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for 19 years beginning in 1953, died October 31 in California following a brief illness. Dobbs, who was 76 years old, was the SWP's candidate for president of the United States in 1948, 1952, 1956, and 1960.

As a central SWP leader, Dobbs also played a leading role in the Fourth International. During his 1960 presidential campaign, he visited Cuba, and over the following few years helped lead the process of reunification of the Fourth International

around the political line of support to the Cuban revolution.

Dobbs was a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes, one of the important labor struggles that led off the nationwide battles of that decade that brought unionization to the masses of production workers in steel, auto, rubber, and other basic industries. Dobbs joined the Communist League of America, a predecessor of the SWP, in 1934.

Subsequently, Dobbs was the central Teamster organizer of the first campaign to organize over-the-road truckers. He served 13 months in federal prison for his political opposition to U.S. imperialism's course in World War II.

Dobbs was a central part of the SWP leadership team during the difficult days of the capitalist witch-hunt of the 1950s. At the end of that decade and in the 1960s, he helped lead the party's participation in the rising struggles of Black Americans and in defense of the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions. During these years, he helped train and ensure the transition of the party's leadership to a layer of younger fighters won to the SWP through these struggles.

Since his retirement as national secretary of the SWP in 1972, Dobbs has written a four-volume series on the Teamsters struggles. In 1980 the first volume of his history of the development of Marxist leadership in the United States, entitled *Revolutionary Continuity*, was published. The second volume, subtitled *Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22*, appeared this past July.

These books have been a valuable part of the education of a new generation of revolutionary leaders of the working class.



Mohammed Oliver/IP

FARRELL DOBBS

dian soldiers and civilians on the roads and in bombed-out buildings.

So far, at least one mass slaughter has been revealed.

At the beginning of the invasion, a U.S. plane bombed a mental hospital in St. George's that held nearly 200 patients, reducing it to rubble. After the first reporters reached Grenada and exposed the attack, the Defense Department admitted that it had, in fact, been bombed, and that at least a dozen patients had been killed. A hospital administrator put the death toll at 20, with other reports even higher.

Grenadians fight on

Despite the U.S. troops' overwhelming superiority in numbers and firepower, they met stiff resistance from the moment they landed on Grenada's shores. The initial number of U.S. marines and troops sent in, 1,900, was quickly tripled.

The Cuban construction workers who were at Point Salines to help in the building of Grenada's still-unfinished international airport defended themselves when their positions were attacked. Their resistance ended on October 26, after several dozen had been killed and more than 600 taken prisoner.

Grenadian troops and militia members fought on. (The Pentagon falsely claims they are Cubans.) It took several days for the U.S. troops to take St. George's, and as we go to press sporadic fighting is still continuing in the heavily forested hills near the capital and in other parts of the island.

As of October 31, the Pentagon admitted that 18 U.S. troops had been killed. And at least two U.S. helicopters were confirmed to have been shot down.

This resistance to the invasion has come despite the policies followed by Gen. Hudson Austin's Revolutionary Military Council, which overthrew the previous Bishop-led government. The military officers had earlier disarmed sections of the People's Militia and People's Revolutionary Army that were sympathetic to Bishop. Even more seriously, the killing of Bishop and his comrades — who included much of the top leadership of the NJM — served to politically disorient sectors of the Grenadian population in face of the invasion.

That the U.S. troops met as much resistance as they did, despite these obstacles, is a testimony to the depth of the Grenada revolution. Those who risked and sacrificed their lives in an effort to stop the U.S. troops from overrunning their country did so with the conviction that they were defending the revolution's gains.

Long occupation

Because of the deep opposition among the Grenadian people to imperialist domination, Washington is now preparing for a prolonged occupation of the island.

Originally, Reagan and the Pentagon sought to portray the invasion as a quick, "surgical" operation. But U.S. commanders have become



U.S. troops and M60 tank roll through streets of Grenada.

increasingly vague about when U.S. troops will be pulled out.

One Pentagon official said two days after the invasion began that the U.S. troops might have to remain in Grenada "indefinitely."

Adm. Wesley McDonald, the commander-in-chief of the Atlantic forces, was the most explicit on the reasons for a prolonged occupation. "We cannot afford to allow the withdrawal of all the forces and have an insurgency government reappear in the near time."

When pressed by reporters, McDonald also refused to rule out that Washington may build a military base on Grenada.

To supplement the U.S. troops, and as a possible replacement for them in the future, Washington is seeking to hammer together a more effective Caribbean military and police force. So far, the governments of Barbados, Jamaica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, and St. Christopher-Nevis have provided 300 police and troops. But, except for the 150 Jamaican troops, they are generally lightly armed and poorly trained.

The Pentagon has also sounded out several other imperialist powers to provide troops. So far, the Canadian and New Zealand governments have expressed readiness to participate.

Under the cover of this occupation, Washington is moving to impose a new, proimperialist regime. Sir Paul Scoon, the governor general for Britain, nominated for that post by former dictator Eric Gairy, has been picked by Washington to name an interim government, which will supposedly prepare "free" elections sometime in the indefinite future.

Sweeps, arrests, 'interrogations'

To pave the way for such a proimperialist regime, the U.S. troops are acting to crush the remaining resistance to the invasion.

Citing the withdrawal of some Grenadian troops and militia members to the rugged countryside to carry on armed opposition, Admiral McDonald stressed determination to

"lock into the mountains."

Sweeps of the countryside, particularly near major roads and towns, have already begun. Journalists have reported sighting "search and destroy" squads composed of Army Rangers, backed up by A7 Corsair fighter bombers.

In the towns themselves, a major campaign has begun to identify and detain leaders and cadres of the New Jewel Movement, as well as other supporters of the revolution.

McDonald declared, "I think you have to look at the Grenadians who were loyal to the government that was in existence before this started happening, to identify the people who are the hard-liners."

These round-ups are aimed at terrorizing labor and political activists and all those who championed the advances of the Grenada revolution.

Thus far, in addition to General Austin, the U.S. troops have rounded up Bernard Coard, Phyllis Coard, Selwyn Strachan, Liam James, John Ventour, and other government and NJM figures. Many are now being "interrogated" by U.S. military officers. Reporters have been barred from talking to them.

Washington is also seeking to use the more than 600 captured Cubans as hostages. On October 31, a State Department official declared the Cubans would not be returned to Cuba until all Cuban resistance on Grenada had ceased (though Washington knows that resistance is being conducted by Grenadians). A Red Cross plane sent to pick up some of the Cubans was not allowed to land on Grenada.

Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón charged that the delays in the Cubans' repatriation constituted "blackmail."

Support for revolution's gains

Despite the arrests and occupation, Washington will face extreme difficulties in establishing a strong pro-U.S. regime.

In a report in the October 30 *Washington Post*, correspondent John Burgess noted "the

significant support among the Grenadian public for the socialist reforms of Bishop."

Even with St. George's swarming with U.S. troops, open expressions of opposition to the invasion can already be heard.

In an October 31 dispatch from the capital, *New York Times* correspondent James Feron reported, "In downtown St. George's today, some teen-agers were saying they wanted the Americans to go home. They were interrupted when a jeep came by carrying a soldier and a Grenadian. The teen-agers shouted derisively

at the Grenadian in the jeep, who returned a stony silence."

Don Rojas, a leader of the NJM who was interviewed in Barbados (see page 654), said Grenada would be "rapidly colonized" by Washington. "The local councils and other democratic structures we put in place will be dismantled and kept that way by military force."

"But," he continued, "I can't think that any honest, patriotic Grenadian is going to accept that situation in the end." □

U.S. lies start to unravel

The holes in Reagan's Grenada claims

By Ernest Harsch

In an effort to disguise the fact that the U.S. invasion of Grenada is aimed at overturning the gains of the Grenada revolution, the Pentagon and White House propaganda mills have been working overtime.

In a nationally televised speech October 27, President Reagan put forward three basic justifications for the invasion:

- Concern that the 1,000 U.S. citizens on Grenada (800 of them students at the St. George's University Medical School) would be "harmed or held as hostages."

- An "urgent request" by several Caribbean governments to "join them in a military operation to restore order and democracy in Grenada."

- The contention that Grenada was "a Soviet-Cuban colony being readied as a major military bastion to export terror and undermine democracy."

While these justifications have been embellished by the U.S. authorities from every possible angle, the government at the same time took extraordinary measures during the first days of the invasion to keep reporters from reaching Grenada and providing independent accounts of what was happening there. Nevertheless, the holes in Washington's account soon widened into enormous gaps.

Were students in danger?

The supposed danger to U.S. citizens in Grenada was one of the first lies that began to come apart.

Just two days before the U.S. troops stormed onto the island, the vice-chancellor of the medical school met with the students and found that only 10 percent of them wanted to leave Grenada.

On October 25, a U.S. ham radio operator in Grenada stated over the air, "Quite frankly there had been no threats whatsoever to any Americans."

U.S. authorities have claimed that those foreigners who wanted to leave Grenada could not do so because the Grenada airport had been closed. Yet the day before the invasion, several charter flights left with no difficulty.

Problems were caused by the decision of the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) to expel Grenada and cut off air and other links. This scuttled most flights between Grenada and Barbados.

Such revelations, however, have not stopped the U.S. government and big-business media from trying to keep the story alive. Taking advantage of the fact that many of the U.S. medical students did fear for their lives following the U.S. invasion, the capitalist press has played up their expressions of relief at getting off the island.

In addition, on October 27, White House officials maintained that U.S. forces had found documents proving that the Grenadian government, in conjunction with Cuban advisers, had been considering a plan to take U.S. citizens hostage. Yet the next day a Pentagon official had to admit that no such documents existed.

Who invited whom?

The Reagan administration has claimed that the U.S. invasion is legal because its troops were "invited" by several Caribbean governments.

First of all, none of those governments has any right to ask for a U.S. intervention in Grenada or to send their own troops in.

Moreover, as statements by some Caribbean officials make clear, it was the U.S. imperialists who took the initiative in setting up the Caribbean intervention force.

Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados revealed October 25 that his government was approached by U.S. officials on October 15 concerning the possibility of a Grenada invasion — four days before Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and his comrades were killed.

A senior Jamaican government official told the *Washington Post* that U.S. officials had for several months been seeking to get the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) governments to "isolate" Grenada and to consider taking military action against it.

The actual request by the OECS on October 23 for a U.S. invasion of Grenada was made in response to U.S. urgings, according to a report by Bernard Gwertzman in the October 30 *New York Times*. "The wording of the formal re-

quest was drafted in Washington and conveyed to the Caribbean leaders by special American emissaries," Gwertzman added.

Cubans and more Cubans

As Washington's other fabrications become increasingly frayed, it is relying more and more on wild accusations of Cuban involvement in Grenada to justify the invasion.

The White House has claimed that Cuba was behind the overthrow and murder of Bishop. This charge is still repeated, despite the October 20 Cuban government statement condemning the killing of the Grenadian leaders. On October 26, even Secretary of State George Shultz had to admit "we don't have any direct information" that the Cuban or Soviet governments were behind the military takeover in Grenada — but that got buried in the back pages.

A few days after the invasion, in his October 27 speech, Reagan claimed that the U.S. forces had uncovered a "complete" Cuban base in Grenada and warehouses full of weapons and ammunition.

Reporters who eventually visited the supposed base found that one of the warehouses contained truck engines, another rice and other food items. The main arms storage shed, they reported, was only a quarter full, with some modern weapons, but mostly antiquated arms, including Marlin 30-30 carbines manufactured in 1870.

Caldwell Taylor, Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations, explained in a television interview in New York October 30 that the arms were for the use of the Grenadian army and militia.

One of the wildest accusations came on October 28. U.S. officers in Grenada claimed that in addition to more than 600 Cubans they had already captured, 800 to 1,000 were still at large and had taken to the hills to wage a guerrilla struggle against the U.S. forces.

By the next day, however, the lie had collapsed. The Cuban government issued a statement exhaustively detailing its personnel in Grenada by occupation or official post. The total number, it said, was only 784, of whom just 43 were armed forces personnel. The vast bulk of the Cubans on the island had been captured, the statement said, and most of the rest had either been killed or were at the Cuban embassy.

"Where, therefore, does this insane figure of 500 Cubans fighting in the mountains come from?" the Cuban statement asked. "Is the fear of the U.S. army that great? Do they not understand that this is a ridiculous claim, and that sooner or later the figures given by Cuba will be irrefutable?"

The statement also found it "highly suspicious that the U.S. government has established absolute restrictions on the press of its own country, preventing it from reporting the facts and checking the infamous lies of its government.

"How can it be claimed that the construction workers and other aid personnel were highly

skilled professional soldiers? Would it not be sufficient for a dozen journalists to talk with and question them to verify the truth?"

Unable to come up with any evidence to refute the Cuban statement, the Pentagon "re-

vised" its estimate of the number of Cubans in Grenada to between 700 and 750, conforming roughly to the figure given by the Cuban government.

Despite such exposures, Washington's

propaganda mill grinds on. New fabrications are being churned out each day, and even the old ones are revived and given new twists. The truth about Grenada is the last thing the Reagan administration is interested in. □

Truth about Cuba's internationalist role

Led world working class in defending Grenada revolution

By Geoff Mirelowitz

It was May Day, 1980, in Havana, Cuba. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop of Grenada spoke to one and a half million Cubans gathered in the Plaza of the Revolution.

"The unity, the militant solidarity which unifies our countries, our peoples' struggles, . . . is today making imperialism tremble," Bishop explained, "because we recognize in Grenada, just as the imperialists recognize, that without the Cuban revolution of 1959 there could have been no Grenadian revolution, nor Nicaraguan revolution in 1979."

"They therefore have good reason to tremble," said Bishop of the imperialists, "when they hear the masses of Cubans saying: 'Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, together we shall win!'"

In the wake of the brutal U.S. invasion of Grenada and the tragic events preceding it, revolutionary Cuba has reconfirmed by its actions the confidence that Bishop and many others placed in it.

Explained to fighters worldwide

The execution of Maurice Bishop and other Grenadian leaders — amid charges by capitalist governments and news media that Cuban-backed "hard-line Marxists" were responsible — had a disorienting and demoralizing effect on many revolutionary fighters around the world.

The Cuban Communist Party and government took responsibility for answering these lies and explaining the meaning of the events in Grenada to the world working class. They released a statement October 20 denouncing the killing of Bishop and other New Jewel Movement (NJM) leaders. The Cubans sharply denounced the blind factionalism against Bishop within sections of the NJM leadership that led to the deaths of most of the central core of the party's leadership. They warned of the danger that Washington would seize on this serious weakening of the Grenada revolution to attack and attempt to overthrow it.

From the triumph of the Grenada revolution in 1979, the Cubans have been in the forefront of explaining its significance, defending it, and seeking to aid the people of the island.

On International Women's Day, March 8, 1980, Cuban President Fidel Castro told the Third Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women that, "Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism."

At a rally on July 26, 1980, Castro explained this further. "Nicaragua, Cuba, and Grenada are not the only progressive countries," he said, speaking of Latin America and the Caribbean. "But three of us have shaken the yoke of imperialism in the last 20 years in a radical way, once and for all. . . ."

There is "only one road to liberation," said Castro that day, "that of Cuba, that of Grenada, that of Nicaragua. There is no other formula."

The Grenada revolution of March 13, 1979 — like the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions — was a radical, anticapitalist revolution. It ousted a proimperialist regime based on a tiny handful of landlords and capitalists and replaced it with a workers and farmers government. That government relied on the independent mobilization of working people to lead in reorganizing society in the interest of the majority. The goal of that process, as Maurice Bishop often explained, was the construction of socialism.

The Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions were of decisive importance to Cuba. They marked the first extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas since the Cuban revolution 20 years earlier.

Despite its greater strength, resources, and more experienced leadership, however, Cuba has never attempted to dominate the revolutionary governments in Grenada or Nicaragua. Cuban aid came with no strings attached. Cuba never tried to create a leadership of its own choosing in Grenada or Nicaragua, nor did it seek to impose policies on those leaderships.

Fidel Castro explained this firm principle on July 26, 1980, on his return from a visit to Nicaragua.

"When I spoke in Revolution Square in Managua," he said, "I wasn't there to give advice. I said I wasn't there to teach, but to learn; that I wasn't there to influence anybody, that I was there to be influenced."

A year earlier, again on July 26, Fidel had spoken about the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions.

"They are both profound revolutions," he said, "alike in many ways and in many ways different, as all true revolutions must be."

"This is important for our people, important also for world opinion," he said. "Every country has its own road, its own problems, its own style, methods, objectives. We have our own; they have theirs. We did things one way, our way; they will do things their way."

In this spirit, the Cuban government responded generously to Nicaragua's request for doctors and teachers.

"We are not rich," Castro explained, "but we do have human resources."

"And we know our doctors and teachers," he said. "They'll go wherever they're needed. If they have to go to the mountains, they go to the mountains; if to the countryside, to the countryside. In Cuba and in Ethiopia, in Vietnam, in Yemen, in Angola, anywhere."

Same attitude toward Grenada

This approach is at the heart of Cuba's international policy, a policy of revolutionary, working-class internationalism. It is the same attitude Cuba has demonstrated toward Grenada.

In an interview with the Cuban English-language *Granma Weekly Review* in July 1981, Maurice Bishop explained that in Grenada's attempt to free itself from imperialist exploitation, "the role of Cuba has been decisive. . . . We have received the kind of assistance that enables us to continue to develop our economy on our own — such as [Cuba's] provision of the fishing boats and the assistance with the international airport."

Cuba also provided a few military advisers, since the Grenadians — correctly as events proved — were concerned about preparing themselves to combat an invasion by Washington.

The idea that Cubans were in Grenada to establish a Cuban military base, however, is a Big Lie invented by imperialism. It is Washington that has turned Grenada into a *U.S. military base* with an occupation force of U.S. troops numbering in the thousands.

Slander of Cuba and Grenada

This lie about the Cuban military base is one part of a well-orchestrated campaign by imperialism against both the Cuban and Grenadian revolutions. The press and U.S. government "sources" claimed Cuba was behind Bishop's overthrow and was maybe even responsible for his death. Cuba aimed "to take over" Grenada, they said.

Cuba answered these charges in the October 20 statement issued the very day following Bishop's death. It explained that Cuba had played no part at all in the disastrous split in the NJM. The Cuban leadership expressed its view that every revolutionary party has the right to conduct its own discussions and re-

solve its own internal problems and disputes. The Cubans adhered strictly to this principle, even when they learned to their great alarm that the division in the New Jewel leadership had reached crisis proportions.

"As it was a purely internal problem, despite our friendship for Bishop and our confidence in his integrity and his leadership abilities," the Cuban statement explained, "the Cuban government and party instructed our representatives in Grenada that, complying fully with the principles and norms of Cuba's international policy, they should absolutely refrain from involving themselves in the internal affairs of the party and of Grenada."

Cuba's primary concern, the statement said, "centered on preventing the events from taking on the character of a violent and bloody confrontation."

Toward this end, Castro sent a message to the NJM Central Committee expressing "his deep concern that the division that had arisen could do considerable damage to the image of the revolutionary process in Grenada, both inside the country and abroad."

With Bishop's execution, the Cuban leadership decided to issue its first public statement. The most conscious workers in Grenada and elsewhere in the world were looking to Cuba to provide leadership in explaining the events and pointing the way forward.

"No doctrine, no principle or position held up as revolutionary, and no internal division justifies atrocious proceedings like the physical elimination of Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and worthy leaders killed yesterday," the statement said.

Nevertheless, the statement said, "We will maintain the strict principle of not involving ourselves in the internal affairs of Grenada, and we will take into account, above all, the interests of the Grenadian people in matters of economic and technical collaboration if that is possible in the new situation."

But, the statement continued, "our political relations with the new figures in the Grenadian leadership will have to be subjected to serious and profound analysis."

Preserve the revolution

"If the Grenadian revolutionary process manages to be preserved, we will do whatever is possible to help it," the Cubans declared.

They warned that this would be difficult. "Imperialism will now try to make use of this tragedy and the grave errors committed by the Grenadian revolutionaries in order to sweep away the revolutionary process in Grenada and subject it once again to neocolonial and imperial domination."

Cuba took concrete steps to do what it could to prevent this from taking place. On October 22, as the Yankee marine flotilla was steaming towards Grenada, Cuba sent an urgent message to the U.S. government. It expressed Cuba's readiness to cooperate with Washington to help resolve problems without violence or intervention.

Washington cold-bloodedly ignored this offer.

Three days later the invasion had begun, and Cuban personnel, alongside the population of Grenada, were under attack. U.S. forces opened fire on Cuban construction workers and other personnel, ordering them to give up. They refused. The workers then wired Havana to inform the Cuban leadership of their actions and to request instructions.

Cuban leaders wired back, hailing "your heroic resistance." They instructed the workers not to surrender, but to transmit any proposals U.S. forces made to them.

Earlier, the regime of Gen. Hudson Austin, which had overthrown the People's Revolutionary Government, had requested that Cuba send fighters to repel the impending U.S. attack. According to Radio Havana, the Cuban government responded "that it was impossible to accede to this request for political and military reasons that were absolutely unfavorable to the organizing of a prolonged resistance."

This was a sober judgment on the part of the Cuban leadership. Cuban fighters could not substitute for a mobilized, armed population of the Grenadian workers and farmers themselves. The overthrow of the revolutionary government, the annihilation of Bishop and most of the central leadership, and Austin's use of the Grenadian army in armed attacks on Grenadian workers who supported Bishop, precluded the kind of mobilization needed for any chance of victory.

A key decision

Why, then, did the central Cuban leadership decide that several hundred lightly armed Cuban workers would fight back and defend themselves against insuperable odds? In order to maximize the political price imperialism would pay for its criminal assault on Grenada's sovereignty and its revolutionary people.

This was the first time ever that workers of revolutionary Cuba have engaged in direct battle with regular U.S. troops. Their skill and courage demonstrated the political determination and class consciousness of Cuban working people and their willingness to fight and die to defend their revolution. It was a dramatic reminder to Washington of what U.S. marines will face if they are ordered to invade Cuba.

The heroic stand of the Cuban workers also inspired revolutionary-minded workers around the world — from Grenada itself, to Cuba, to the United States.

Cuba's population poured into the streets by the hundreds of thousands to salute the battle their comrades were waging in Grenada and to denounce the U.S. invasion. Every step of the way, they were kept informed by the Cuban government of what was happening inside Grenada and of the Cuban leadership's decisions. These mobilizations were possible because the Cuban revolution rests on telling the truth to the working people, educating them, and relying on their consciousness and power.

The Cuban workers are the most class-conscious section of the world working class, its

vanguard. Cuban workers know what their revolution has achieved, and they know their own role in achieving it.

The eradication of racism. The leaps forward in health care and education. The giant strides toward full equality and improved conditions for women. The aid and example Cuba provides for other countries. It is this understanding of what the Cuban working people have accomplished that leads them to want to defend those gains and help working people around the world achieve them.

Consciousness of Cuban workers

Fidel Castro described this consciousness among Cuban workers in the July 26, 1980, speech cited earlier:

"When I ask myself what is a communist, I think of a doctor in Bluefields [Nicaragua], a woman who is both wife and mother, capable of leaving her family to save lives thousands of miles from home. I think of a teacher in a remote area of the world; I think of a Cuban fighter ready to die in another country to defend a just cause thousands of miles from home. And I say to myself, these are communist men and women. . . .

"I think of the hundreds of thousands of devoted compatriots — manual and intellectual workers — who dedicate their lives to their work and duty, and thanks to whom there is a homeland and a revolution. Not only does our party have hundreds of thousands of members, but in the heart of our people there are millions of communists."

Millions of Cuban workers look to the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party because it has earned their confidence through work, discipline, and struggle. But the Cuban CP is not only leading the population of Cuba in responding to events in Grenada. It has also sought to demonstrate the correct revolutionary response to fighters around the world.

Among these are the Grenadian revolutionists themselves. As more facts have come to light, it appears that the leadership team assembled by Maurice Bishop and other central leaders of the New Jewel Movement has not been completely destroyed.

The Cuban leadership is striving to do whatever possible to organize an orderly retreat in the face of the imperialist assault. At the same time, they see this as part of continuing the effort to construct an international working class leadership in the wake of the defeat in Grenada.

Many are already learning from these events. Many are developing a new appreciation of the strength and power of the Cuban revolution and the capacities of the Cuban leadership. This is true not only among those who already consider themselves Marxist revolutionists, but also others who do not, but who genuinely seek to fight against imperialism and social injustice.

For millions of such people, Washington's lies and slanders cannot obscure the beacon that revolutionary Cuba represents in the world class struggle today. □

World protests condemn invasion

UN, OAS members demand U.S. withdrawal

By Steve Wattenmaker

An international outcry has greeted Washington's invasion of Grenada. Angry demonstrators took to the streets throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe, and North America.

The Reagan administration also found itself isolated diplomatically. Government after government rose in the United Nations Security Council to condemn the action. Even staunch U.S. allies such as Great Britain and West Germany felt pressure from public opposition to take some distance from the aggression.

Worldwide outrage

Within a day of the U.S. Marine landing on Grenada, demonstrators began marching to demand that the U.S. invasion force be immediately withdrawn. A sampling of the reaction includes:

Central America and the Caribbean. More than 30,000 people rallied in the Nicaraguan capital October 25 (see last week's issue). Salvadoran rebels called the invasion "another step, the most serious of all so far," in Washington's "escalating intervention" in the region.

On October 26, 10,000 marched in Mexico City, and 25,000 Panamanian students began striking classes. In the Dominican Republic, where the last U.S. Marine invasion in the hemisphere took place in 1965, thousands protested at the U.S. embassy in Santo Domingo. Police injured more than 20 student demonstrators October 26. The government was compelled to condemn the invasion.

Despite the facade of support for the invasion from governments of eastern Caribbean countries, trade unions and political parties there condemned Washington's action. These included the Barbados Workers' Union and the Oil Workers' Trade Union in Trinidad. In St. Vincent, a country with troops in Grenada, the teachers union condemned the move, as did the opposition party, the Socialist Movement for National Unity.

Labor leaders and political figures in Jamaica also denounced the invasion. "There is hypocrisy in going into a country saying that you are going to save lives and ending up taking lives with guns and troops," said Trevor Monroe, general secretary of the Workers Party of Jamaica.

In Georgetown, Guyana, demonstrators picketed the U.S. embassy and the offices of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM). Guyana's opposition People's Progressive Party and Working People's Alliance demanded immediate U.S. withdrawal.

Demonstrations were also reported in São

Paulo, Brazil, and in Argentina. Some 500 rallied in Buenos Aires October 26 in an action called by Argentina's Communist Party.

Europe. In Paris, 4,000 people demonstrated against the invasion October 26; the Communist Party, Revolutionary Communist League, and other groups participated. More than 1,000 marched in Amsterdam the same day. In other protests 400 marched in Copenhagen, 1,000 in Brussels, 5,000 in Madrid, and hundreds in Milan.

In Britain, picket lines averaging 500 people have formed in front of the U.S. embassy every evening since the invasion. An October 28 protest rally in the south London district of Brixton — where many Caribbean immigrants live — drew an overflow crowd of 900. It was addressed by left-wing Labour Party leader Tony Benn, several trade union figures, Nicaraguan ambassador Francisco D'Escoto, Grenadian High Commissioner Dennis Augustin, and Salvadoran FMLN-FDR representative to Britain, Salvador Moncada.

Labor and Afro-Caribbean organizations have called a national demonstration for November 5 in London.

The Grenada invasion occurred amidst massive protests in Europe against the scheduled deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. In Amsterdam, an October 29 antimissiles demonstration of half a million was fueled by anger over the invasion. Banners showed U.S. marines storming Grenada above the words, "Grenada Now. Woensdrecht Next." Woensdrecht is a planned missile site in the Netherlands.

Canada. In Toronto, 2,000 demonstrators rallied outside the U.S. consulate. Other actions took place in Vancouver and Montréal. The U.S. move was condemned by a number of Central Labor Councils in Ontario and Quebec, as well as by Canada's union-based New Democratic Party.

United States. The largest protest was in New York City the day after the invasion; 4,000 demonstrated outside the United Nations. The day before, more than 3,000 marched in Berkeley, California. Other sizeable actions took place in Brooklyn, New York, where 1,500 people marched through the borough's huge Caribbean community, and in Santa Cruz, California. Picket lines, news conferences, and public meetings have taken place in dozens of cities and towns. In many instances Black organizations took the initiative.

Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance mobilized their forces to join the protests and get out the truth about the U.S. invasion. They sponsored emergency forums across the coun-

try. SWP candidates denounced the invasion on radio and television. A special effort was made to distribute copies of the *Militant* with coverage of the invasion. In New York and northern New Jersey alone, more than 2,700 copies of the paper were sold in the first three days of the campaign.

Sections of the U.S. labor movement have condemned Reagan's action. The American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees District 37 in New York City denounced the invasion, as did the Service Employees International Union in California. In San Francisco, an October 27 labor speak-out against the invasion was addressed by a number of local union officials. The event attracted 700 people.

Diplomatic reaction isolates U.S.

Washington found virtually no support for the invasion from governments around the world. One of the first reactions came from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who stated that she had advised President Reagan not to proceed with the military action. Washington's other European allies also sought to avoid identification with the White House. Bonn urged Washington to quickly withdraw its troops from Grenada. The French foreign ministry carefully worded its opposition so as to excuse its own imperialist intervention in Chad.

The reaction in the Americas was more sharply critical of U.S. policy. The Venezuelan government condemned the invasion and put its naval forces on alert. Grenada is 90 miles from the Venezuelan coast.

Belize, an English-speaking country on the Central American mainland, denounced the move and revealed that Belize, Bahamas, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago had opposed the invasion plans at an October 22 meeting of 12 Caribbean states.

At an October 26 meeting of the Organization of American States — which gave its political blessing to the 1965 U.S. invasion of the

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Dominican Republic — 15 of the 28 member governments took the floor to denounce the U.S. invasion as a violation of the OAS charter. Only the six eastern Caribbean nations that contributed token troops to the assault defended the action.

The U.S. government faced another wall of international opposition in the UN Security Council. A resolution condemning the invasion was introduced by Nicaragua, Guyana, and Zimbabwe.

Vietnam declared that unless the international community denounced the invasion, the world would risk "a third, fourth, even a seventh Vietnam." China's delegate said the United States had committed "undisguised aggression." Even the strongly pro-U.S. regimes of Zaïre, Pakistan, and Singapore spoke out against the invasion in muted terms.

The resolution passed with the U.S. dele-

gate casting the only negative vote. Washington was thus forced to veto the measure.

U.S. public opinion polls conducted in the first days after the Grenada invasion indicated that a majority of the U.S. public supported the invasion, especially following Reagan's televised speech October 27. In that address Reagan falsely charged that U.S. Marines had found proof of an imminent "Soviet-Cuban takeover" of Grenada, and that the lives of U.S. medical students were in grave danger before the invasion.

A poll conducted by the *New York Times* and CBS News taken after Reagan's address recorded a slim 51 percent majority for the president's action, with 37 percent against.

John Glenn, a leading contender for the 1984 Democratic Party presidential nomination stated that "the danger to our citizens warranted a military evacuation, and I support that

action." Front-runner Walter Mondale sidestepped the issue, saying he didn't have enough facts to make an "informed judgment." If Reagan's rationale for the invasion proved true, Mondale said, as president he would have taken the same action.

The only Democratic presidential candidate who roundly criticized the action was Black leader Jesse Jackson, who said all Americans "should feel a sense of outrage and disgrace" over the invasion and called for the immediate end to the U.S. military action.

The Congressional Black Caucus condemned the invasion. Caucus member Congressman Gus Savage of Illinois blasted the administration for wanting to "overthrow the regime and install a banana republic." Two prominent Black mayors, Andrew Young of Atlanta and Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, also denounced the invasion. □

DOCUMENTS

New Jewel leaders speak to press

Condemn efforts 'to wipe out vestiges of revolution'

[Don Rojas and Caldwell Taylor, two leaders of the New Jewel Movement in Grenada, were able to speak to reporters during the week before we went to press. Below we are reprinting an October 30 report on Rojas' remarks, written by Manchester *Guardian* correspondent Greg Chamberlain from Barbados. It is taken from the *Washington Post*. Following that are major excerpts from an October 28 article by New York *Daily News* columnist Earl Caldwell reporting on a news conference given by Taylor at the United Nations.]

* * *

BRIDGETOWN, Barbados — Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop starved him-

self in the days before his death at the hands of his political rival captors because he was afraid that they would try to poison him, according to Don Rojas, who was Bishop's press secretary and his top aide.

Rojas, the most senior member of the fallen regime to speak since the U.S. invasion six days ago, was interviewed after being flown here by U.S. authorities from Grenada at the weekend.

He said he could not think of any members of the New Jewel Movement — which retained substantial support until the murder of Bishop Oct. 19 — who would want to run in the elections that the United States wants to organize soon, even if Washington allowed a socialist party to take part.

The movement will probably go underground, said Rojas, who said he hid in the bush for a week after Bishop was killed for fear the usurping radicals led by Bishop's deputy, Bernard Coard, would come for him.

After the invasion, he returned to his home in the heavily bombed Grand Anse area, where he said U.S. troops smashed their way into about 40 houses looking for Cubans.

Two U.S. civilian officials who came to take him and his family to the airport to fly him to Barbados refused to let him leave his car with a friend and told him it now belonged to the U.S. government, he said.

Rojas predicted that Grenada would now be "rapidly colonized" with the building of a large U.S. embassy and a lot of aid money.

"I think they will move very quickly to wipe out all vestiges of the revolution," he said. "The local councils and other democratic structures we put in place will be dismantled and kept that way by military force. But I can't

think that any honest, patriotic Grenadian is going to accept that situation in the end."

He spoke bitterly of Coard's ambitions and of the last days and hours of the regime, which he said had tried to show the English-speaking Caribbean a new, self-reliant vision of the future for 4½ years.

The invasion was "a tragedy of major historical proportions for the Caribbean" and had "set back the progressive movement in the entire region for years," he said.

"Perhaps the biggest historical irony is that the man considered the most developed, best ideologue in the Grenada revolution, a brilliant man, through a fundamental error of judgment and personal ambition, in the end gave the Grenadian revolution on a platter to the U.S. with all the trimmings," he added, speaking of Coard. There were only differences in tactics, not ideology, between Coard and Bishop, he said.

Coard refused to receive the Cuban ambassador, Julian Torres Rizo, who was concerned about the detention of the prime minister by the Coard factions, Rojas said.

After a crowd of 4,000 supporters freed Bishop from house arrest and, weak and exhausted from not eating, he was led out in shorts and T-shirt, he passed Maj. Leon Cornwall, Grenada's ambassador to Cuba and one of the chief architects of his fall. "We will get you wherever you go," he reportedly told Bishop.

Shortly afterward, as Rojas was at the cable office downtown preparing appeals for international support on Bishop's instructions, he heard the shooting at Ft. Rupert in which Bishop, three of his ministers, and a score of others died.



DON ROJAS

Flax Hermes/IP

The attackers came in three armored cars and a truck directly from Coard's house, Rojas said. They were soldiers, not members of the militia, which remained loyal to Bishop and which he said the Coard faction had tried to disarm while the prime minister was in Eastern Europe a few weeks earlier.

Bishop had asked him to tell the world that Cuba had nothing to do with the regime's internal dispute and that no outside intervention was warranted, Rojas said.

Rojas said Coard's right-hand men in the plot against Bishop had been the chief of the security forces, Lt. Col. Ewart Layne, and the administrative chief of the Army, Lt. Col. Liam James. The titular chairman of the short-lived Revolutionary Military Council, General Hudson Austin, had only been a front man whom everyone had counted in the Bishop camp, Rojas said.

"One mistake we made was not to educate people sufficiently about the structure of the party," he said. "There were some security reasons but we should have expanded the party. Most people didn't even know who was on the Central Committee or what it was."

* * *

"You can't decide on a government for us," [Caldwell Taylor] said. "Nobody is going to decide for us."

And in his meeting with reporters, he spoke again against the American-led invasion of Grenada.

"When a man's country is invaded . . . when a country is invaded, the only man who can ever applaud that invasion must be a quisling. I am not a quisling. I am a Grenadian and a Grenadian patriot."

"I am very fatigued for obvious reasons," he said. "Obviously, I'm very loaded emotionally. But I have not resigned and I have not been dismissed. I remain the representative to the United Nations. And I will endorse any

statement denouncing the invasion."

"I am not going to be a part of any government that is going to destroy the mandate given us by Maurice Bishop," he said.

"I want to serve my country. I want to serve with the elements that have not been corrupt in the past and who are incorruptible. But anybody that served Gairy must form a government without me and be prepared to fight me. Those who have slandered Maurice Bishop are my enemies also. I am opposed to use of fascist tactics and opposed to the clique led by Gen. Hudson Austin."

The ambassador said he did not know who is in power now in Grenada.

"I know who killed Maurice Bishop," he said. "Gen. Austin and his gang."

He called Bishop "the most honest, dedicated Grenadian I know. He was the personification of our aspirations," he said.

Of the invasion, he said it "cannot be justified." He said that before it was launched he spoke with representatives of the U.S. government and assured them that if there was concern for Americans in Grenada, arrangements would be made to get them out.

He was asked if he now considered himself head of the Grenadian government. He said no, and pointed out that there were two members of the Bishop government still alive who outranked him. He mentioned Kendrick Radix

and George Louison. He would not say where they are now.

Taylor said he was not aware there were any Cuban troops on the island, but he said he did know there were as many as 600 Cuban workers in Grenada. He said Austin had asked for Cuban help when he heard of the invasion, but he said Castro turned down his request. As for the presence of Cubans on the island, he said, "Cuba is Cuba and Grenada is Grenada. Castro knew that well."

"Are you concerned for your safety now?" the ambassador was asked.

"Yes," he said.

But he promised to fight the elements that killed Bishop. "The only way those butchers can escape is if Kendrick Radix is killed and George Louison is killed and I am killed. I know Bernard Coard well. I know Austin well. I know what he's capable of intellectually. I am not dealing with strangers. It goes back to 1973 (when the New Jewel Movement was formed) when Gairy wanted all of us killed. Coard must have been driven for power, but from the moment Bishop was killed, he was on a collision course with the masses. Maurice Bishop was the most beloved of leaders. When we spoke, there was applause, but when Bishop spoke, there was thunder. Any wooden spoon should have understood. Locking up Bishop was asking for trouble." □

Nicaragua

Grenada invasion portends wider war

Washington rejects new Sandinista peace plan

By Steve Wattenmaker

The Nicaraguan government warned October 25 that the U.S. invasion of Grenada confirms Washington's plans for a region-wide war against the workers and peasants of Central America and the Caribbean. The Sandinistas charged that the Reagan administration is already completing preparations for large-scale aggression against Nicaragua "in the short term."

The Nicaraguan statement pointed to several factors supporting this conclusion:

"Along with the invasion of Grenada, the North American government convened a meeting of the top military officers of Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, within the framework of the infamous CONDECA [Central American Defense Council — a military alliance of regional dictatorships directed by Washington]. The aim of the meeting held in Tegucigalpa was to reach agreement on specific plans for aggression against Nicaragua."

The Sandinistas said they were aware of "CIA plans to provoke military attacks and bombings against economic objectives in both Honduras and Costa Rica" to provide "a pretext for unleashing greater aggression against Nicaragua."

Another ominous sign of U.S. intentions, the October 25 statement said, was Washington's rebuff to Nicaragua's recent peace proposals. "The arrogance, rashness, and haughtiness that guide the conduct of the North American government may lead to a generalized war in Central America," the Sandinistas warned.

The new U.S.-engineered intervention is expected in November, another Nicaraguan dispatch stated. It said the action would be mounted initially by Somozaist counter-revolutionaries backed by the Honduran armed forces. If necessary, the armies of Guatemala and El Salvador would come to the assistance of the invading force.

Some 5,000 U.S. combat troops supported by a naval task force — supposedly "on ma-



CALDWELL TAYLOR

Lou Howart/IP

neuers" in Honduras — are also on the ready to move into Nicaragua.

In preparation, the Sandinistas have begun organizing rallies throughout Nicaragua to explain the danger and mobilize the population to defend their country.

Attacks grow more savage

Throughout October the CIA-directed Somozaist *contras* launched a series of savage raids against Nicaragua. Shortly before midnight on October 10, seaborne commandos blew up fuel storage tanks in the port city of Corinto. A massive fire caused \$7 million in structural damage and destroyed 1.6 million gallons of fuel.

The attack forced the evacuation of Corinto's more than 20,000 inhabitants. The entire city would have been flattened if the fire had not been brought under control. To prevent a holocaust in case the *contras* attack again, the government is now preparing to move the entire population to a nearby town.

"As long as the aggressive policies of the Reagan administration persist, we must relocate this population," explained government junta coordinator Daniel Ortega. "If we don't, Reagan is going to kill 23,000 people."

On October 18 a band of 300 *contras* overran the defenses of Pantasma, a small town in northern Jinotega Province. After several hours the raiders withdrew leaving 47 militia members, teachers, and other civilians dead. Damage to buildings, grain silos, and agricultural equipment was put at \$5 million.

Farm workers request weapons

Trying to further cripple Nicaragua's energy supplies, *contras* attempted to bomb the country's new geothermal electric power plant October 22. Workers on a state farm near León spotted the plane in time to warn the plant's

antiaircraft defenders.

Government leaders Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez visited the farm later the same day, accompanied by a group of journalists. *IP* Managua correspondent Jane Harris reported that the farm workers took advantage of the visit to press for better weapons to defend their farm.

One farm worker listed the valuable agricultural equipment on the farm, including eight crop-dusting planes and 50 pieces of heavy machinery. He requested that the farm's antiquated rifles be replaced with modern Soviet AK-47 assault rifles.

"Your request is certainly a just one," Ortega told the farm workers. "But the first ones to receive the AKs will be those fighting on the northern border where there is the most action." He encouraged them to make a specific proposal to the army — perhaps for a limited number of AKs — but to take good care of their old rifles as well.

Ortega also informed the farm workers that the first seven Nicaraguans to die in Pantasma were teachers.

"For the current U.S. government, for the Somozaist National Guard, the teachers are the enemy," Ortega said. "For them, it's a crime for the people to learn to read. They are afraid of it."

Reagan rejects peace plan

The Sandinistas' conclusion that Washington is readying a major escalation was confirmed again October 21 when the State Department rejected new Nicaraguan peace proposals without even bothering to study them.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto Brockman presented the Reagan administration with the four draft agreements October 20. He said they were "concrete and detailed proposals for guaranteeing the international

peace and security of the Central American states."

The proposed treaties, to be signed by Central American governments and the United States, contained the following points:

1. Nicaragua would agree never to let its territory be used in any way to threaten the interests of the United States. With the other countries of Central America it pledges not to permit foreign military installations, bases, or training centers on its soil; nor to participate in training, exercises, or military maneuvers with the armed forces of any foreign power."

2. Nicaragua would pledge, "together with its neighbors in Central America not to use force or the threat of force to resolve any disputes between states and to refrain from violating international borders."

3. Nicaragua would pledge "not to support or aid any group that seeks to attack, overthrow, or destabilize other states, nor to permit its territory to be used for such aims, as well as to take all possible measures to impede such activities." Specifically with regard to El Salvador, Nicaragua would agree — provided all other Central American governments and Washington made the same pledge — "not to provide arms or military assistance to any of the contending forces, nor to permit its soil to be used for any hostile purposes by any of these forces."

4. Following the signing of those three treaties, Nicaragua would agree to "initiate immediate negotiations with its neighbors and with the United States to reduce the import of weapons, limit the number or eliminate military advisers, and place reasonable limits on military buildup" in the region.

Who would verify compliance?

Nicaragua proposed that the Contadora Group — made up of the governments of Panama, Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela — be given full power to carry out any investigation needed to assure that the pledges are adhered to.

Within 24 hours State Department officials snubbed the Nicaraguan proposals as "deficient." Washington tried to wriggle out of the tight spot the proposals put it in by claiming that the initiative was only a ploy to derail the Contadora Group's regional peace efforts.

In fact, Nicaragua's proposals were drawn up in consultation with the Contadora Group and had been reviewed by both Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutionary organizations.

Despite Washington's rejection of the peace plan, Nicaragua declared in its October 25 statement that there is still time to avoid a catastrophe. The Sandinistas appealed to the international community "to bring to bear all the means within its capacity to block the escalation of aggression against Nicaragua and El Salvador and to bring about the immediate withdrawal of the invading forces from Grenada.

"Today more than ever, Nicaraguans must be prepared to prove our willingness to fulfill with patriotism and discipline all the tasks imposed by the present emergency situation to consolidate the defense of the country." □

Cuba: 'Nicaragua would be impregnable'

HAVANA (Prensa Latina) — Cuban President Fidel Castro said here that it would be an error multiplied 100 times for the United States to attempt an invasion against Nicaragua.

The chief Cuban leader gave a press conference in this capital focusing on imperialist aggression against Grenada and made available important documents relating to Tuesday's [October 25] events in the eastern Caribbean island.

In answer to a foreign journalist's question, Fidel Castro responded that the aggressions that Nicaragua has been victim to in recent weeks have strengthened the country and given it experience.

He added that the Nicaraguan people are valiant and combative and the country would be impregnable. Military technology does not exist that can resolve a struggle against an entire people who are armed, as-

serted the Cuban leader.

He explained that the situation in Nicaragua is not comparable to the one in Grenada, where the army — due to internal divisions — had collected all the arms and could not present an armed people to resist the U.S. invasion.

Nicaragua has great combat experience and has tens of thousands of combatants, the Cuban president said. The United States would have to confront an armed people there, and it would not be able to achieve its goals, not with one nor with ten airlifted divisions.

He added that this country [Nicaragua] should not be underestimated and that the great error made with the invasion of one of the smallest nations of the world, such as Grenada, should serve to prevent the commission of great errors in the future in Nicaragua.

Millions say 'No!' to U.S. missiles

Massive protests hit siting of new nuclear arms in Western Europe

By Steve Wattenmaker

In a massive climax to 10 days of anti-nuclear weapons protests, more than a million and a half people poured into the streets of European cities October 22 to oppose the deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles scheduled to begin in December. Demonstrations also took place in scores of U.S. cities on the same day. Others protested in Canada and Japan.

Marches, rallies, and human chains brought more than a million West Germans into the streets. The turnout was the largest for a political demonstration in West Germany since World War II.

A demonstration of at least a quarter million in London's Hyde Park was the largest anti-nuclear protest in Britain's history. Similar actions in Italy, France, Austria, and Sweden turned out hundreds of thousands more demanding that Washington put a halt to basing the new weapons on European soil.

In the United States, thousands protesting the missile deployment took part in some 140 demonstrations. The actions included a rally of 3,000 in Austin, Texas, marches and sit-ins at air force bases in New Hampshire and upstate New York, and a demonstration in Washington, D.C.

The October 22 mobilizations capped a 10-day "Action Week" that may have involved as many as 3 million people in West Germany alone and tens of thousands in the United States. Large-scale protests against the missile deployment have been continuing throughout Europe since the beginning of September.

Despite the unprecedented opposition to the new weapons, registered in the streets and in European polls that show a clear majority against deployment, President Reagan and his NATO allies are going ahead with their plans. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl stonewalled the rising tide of protest with the comment, "Policy will not be decided in the streets of Germany."

'Hot autumn'

The anti-nuclear weapons protests that shook Europe this fall were sparked by Washington's decision to vastly expand NATO's intermediate range nuclear missile force. At the present time there are 180 older Pershing 1A missiles based in West Germany. Beginning in December the Pentagon plans to deploy 108 newer Pershing 2 missiles and 464 low-flying cruise missiles to sites in Britain, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Both types of newer missiles have over double the range and greater accuracy than the older Pershing variety.



Student participants in Rome antimissiles demonstration.

Determined to go ahead with the deployment at whatever cost, U.S. negotiators at Geneva arms control talks rejected a series of Soviet proposals to check the build up, including a Soviet offer to pull back its medium range missiles to the Ural Mountains. If deployment goes ahead, however, the Soviet government vowed to take defensive measures to counter what it termed "a mortal threat to our security."

Earlier in the year anti-nuclear protest organizers in Europe promised that NATO governments would face a "hot autumn" of demonstrations over the missile issue. The campaign was kicked off September 3 as several thousand people blockaded the entrances to a U.S. air base at Mutlangen, West Germany. The base was effectively closed down for three days.

At a U.S. Air Force base near Bitburg, West Germany, police used dogs and water cannons on demonstrators carrying signs that read "Hands Off Nicaragua" and "Armaments Mean War."

German trade unions strike

The pace and size of the demonstrations picked up in early October. In an action that expressed the depth of opposition to Washington's missile plans, some 8 million West German workers staged a 5-minute "warning strike" on October 5 against the deployment.

The workers' action was organized by the National Executive of the West German Trade Union Confederation (DGB). The DGB officialdom was pushed to call the action by massive rank-and-file pressure for some union response to the new missiles.

"Peace initiative" groups had formed in 150 work places, including some of the largest factories. Petitions against the missiles were being widely circulated inside the plants and a call for a 10-15 minute protest strike during the October 15-22 "Action Week" had been gaining momentum among DGB members.

To avoid being by-passed by the ranks, the DGB leadership called the warning strike for October 5. The DGB appeal read, "Our battle against unemployment, for better working and living conditions, for social security, is in vain if we cannot stop the madness of the arms race and guarantee peace."

The work stoppage was reportedly observed to the letter in the large factories of the heavily industrialized Ruhr Valley and in the big auto plants around the country. Public transportation came to a halt in some cities.

Other trade union actions took place around Germany October 19. About 1,000 unionists demonstrated in front of Nuremberg's City Hall. In Dortmund, workers picketed in shifts at the giant Hoechst steel plant and more than 900 workers gathered in downtown Düsseldorf.

Large demonstrations in both Europe and

the United States on October 15 marked the beginning of the week of protests against the U.S. missile deployment.

More than 15,000 marched to the main gate of the U.S. Army base in the port city of Bremerhaven, West Germany, where arms and supplies are unloaded for U.S. forces in Europe. Thousands of other demonstrators gathered at U.S. bases in Frankfurt, Ramstein, Bonn, and other cities.

Denver weapons plant circled

U.S. anti-nuclear weapons protesters linked hands to form a 17-mile human chain around the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant near Denver, Colorado. Some 15,000 people came within a mile and a half of completely surrounding the 6,500-acre bomb-production facility.

In an effort to dampen the impact of the anti-missile protests, the European governments and the big business-owned news media launched a massive propaganda campaign. The West German government admitted that Bonn alone was spending \$2.6 million to convince the public of the slogan "Peace requires security." Press reports leading up to October 22 tried to discourage participation in the protests by playing up isolated instances of violence and proclaiming that the movement was running out of steam.

Other propaganda tried to portray the demonstrators as equally concerned with Soviet

missiles as with Washington's imminent deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles.

But even the U.S. weekly *Newsweek* was forced to conclude October 24 that most of the millions in Europe who oppose Washington's plans "take it on faith that the Soviets want peace as much as anyone, and on reasonable terms. They seem unwilling to make the same concession in the case of Ronald Reagan."

But government propaganda apparently had little effect given the huge numbers that turned out for the October 22 demonstrations in Europe. The largest protest was in Rome, where organizers put the number of demonstrators at 800,000. Some 100,000 brought Vienna to a standstill, while 150,000 rallied in Madrid, 250,000 in Brussels, 25,000 in Paris, 80,000 in Stockholm, and 4,000 in Dublin, in addition to the massive London demonstration.

Social Democrats buckle

The immense outpouring that brought the more than one million people into the streets of West Germany occurred in four large and many smaller cities. In Stuttgart, nearly 200,000 people successfully formed a human chain 65 miles long from the U.S. forces European headquarters to the U.S. Army post at Neu Ulm, which will serve as one of the three sites for the new Pershing 2 missiles in Germany.

Meanwhile, another demonstration of 300,000 marched in Hamburg, 450,000 in

Bonn, and 150,000 in West Berlin.

A featured speaker at the rally in Bonn was ex-Chancellor Willy Brandt from West Germany's Social-Democratic Party (SPD). A firm backer of NATO, Brandt and the SPD were put under enormous pressure to come out against the deployment of the cruise and Pershing missiles. Brandt called for a freeze on nuclear weapons and their eventual removal.

Brandt's colleagues in Britain's social democratic Labour Party also came out against deployment and the party's new head, Neil Kinnock, addressed the London rally.

The two major social democratic governments in power, however, are firmly backing the NATO deployment plan. Italian Prime Minister Bettino Craxi has announced that his government will go through with deploying the weapons in Sicily next year. And French President François Mitterrand called on the governments of Western Europe to remain firm in the face of anti-nuclear weapons protests.

But even the social democrats out of power are having a hard time covering up their continuing support for Washington's overall nuclear weapons strategy in Europe. Although Brandt was welcomed at the Bonn demonstration, Petra Kelly, representing West Germany's Green Party, got roaring applause after she denounced Brandt's new-found pacifism.

"We need no weapons at all, not just fewer," Kelly said. "It's absurd for Brandt to say no to new weapons yet yes to NATO." □

SELECTIONS FROM THE LEFT

[The following selections deal with the October protests against the emplacement of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe.]

INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

A fortnightly review published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

In the lead article in the October 31 issue, Jean-Louis Michel discussed the stakes involved in the antimissiles movement.

After devoting nearly half of the article to various aspects of the deployment plan and Washington's strategies for nuclear warfare, Michel stressed that "a decisive general test of strength has begun between NATO and the European antiwar movement. On its outcome will depend how quickly the imperialists go ahead with their war plans, the future of the mass antiwar movement, and to some extent, the general evolution of the relationship of forces in this part of the world. The imperialists have set the stakes. The workers movement and the antiwar movement now have to take up the challenge.

"This challenge has to be taken up in all its

scope. With the deepening of the capitalist crisis, the arms race has assumed a literally insane tempo."

Michel briefly reviewed the extent of the production of nuclear and other weapons, and the projected increases in arms spending, worldwide.

"At the same time," Michel continued, "in order to keep feeding this bottomless pit of military-spending, the capitalists and the politicians who rule on their behalf are mounting more and more determined attacks on the past gains of the working class in the areas of health, education, and social security. Austerity measure after austerity measure is being imposed on the workers and the youth.

"Militarization and austerity are two inextricably linked elements of the capitalists' policy for extricating themselves from the economic crisis at the expense of the working class."

Michel then cited some figures to show how many people could be fed, how many children educated, how many jobs created with a reduction or elimination of military spending.

"However," he went on, "to force capitalist governments to accept such a policy, the most important means now is united mobilization of the workers and the youth. Only this can make it possible to block the imperialist war plans.

"To give up trying to build such mobilizations would mean in fact abandoning today and in the future any hope of winning the objectives of peace and socialism, which can only be fully achieved if capitalism is overthrown in its main strongholds."

Michel then concluded, "From this standpoint, the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy serves neither the cause of peace nor that of socialism. Instead of relying on mass mobilization for a solution, the Soviet bureaucracy is trying to divert the masses down the blind alley of arms negotiations politics. It is trying to reduce the antiwar movement to the role of a pawn in its diplomatic maneuvers.

"Thus, the Soviet bureaucracy responds to the imperialist maneuvers first and foremost on the military level, and this has negative effects on the mass antiwar movement in the West. In fact, this approach is designed to justify, or consolidate, the bureaucratic yoke that this bureaucracy imposes on the workers in Eastern Europe and in the USSR.

"In these conditions, the independent mobilization of workers in both East Europe and West Europe is not only a thousand times more effective against imperialism than a few extra Soviet missiles. It is the only realistic way to fight for peace. It is the road to a socialist future for humanity that will put an

end to imperialist barbarism and dispel once and for all the threat of a nuclear incineration of the human race."

Socialist ACTION

A labor weekly supported by the Socialist League, the British section of the Fourth International. Published in London.

An editorial in the October 21 issue devoted itself to the perspectives for the antimissiles movement, in particular the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), following the October 22 demonstration in London.

"Up until now a big opportunity has been missed," the editorial stated. "Yes, there have been large demonstrations. Yes, CND is more influential than ever. But the decisive forces in the labour movement to defeat nuclear weapons have not been mobilised.

"Despite the fact that the Labour Party and the TUC [Trades Union Congress] are both now unilateralist, the labour bureaucrats have not taken action. They have not organised industrial action — and that it can be done was shown by last week's 5-minute 'warning' strike by 1.5 million German workers, which is being emulated in Copenhagen next week. They did not even produce the joint Labour Party-TUC demonstration promised for Hiroshima Day.

"No wonder many CND activists are dubious about orienting their activity towards the labour movement.

"In the new situation after the general election, there are powerful forces organising to tone down unilateralist policies in the Labour Party, in the unions, and alas in CND itself.

"Socialist Action has always pointed out that stopping cruise and Trident, let alone unilateral nuclear disarmament, means confronting really fundamental interests of the capitalist class.

"That cannot be done without mobilising huge and decisive social forces — the labour movement. And it cannot be done by making political concessions to the multilateralists by promoting the 'Freeze movement'..."

THE MILITANT

A revolutionary socialist newsweekly published in New York City.

An editorial in the October 28 issue entitled, "No to NATO nuclear missiles," began, "As Washington organizes bombing raids on Nicaragua, it is also beginning the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe."

After reviewing the scheduled deployment of the missiles in Western Europe, it continued, "Washington and its imperialist allies are determined to go ahead with the missiles

despite the majority sentiment among West European working people and workers here at home against the plan..."

"The White House has answered opposition to the missiles by charging that the Soviet Union is the danger to world peace. Reagan claims the USSR has nuclear superiority, forcing NATO to beef up its own arsenal.

"This is false. As the USSR has pointed out repeatedly, it has deployed nuclear weapons to protect its own citizens from the bombs already aimed at them: the French and British intermediate-range missiles, the French, British, and U.S. nuclear missile submarines, and the nuclear bombers of all three nations poised on airfields throughout Western Europe, ready for attack."

All these arms "are just as much a part of the hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union as the 248,000 U.S. armed forces personnel stationed in West Germany or the imperialist warships and bases scattered around the world to threaten the USSR."

Noting that French President François Mitterrand, head of the Socialist Party, supported Washington's missile plan, the editorial went on:

"Like Reagan, Mitterrand protests the 'Soviet threat to peace' while today his government is helping wage war against the peoples of Chad, Lebanon, and Iran..."

"Increasing nuclear missiles in Europe goes hand in hand with pursuing these wars against the peoples of the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The warheads are a warning to the oppressed of the world of the deadly power that can be used against them if they resist imperialist domination. They are also aimed at trying to intimidate the Soviet Union from aiding colonial peoples in their struggles for self-determination.

"U.S. workers — like our sisters and brothers abroad — have no interest in seeing more nuclear missiles added to the imperialists' war machine. We should say no to the NATO deployment in Europe — withdraw all the U.S. troops stationed around the world and dismantle Washington's nuclear arsenal."

Rouge

"Red," weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), French section of the Fourth International. Published in Paris.

The October 7-13 issue contained a call by the LCR Political Bureau for unity in the antiwar struggle in France. The statement, signed by LCR leader Alain Krivine, decried the fact that in France separate demonstrations were planned for October 22 and October 23: the first date called by the Peace Movement, which is supported by the Communist Party and the CP-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT); and the second called by the

Committee for Nuclear Disarmament in Europe (CODENE) and the Socialist Party-led French Democratic Labor Federation (CFDT).

Noting that "from October 22 to November 5, several million workers and young people in dozens of cities in Europe will demonstrate their opposition to the arms race and the installation of any new nuclear missile," the statement pointed out that "in contrast to the united demonstrations that will take place in the four corners of Europe, two competing initiatives are projected in France."

The statement, issued as an open letter to the workers movement and the antiwar organizations, pointed out that "this situation of division can only benefit the warhawks, in that it weakens the mass mobilization that is indispensable to prevent the deployment of the NATO missiles, the first of which are to be installed in December in Italy, Great Britain, and West Germany."

Noting that the CP-backed Peace Movement had already called for a united, non-exclusionary demonstration, "the LCR calls on all peace organizations, unions, and political organizations to come together in a united mass demonstration" on the date called by the Peace Movement.

The statement added that, "for its part, on that occasion the LCR will demonstrate its opposition to the installation of new NATO missiles, its solidarity with the peoples of Central America, its support to the independent peace currents in Eastern Europe."

The statement added: "But in France, the struggle for peace also includes the demand for the withdrawal of French troops from Chad and Libya, from Africa and the Middle East; rejection of the military allocations, which are clearly cut out of the social budget; and the demand to dismantle the French nuclear strike force without any preconditions."

COMBATE

"Combat," weekly organ of the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR), section of the Fourth International in Spain. Published in Madrid.

Spain has been the scene of numerous mass demonstrations against the country's integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and against the existence of U.S. military bases.

Prior to its election to office, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) was opposed to Spain's entry into NATO, and PSOE leader Felipe González promised to hold a referendum on the question. Since González became prime minister, however, he has stalled on fulfilling this pledge.

In the September 22 issue of *Combate*, Jon Lasa noted that "as all the polls published thus far show, more than 60 percent of the population questioned is against our presence in NATO and the existence of American bases in

Spain. If the referendum were held today, we would win."

Lasa added that "in Spain the movement for peace and disarmament has a lot going for it concerning NATO: the government's formal commitment to hold a referendum and the rejection from the very beginning, by significant percentages of society, of our presence in that organization." In addition, he wrote, "the demand for the referendum puts us on the same wavelength as the European [peace] movement, which has also raised this slogan in regard to the imposition of the Euromissiles."

In Lasa's view, "the government is delaying as long as possible in calling the promised referendum." This he viewed as "one more expression of its submission to the interests dictated from Washington." The government also wants to prevent the referendum from "taking place at the same time as the [antimissiles] demonstrations that will take place throughout Europe as well as here."

But Lasa pointed out that the PSOE government has a two-fold problem regarding its retreat from an anti-NATO position. The activist base of the PSOE is heavily anti-NATO, as is the party's electoral base.

The article stated that "whatever its outcome, the referendum will strengthen propaganda against NATO and against the arms build-up."

Lasa outlined what he described as "the minimal conditions that such a referendum must meet" to prevent manipulation of its outcome. Among these preconditions are equal opportunity to explain the conflicting positions, equal access to the mass media, and a halt to any decisions that could create an irreversible situation regarding Spain's final relationship with NATO.

la
gauche

"The Left," French-language paper of the Revolutionary Workers League (LRT), Belgian section of the Fourth International. Published fortnightly in Brussels.

The September 23 issue contained a statement by the LRT's Political Bureau entitled "Missiles in Belgium? No Way!"

The statement pointed out that this slogan, put forward by one of the leading Flemish anti-war organizations, expresses "unconditional rejection of the missiles" and helps the peace movement in two ways. First, in the LRT's view, "it leads to a concrete slogan, here and now, toward our own government."

Second, "it makes the disarmament movement independent of the negotiations between the Kremlin and Washington and thereby gives it a serious basis for the broadest unity."

The struggle against the missiles, according to the LRT, "is an integral part of the class struggle on a world scale." The statement noted that "since 1977 the imperialist countries have undertaken a colossal arms buildup pro-

gram," the aim of which is to "victoriously wage the counterrevolutionary wars and civil wars of the years 1980-1990."

The imperialist armies, the statement continued, serve exclusively to defend capitalist interests and suppress social and colonial revolts.

The LRT also noted that "international capital has never given up its hope of restoring private ownership of the means of production . . . in the countries where capitalism has been overthrown by revolution." It pointed out that imperialism tried to overthrow the Soviet Union in 1918 and 1942, and China during the Korean War.

"All those who defend the interests of the working class must defend the conquests of these revolutions against imperialism," the statement said.

It continued: "We think that the USSR and China, as well as the other noncapitalist countries, have the right to defend themselves militarily, including by possessing atomic weapons. The LRT is convinced that the USA would have used nuclear weapons in Korea and in Vietnam if the USSR had not had them."

But "recognizing this right in no way means being in agreement with the policy of the bureaucracies in these countries," the statement argued. "The LRT is for the overthrow of these regimes, and rejection of their internal repression and their counterrevolutionary international policy."

The LRT declaration also stated its "solidarity with the independent peace movements in Eastern Europe." It argues that "recognition of the USSR's right to self-defense in no way means supporting its military policy," which the LRT defined as engaging in an arms race for parity with imperialism. "That policy is senseless, provokes hesitations and confusion within the peace movement, and disorients the working class in the capitalist countries."

The statement adds that "the LRT thinks that total disarmament and the absence of the threat of war is only possible with the establishment of socialism on a world scale. This presupposes a consistent struggle on all levels against the enemy of socialism and of the working class: imperialism."

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"What Is to Be Done," a socialist newspaper published fortnightly in Frankfurt, West Germany, by the International Marxist Group (GIM), the German section of the Fourth International.

The October 20 issue contained a special supplement entitled, "Peace demonstrations here, wars there," devoted to reporting on four wars now going on in the Third World: those in Central America, Lebanon, and Afghanistan, and the one between Iran and Iraq. An introductory piece by Christoph Ziegler and Winfried Wolf explained the significance of

these wars to activists in the peace movement in West Germany.

"While we are demonstrating here to preserve peace, war is already under way in the 'Third World,'" they wrote. "When the British fleet fought against Argentina two years ago in the war over the Malvinas (Falklands), the international peace movement was silent. When the Israeli army invaded Lebanon last summer in order to definitively break the back of the expelled Palestinian population, there were no mass protests.

"During the current week of protest in West Germany, there is a 'Day of International Solidarity,' and representatives from the 'Third World' will get a hearing at the central demonstration. This is a politically significant advance, compared to recent years. But we are still a long way from the point where solidarity with liberation struggles is a strong component of daily peace activities."

Ziegler and Wolf then explained that the supplement would focus on four flashpoints in the underdeveloped world:

"In *Central America*, U.S. President Reagan wants to push through a decisive test of strength, in order to hold back the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution in the 'Third World.' . . .

"In *Lebanon*, U.S. imperialism has opened up with the cannons of its warships on a massive scale, for the first time since the Vietnam War, and has been militarily supported by the participation of the other imperialist powers.

"The war between *Iran and Iraq* was initiated by imperialism to strike a blow at the Iranian revolution. Today it has become a senseless slaughter, with a hundred thousand dead, the only purpose of which is to keep the Iraqi and Iranian masses from fighting against their own reactionary regimes.

"The war in *Afghanistan* is one of the Soviet bureaucracy's long list of sins. Since a large part of the left has remained silent on this, the bourgeois politicians and media can present Afghanistan as 'proof' that the Soviet Union is as aggressive as the United States. But the Soviet occupation of that country does not alter the fact that the arms spiral has been accelerated at every turn by the NATO powers. And it also does not alter the fact that, in the first place, we have to oppose the arms build-up and NATO where we ourselves live. At the same time, the war in Afghanistan is nevertheless fresh and tragic evidence that the Kremlin bureaucracy, in the last analysis, answers only with military repression when its own power is endangered.

"It is correct and necessary for the struggle of the peace movement to concentrate on halting the stationing of the cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. On the basis of the broad alliance of this movement, it is just as correct not to impose positions on these international conflicts in an ultimatic fashion. But a revolutionary socialist policy within the peace movement must seek to convince as many as possible of an internationalist standpoint and to initiate corresponding actions."

The revolution's 'great challenge'

Part I of interview with Commander Jaime Wheelock

[The following is the first of three installments of an interview with Commander Jaime Wheelock, Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform. The interview, based on several hours of conversations, was conducted by Marta Harnecker, an exiled Chilean journalist who today lives in Cuba. It is one of the most thorough recent presentations by a Sandinista leader on the current state of the revolution.

[The subsequent installments will cover such questions as the role of the church, freedom of the press, imperialism's aggression against Nicaragua, and the Sandinistas' economic policies.

[The interview was first published in the Mexican monthly *Punto Final*. It was reprinted in Nicaragua as a book, *El Gran Desafío* (The Great Challenge), published by Editorial Nueva Nicaragua (Paseo Salvador Allende, km 3-1/2 Carretera Sur, Apartado postal RP-073, Managua, Nicaragua), from which we have taken the complete text. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. The FSLN National Directorate

"Our being nine members equal in rank has its advantages. It multiplies the possibilities for carrying out international missions, for internal propaganda tasks, and for being at the front of different areas of national life."

Question. You have an experience in revolutionary leadership that is unique in the world. In the sense that there is no leader, at least up to now, who stands out above the other members of the National Directorate and who, at the same time, is recognized by the people as their top leader. To what circumstances do you attribute the existence of this phenomenon? If Carlos Fonseca were alive, would the situation be different?

Answer. I think there are several factors behind this, some of a historical character related to our process of formation, others of a practical type having to do with the predominant mode of struggle that developed in Nicaragua. I think it has also been influenced by the way the National Directorate of the Sandinista Front was put together in the last stages of the struggle.

There are also antecedents from the point of view of Sandinism. The Sandinistas called each other brother, and practiced a life based on respect and equality. Sandino was loved, not feared.

Carlos Fonseca also helped to forge a certain sentiment of *anticaudillismo*, of equality among us. Carlos was the founder of the Sandinista Front, its real creator. His authority was transmitted to the organization in such depth and profundity that from the beginning the members felt this authority as an organic substance, something not linked to individuals. Carlos lived obsessed with the continuity of the FSLN, of the struggle. I think he saw the danger of its possible disappearance, and that of course had its impact.

The leadership role that Carlos assumed early on was the result of the leadership qualities he displayed from the beginning, combined with his irreproachable conduct and his tireless attitude toward work.

At its foundation and in its early period, the FSLN did not really have a one-man leadership. It arose and was formed on the basis of democratic concepts of collective leadership that rejected *caudillismo*, that is, that rejected the traditional political style of the oligarchic and Somozaist parties.

On the other hand there are also elements of a practical sort that led to this situation. The struggle the FSLN carried out was an armed and clandestine struggle. The members didn't live long, and lines of formal

leadership were very unstable. Over time most of the founding members and leaders of the FSLN were killed. Quite often the actual leadership of the Sandinista Front was made up of those cadres still alive in the country. At times, to preserve the continuity of the struggle and assimilate the experience of the organization, the leadership had to leave the country for a period. When this happened intermediary cadres still inside the country prepared conditions for returning to the offensive and, in practice, assumed the leadership.

In addition, we had a command structure that was very much our own creation. We didn't have supreme chiefs but rather a political leadership that generally included new cadres. This should not be taken to mean that in this situation the FSLN had a leadership structure that functioned perfectly and completely. The very conditions of harshness of the struggle meant that not all the leadership cadres could enter the country, and that for lengthy periods contact would be lost between the leadership and the cadres in charge of operations.

The internal life of the Sandinista Front was very collective. From 1969 to 1975, committees functioned inside the country. For example, a political committee in the city, a political committee in the mountains. Each committee had three members, who, together, made up the leadership inside the country. There was of course one individual with major responsibility in each of the committees, but they did not assume the function of supreme chief.

It should also be pointed out that the death of Carlos Fonseca and the death of the main leaders of the Sandinista Front meant that at the moment the FSLN reunified there was no single leader who stood out above the others. Remember that in 1975 there was an internal discussion of a political-military character that for a period kept some structures of the Front separated, practically acting as factions, although the general idea of the FSLN as an organization was always maintained. We were all members of the Sandinista Front, but in different structures. And during



FSLN founder Carlos Fonseca Amador.

this period each one of these structures developed not one-man but collective leaderships. The GPP (Prolonged People's War tendency) had for leaders Henry Ruíz, Bayardo Arce, and Tomás Borge. The same thing occurred in the tendency that has been called Insurreccionalist or Tercerista, where the Ortega brothers and Víctor Tirado played a similar leadership role. In the Proletarian tendency, the same thing; there was no chief leader.¹ So when we concretized the unification we found there were nine of us who were leaders of the Sandinista Front, that no one of us could be singled out, for one reason or another, as the main leader. This was a quality, a contribution, of Sandinism.

This very peculiar absence of an individual leadership is a product of concrete historical conditions. By that I mean that it is not a deliberate principle of organization. If Carlos Fonseca were still alive, he would without doubt be the uncontested leader. We say in fact that Carlos is the chief leader of the Sandinista revolution. Today, the National Directorate is recognized by our people, by our militants, as their uncontested leadership.

Q. Can you tell me how you function, concretely?

A. We have attained a collective way of functioning in which the National Directorate is the leadership, and each one of us has more or less the same weight within it. This is not to exclude, in the course of the development of our process, the institutionalization of a one-man form of leadership. But if that happens it would be an organic leadership selection, not the product of some subjective conditions that might single out one of the members above the others. It would be the National Directorate itself that would, for reasons of its own functioning, begin to single out in rank one of its members, in relation to the others.

I would like to point out here that this situation of collective leadership, a situation that has arisen in practice, has been something positive for us. For that reason we think that so long as we can function as a collective leadership, we should continue to do so.

Q. What are its positive aspects?

A. One of its most positive aspects is that when we discuss any given topic in the National Directorate, we do it on the basis of absolute equality and initiative. All of us state our opinions on the topic under discussion. This is highly positive for it greatly develops the powers of analysis. No point of view can be imposed because of external factors, because of the weight one leader's views may have. Instead, a point of view carries because of its own absolute logic. We improve and gather together the best thinking in order to reach a collective point of view. Our thinking, in reality, takes shape as the thinking of a collective. In this way, it is harder to make mistakes.

Q. What happens when a group in the leadership holds minority positions?

A. Our experience, over all these years, is that except on very rare occasions the National Directorate has always reached consensus. Taking a vote is an exceptional procedure. On the few occasions when we have had a vote of, say, 5 to 4, we decided there was no consensus and returned to discussion of the question.

Q. Is it possible, with a leadership of this type, to have the agility required to confront a revolutionary process that is so complex, so dynamic, with so many problems, problems that grow increasingly sharper with the accelerating open intervention of imperialism? Can you respond quickly enough?

A. In practice our leadership functions very dynamically. On the one hand there is the National Directorate, which functions as a collective

1. The leading figures in the Proletarian Tendency were Carlos Roberto Huembes, Jaime Wheelock, Luis Carrión, and Carlos Núñez. Huembes was killed by Somoza's National Guard in November 1976; Wheelock, Carrión, and Núñez are currently members of the FSLN National Directorate.

decision-maker. We meet once a week to review major questions, with a prepared agenda, focusing on matters that have come up in the government, defense, or in the area of politics and the party. But this doesn't mean we don't have a more dynamic manner of day-to-day functioning. For this, first of all we have the Political Committee. It is made up of executive cadres of the Sandinista Front, who, between meetings of the National Directorate, carry out its decisions and also make some of their own that are to be ratified later. When a serious problem comes up we convene an extraordinary meeting of the National Directorate.

Q. How is the Political Committee set up?

A. It is not a body separate from the National Directorate. If we were to depict it in a drawing, it would be a circle inside another circle. The National Directorate has three *compañeros* who serve on this body. They complement each other in terms of viewing the problems of government, defense, and the party.

Q. Has this Political Committee had the same members since the revolution, or is membership rotated?

A. Each year it must be ratified or altered. Since the triumph of the revolution we have had two. The last has been functioning for nearly three years.

Our being nine members equal in rank has its advantages. It multiplies the possibilities for carrying out international missions, for internal propaganda, and for being at the front of different areas of national life.

The National Directorate of the Sandinista Front has participated actively, through each one of its members, in defined strategic tasks since July 19 to assure the construction of the principal axes of power of the new revolutionary state — the organization of the people, the construction of the armed forces, and the organization of the FSLN as the vanguard capable of leading our people toward a new society.

2. Who holds power?

"The axis of our policy of alliances was not the bourgeoisie but the people. Our assessment of the relationship of forces is based on a reality: we have the arms, and the people are with us."

Q. The FSLN came to power through the development of, among other things, a broad policy of alliances, both national and international. Today, however, the spectrum of allies has diminished, perhaps more inside the country than abroad. Did you realize that the decision of the FSLN to march alongside some national sectors was going to be ephemeral?

A. This question has to be answered historically. There was a moment in the struggle against imperialism, in 1927, when Sandino stood practically alone. This was at the end of the civil war, following the treason by Moncada in the Espino Negro pact, when the Yankees offered to buy the soldiers' rifles for \$10 apiece.² Sandino decided not to turn over his arms and to continue the struggle in defense of national sovereignty. But nearly his entire general staff left, accepting the pact of surrender agreed to by the dominant capitalist groups and the bourgeoisie. Sandino's army was reduced from 600 to 60 men. A few days later, when the fighters who remained with Sandino realized that the struggle he was proposing was against the North American government, the majority of them withdrew. This left him with only 21 men, nearly the same group that Sandino recruited at the mines — that is, al-

2. On May 4, 1927, a six-month civil war between Nicaragua's Liberal and Conservative oligarchs was ended by a pact signed by Liberal General José María Moncada and a representative of the U.S. government. The Liberals, at that point on the verge of winning the war, were offered the alternative of surrendering their arms or entering into battle with more than 5,000 U.S. marines then occupying the country. Of all the generals fighting on the Liberal side, only Sandino refused to accept the surrender.



Six of nine FSLN commanders. From left: Tomás Borge, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, Henry Ruíz, Jaime Wheelock, Bayardo Arce.

most all workers.³

Following this decision, with determination and for a just cause, Sandino began with very unequal forces to carry out the struggle and initiate the first actions. His decision and the correctness of his political line resulted in the fact that the ranks of his army began to grow, drawing recruits from the humblest sectors, and eventually in the expulsion of the North American army from Nicaraguan soil. We learned this lesson. We began to develop the revolutionary struggle on the basis of a very small nucleus of combatants, and in extremely adverse conditions.

Formation of the Sandinista Front was carried out in close connection with the humble classes of the population, not simply for practical reasons but for ideological and historical reasons as well. We needed to create an updated version of [Sandino's] Army in Defense of National Sovereignty. For that reason we didn't begin by forming a party but rather an army. We tried to reinsert ourselves into the struggle of Sandino, to expel the local expression of North American power, the Somozaist dictatorship.

For many years the Sandinista Front was involved in opening up a political space, at the cost of many sacrifices. First we had to act to be felt, then to be believed, and finally to be transformed into a hope for redemption. I can tell you honestly that when I joined the Sandinista Front in 1969, I had no idea how small an organization it was. It was a great surprise when I realized that we were really only a dozen militants, that most of the others had been killed. But the Front already had a great impact on a national level. The FSLN was gaining political space in a country that up until then had been monopolized by the so-called "historic parallels" of the two traditional parties, exercised through a military, ideological, and political dictatorship.

By the 1970s the Sandinista Front was the force that had arisen as the most concrete alternative to the Somozaist dictatorship. We had displaced the traditional opposition parties, which in reality had nothing to do with opposition but rather with connivance with the system and its structure of power.

In 1970, the struggle began to be developed and extended. The Sandinista Front, starting out with a small military force, began to become an organic force that was to grow among the masses — a mass force that would become manifested in growing military strength. The FSLN accumulated politico-military potential and assembled, over a more or less lengthy period of time, the factors that were indispensable for presenting itself as an alternative: audacity, discipline, spirit of sacrifice, heroism, conspiratorial skill, etc. These accumulated qualities were demonstrated in action December 27, 1974: the taking of the house of Chema Castillo

3. Unlike the other Liberal armies, made up primarily of peasants, Sandino's column was distinguished by its proletarian core of gold miners, recruited in late 1926 while he was working at a mine in north-central Nicaragua.

to win freedom for the political prisoners.⁴ This action against the dictatorship was widely supported by the masses. Its main significance was political, not military: a serious revolutionary organization had shown itself capable of militarily challenging, in an audacious way, not only the army but the entire dictatorship. The successful conclusion of this action set off a national celebration in Nicaragua. And this was something that was felt by Somoza and everyone else.

The political crisis of the Somoza dictatorship was already beginning to be felt by 1976. The ruling classes began to see clearly and with concern that the political instrument that had served for so long to assure their mode of economic power was beginning to erode. They set themselves the task of trying to find a replacement for it. A sector of the population saw this effort to find a replacement as a struggle against Somozaism. But in reality it was of assistance to Somozaism, an effort to sustain Somozaism without Somoza, though of course contrary to what Somoza may have desired. The bourgeoisie formed an opposition front called UDEL (Democratic Liberation Union) that included the Conservative Party, the Social Christian Party, and a few labor organizations from the center and the right. As the political crisis deepened, and as the Sandinista Front's confrontation with Somozaism grew in scope from the end of 1977 on, the bourgeoisie tried to strip the FSLN of its role as the vanguard force of consistent opposition. In effect, we began to compete with them.

The point behind my saying this is that the axis of our policy of alliances was not the bourgeoisie but the people. This is not demagoguery; that's exactly how it was. Our program and assessment of the relationship of forces was based on a concrete reality: we had the arms and we had the people with us. It was an anti-imperialist, antidictatorial, popular, and revolutionary alliance.

The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, was terrified by the fact that the two extremes in the conflict were the people, with the Sandinista Front as their vanguard, on the one hand; and on the other, the Somozaist dictatorship as the vanguard of the Yankees. They tried to persuade the United States to stop supporting Somoza — who had become a sort of cancer for imperialist domination — and to support them. But it was already quite late. Somoza had no intention of resigning, and the bourgeoisie, in that period, did not have the strength to pull itself together and assume a role of dynamism and legitimacy in the eyes of the people.

A factor in this delay was the very nature of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie, which as a political class practically didn't exist. The effort here to form a national bourgeoisie was cut short by the United States, when it overthrew the progressive bourgeois Zelaya government.⁵ It coincided with an economic crisis that impoverished everybody, and this in turn did not permit the accumulation of national capital. And when the economy revived a little, the Somozas were already in power, not as representatives of the bourgeoisie but as representatives of the Yankees, who stood above the bourgeoisie. Somoza used this power to build a fortune, shared with just a few other families. This was done in such a way as to give us an oligarchy at the top, made up of just a few families, along with a poorly formed, very North-Americanized bourgeoisie that could not survive without foreign capital. For that very reason Nicaragua's bourgeoisie did not have a national program to defend; it was denationalized and weak to boot.

The only forces in contention, therefore, were the Somozaist dictatorship and the Sandinista Front. This made it very difficult for the bourgeoisie to gain a political space. It is true that economically, above

4. Timing the action to coincide with a posh Christmas party, an FSLN commando team of 10 men and three women occupied the house of Somoza associate José María "Chema" Castillo. To secure release of the hostages, Somoza was forced to free 18 political prisoners, publish and broadcast lengthy FSLN communiqués, and pay \$2 million.

5. Nicaragua's first Liberal government, the regime of José Santos Zelaya, came to power through a civil war in 1893. Several long-overdue reforms of a bourgeois democratic nature were carried out, none of which appeared to be of any concern to Washington. However when Zelaya began, in 1909, to initiate discussions with Germany and Japan over construction of a second, rival canal across Nicaragua, a note from the U.S. secretary of state, backed up by warships, demanded his immediate resignation.

all after the earthquake,⁶ they began to gain more strength. To the point, in my opinion, that at that moment they had possibilities for beginning to implement a national program of bourgeois economic development. But the popular classes and their vanguard, the Sandinista Front, were already far ahead. So when the crisis of the dictatorship came, it was first of all provoked by the revolution, and secondly taken advantage of only by the revolution.

Later the bourgeoisie set out to organize a force called the FAO (Broad Opposition Front) that had its own projects and which, as the continuator of the UDEL, wanted Somozaism without Somoza. For a few months the FSLN called for participating in the FAO, while at the same time the United People's Movement (MPU) was being formed as the political expression of a broad popular alliance. The MPU was made up of about 20 popular organizations, all of them ready for war. It included the Sandinista Front and all the left parties, including the Independent Liberal Party and a sector of the Socialist Party.⁷ The FAO was made up of the right-wing parties, plus a small faction of the Socialist Party.

When the FSLN called for participation in the FAO, it was not calling for tail-ending the bourgeoisie or granting them concessions. It was trying to prevent sections of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie from taking advantage of the crisis of the dictatorship to convert themselves into an alternative to Somoza for imperialism.

We could have taken power without this alliance, but we made an effort to draw these forces closer when we called for the formation of a National Patriotic Front. Because of this approach, one wing of the FAO withdrew and joined the Patriotic Front; the other remained in the FAO. The sectors that came over to the Patriotic Front were petty-bourgeois — parties made up of professionals, doctors, lawyers, artisans, like the Independent Liberal Party and the People's Social Christian Party. In practice, these were the two parties that came over to the National Patriotic Front. The rest of the FAO stayed where it was. On July 20, when we were in the plaza celebrating the victory, they were in Venezuela, trying to sell their program, a program different from that of the revolution.

That's in relation to alliances before the triumph of the revolution. Now, we have pledged ourselves to a broad program of constructing a new society. Our aim is to integrate all sectors of the nation under revolutionary hegemony. We begin from the basis that we have to develop a process of democratic transformations. For that reason we have set up a system in which power is shared among the organizations that made up the Patriotic Front. We formed the Council of State with them; they have people in various ministries. The minister of labor is the president of the Independent Liberal Party. There are vice-ministers who are members of the Socialist Party. There are people in the Supreme Court from the Liberal Party, others from the People's Social Christian Party. That is to say, this is a government of the Patriotic Front.

Who are those who have withdrawn? Those who were never with us and who, through the generosity of the Sandinista Front and the very broad appeals for integration into the process that we launched, latched on at the last minute — that is, after July 20. Even those who worked against us up until July 20 were later integrated. We united all the forces of the nation to liquidate Somozaism, but we committed ourselves only to the humble classes. It is logical that people who didn't share our program before the triumph also wouldn't share it when it was being put into practice. In fact it was a very short period of time before they left the country or renounced a role in the process, demonstrating their lack of consistency.

6. On December 23, 1972, Managua was hit by its worst earthquake in modern history. Up to 20,000 people were killed, 75 percent of the housing and 90 percent of the business establishments were destroyed. Damage was conservatively estimated at \$770 million by the United Nations. The Somoza regime was deeply discredited by the combination of its inability to organize reconstruction and its theft of most international aid.

7. The Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN) is the traditional Moscow-line party in Nicaragua.

Q. You mean, then, that the revolution has not lost support?

A. I don't think you can say we lost support that we never had. If these people, at a given moment, participated in the revolutionary process it was first of all because they had lost their battle, and secondly to try to influence the revolutionary process, to derail it. But when they saw the firmness of our determination they left. It's not that they stopped supporting the revolutionary program but rather that they returned to work against the program.

3. The role of the bourgeoisie

"That the bourgeoisie simply produce; that it limit itself as a class to a productive role. That it use its means of production to live, not as instruments of power, of imposition."

Q. Returning to the theme of the bourgeoisie, do you think there can be an alliance with the bourgeoisie in a country where the people clearly have hegemony?

A. We have begun to carry out a program that seeks to genuinely construct a country, and in doing so we have strictly followed national interests. First, we are seeking to guarantee its sovereignty: that the country be sovereign, that it exist as such. Second, that it exploit its resources as a function of national, not foreign, interests. We are speaking here of things that are really profound, for this is the fullest sense of what the revolution is for Nicaragua: that it can be Nicaragua, a Nicaraguan Nicaragua and not a U.S.-style Nicaragua. To be able to really exist as Nicaragua, in a way that it never existed before in the sense of a sovereign state. And around this program we have organized the population in forms that provide them more favorable living conditions and, at the same time, give the country durable and stable peace. We have here a peasantry that was impoverished to the extreme, a proletariat that was semiproletarian, classes that were not completely formed, including a bourgeoisie that was not completely formed. We have here a capitalist system that was not fully formed, uneven, poorly constructed — a system that no longer served us.

We want to construct a real, genuine social system in Nicaragua, and we want to complete it. In a way, we have begun to do this. We are trying to take the best that existed in our society's natural social tendencies and give them such a form that in the future they can be in accord with national interests.

We think the peasantry has to be grouped together in associations, that the working class has to be converted into a genuine working class with its own specific interests. We think also that the sectors of the bourgeoisie coexisting alongside ought to be given opportunities, but in such a way that their continued possession of means of production — within the limits imposed — does not become a means for calling into question our process or become incompatible with our program for building a new society.

After all, what actually happened here? In the final analysis, there arose a social system of a capitalist character, in which the bourgeoisie was supposedly the dominant class. But in fact they did not dominate, because this bourgeoisie never held in its hands the system's centers of rationality and logic. Those were in the hands of imperialism and its local expression, Somozaism. The latter two forces represented a power that defended the interests of the local bourgeoisie, but was not a power of the bourgeoisie. In a way, Somoza himself was also a major capitalist.

One of the first problems we encountered in trying to incorporate the bourgeoisie into the process was that the power that we represent, revolutionary power, broke with the former logic for constructing the society. So the question that had to be asked was the following: Is it possible for the bourgeoisie as such, or a system molded along bourgeois lines, to exist alongside revolutionary power? I don't think it's possible. The fundamental, characteristic element of capitalist society is the power of the bourgeoisie, the military power of the bourgeoisie — that is, the power to do whatever they have to do, including breaking the rules of the game whenever necessary.



General Augusto César Sandino (right).

Here what has to be posed theoretically is whether it is possible that the bourgeoisie simply produce, without power, that they limit themselves as a class to a productive role. That is, that they limit themselves to exploiting their means of production and use these means of production to live, not as instruments of power, of imposition.

I think it is possible in Nicaragua. We inherited a country in which neither capitalism nor the capitalist class was fully formed and, on top of that, did not directly hold political power. But the revolution broke the logic of imperial domination in one Latin American country, and when that logic was broken, so too were other very important factors — the psychology of security, for example. The bourgeoisie was accustomed to being the belligerent and dominant force in ideology, culture, and society, but today they are not the ones who dominate. Here those who speak, who set the tone, are the workers and peasants, the student leaders, the union leaders, the ATC [Rural Workers Association], the CST [Sandinista Workers Federation], the Sandinista Front — none of which represent the bourgeoisie.

It is a complex problem. But we have not renounced the search for forms in which we can integrate the more or less big individual producers who live in the Nicaragua of today into a social formation dominated by revolutionaries. The conformation of society in the countries of the Third World is somewhat peculiar. The possibilities for social development are not determined by an extreme contradiction between the forces of production and the relations of production. Rather, they are often the product of other circumstances that have to do with a country's national liberation. I believe that in these conditions it is possible to find ways in which a social organization under revolutionary hegemony can maintain forms of production, groups of capitalist production relations, that are not dominant but subordinate. At this moment, in Nicaragua, this exists, but without the consent of part of the bourgeoisie. In any event, our program for social construction seeks a peaceful path in which we, in a persuasive manner, seek to integrate all these sectors into national production, into national life.

Q. Of the existing bourgeois sectors, what percentage, more or less, has remained in the country, working?

A. Here the financial bourgeoisie, which dominated the rest of the economic structure, was cut off at the roots.

Q. You mean, what is usually called the "oligarchy" has disappeared?

A. Yes, disappeared. What remains are unorganized sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie, and the agrarian bourgeoisie of a local character: the cotton growers of Chinandega and León, the coffee growers of Matagalpa, the sorghum growers of Granada, the rice growers of Nandaime. I would say that the great majority of the direct agricultural producers, that is, the private producers who own 100 or 200 manzanas [1 manzana = 1.73 acres], say 160 hectares, have stayed in the country. Cotton is the most dynamic sector of our agricultural production, and the medium and large private producer dominates in this crop. This year these growers have great enthusiasm for production, for increasing the crop area, because last year was a good year. In addition, there are incentives from the government, and we have just wiped out their debts. . . . This year we are thinking about increasing cotton production.

Our political economy seeks to give incentives to this type of producers, to assure them of the security of their property, that it will not be affected in an arbitrary manner. Land is taken over only for reasons that are strictly logical and technical. So a certain understanding has been reached. If the rules of the game hadn't been accepted, production would have fallen. And the state does not have the installed capacity to replace these producers in the short term. So we are not seeking to replace them but rather looking for forms of cooperation, of integration. We would like them to work economically for a project that, over the long run, will give both them and their children stability and security, but within a logic dominated by the forces of the revolution. We have, for example, just finished setting up a number of mixed enterprises in which the state is associated with private interests. One was for a well-drilling outfit whose equipment is part state-owned, part private.

We are thinking about encouraging more of these enterprises. In cotton, for example, in areas where the state has a parcel of land on one side and private producer on the other, we are thinking about joining the two parcels and forming a mixed agricultural enterprise. We can take advantage of the experience they have, and they can take advantage of the capital we have in land. After all, they were a minority, in some ways weak; the old society wasn't theirs. Now we are giving them the possibility of being genuine Nicaraguans, of being national producers, not "dollar-drainers," that is, pro-Yankees who live with their heart in Miami and their whip in Nicaragua. We have opened up a space for the bourgeoisie, in córdobas. If they accept, this space can be kept open indefinitely.

Q. And how will the problem of the workers who work under these capitalists be resolved?

A. Here the working class works under the perspective of a national program. A little while ago the workers from the San Antonio sugar refinery came to the Ministry of Agricultural Development and presented me with the final sack from production, in testimony of the fact that they had worked for the revolution. They told me: "We work in a private enterprise, but we are not 'private.' We are workers of the revolution, and we work in these production units in the belief that we are helping the revolution." This refinery has not had a single strike in two years. And this refinery, which is privately owned, for us is part of the national patrimony, for it produces a great part of the sugar we export. We help it by subsidizing its costs of production, which are higher than the world price of sugar. But in turn, the profitability of this enterprise is extensively controlled through the credit, fiscal, and pricing policies set by the revolution.

From the economic point of view, the San Antonio refinery does not introduce an element of great lack of control but rather serves as a major source of circulating capital. At present, moreover, we are in the pro-

cess of reaching agreement on expanding its facilities. This is happening with other industries as well. The important thing is for the working class to be aware of what is being done.

I think if you have a revolutionary government, and if you have a political economy that is clear on how you are going to move forward, it can be quite simple to transform the social structure without always having to resort to expropriation of the means of production. That doesn't mean we won't expropriate, in certain circumstances, especially when what's involved are production units in remote locations where the producers are either decapitalizing or trying to influence the minds of the workers against the revolution. When that happens we expropriate those owners, not because they are private producers but because they are counterrevolutionaries.

Q. This collaboration by the bourgeoisie, did it begin at the outset of the revolution or is it something that has occurred in the last few years?

A. I don't think you can say that they collaborate with the revolutionary process. The important thing is that they are not in a position to break with the national program. They work in the ambience of a nation that is producing, and that is what, in the last analysis, interests them.

Q. If they can't take their profits out of the country, if they don't have

Fidel Castro on nationalism and proletarian internationalism

[The following is a brief excerpt from an August 6 interview with Cuban President Fidel Castro by a group of French journalists visiting Cuba. It is taken from the August 21 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.]

* * *

... we do not defend national interests; we're not very nationalistic. We're patriots, but we're not very nationalistic, and we're staunchly faithful to our political principles. On many occasions we've sacrificed our national interests for the sake of the principles of our Revolution and our internationalistic principles.

The United States doesn't understand that; it's too difficult for them. They're somewhat used to thinking that national interests must prevail over any other interests. But we've said that our homeland is not just Cuba, our homeland is also humanity. We're learning to think in terms of humanity. Man thought first in terms of a clan, then a tribe, then a feudal group, and then a nation. Once man starts thinking in universal terms, starts viewing all of humanity as his family, and starts viewing all of humanity as his homeland, then a big step forward will have been taken in political development and awareness.

Nationalism is something very strong. It offends me to see how politicians crudely defend only their own national interests. I think it's a narrow dividing line; we're Marxists or believe we are and Marxism takes into account patriotic feelings, national feelings, which were a great step forward in their time. And I even think that they still play an important role and will play still a great role, because in the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism that national feeling played an important role, and I say it is still a progressive idea for a country to defend its national interests against foreign oppression. And yet I'd say that now it's a time of transition, a transition as we see it toward more advanced feelings; we ought to be thinking not just in national terms but in international terms, in world terms, so to speak.

Nationalism at present does good in some cases and does damage in others. This is why I said it displeases me to see so many politicians entrenched under the flag of national interest. We must try to reconcile the two interests, national and international.

the means to travel abroad, if their ability to buy hard currency is restricted, and if their properties are limited — doesn't all this have an effect of destimulation?

A. Yes, obviously. That's why, beginning last year, we gave them certain access to hard currency for useful purposes, including recreational, with certain limitations.

Q. Does that mean there has been a change in policy in regard to treatment of the bourgeoisie?

A. In 1980–81⁸ we had a level of agricultural production that was acceptable in view of all that had been destroyed. There was an accelerated recovery. Farm production rose by 37 percent. That was the year of the expropriation of Somoza. We were reorganizing that entire sector; we didn't touch the rest of the agricultural producers. In 1981–82, there was a certain decline in production. At that time there was already some uncertainty, because after 1980 we had begun to touch their interests, to strike a blow at the big land owners, and to expropriate non-Somozaists. It was a year of economic crisis, of a drop in international prices. So there was uncertainty, frictions, and struggle between the bourgeoisie and us on a political level, a struggle between the bourgeoisie's economic associations and us, a struggle in which what was at stake was whether they would produce or not produce. In that context we decided to issue a law stating that those who did not produce would be expropriated.

Q. You mean that the threat of losing their property weighed more heavily than the destimulation created by other circumstances?

A. Exactly. In 1982–83 the incentives were introduced. Production was granted a margin of profitability, efficiency was rewarded, certain access was given to hard currency. In the agricultural sector, still greatly influenced by the laws of market economy, we practically assured profitability. I don't think anyone would be interested in producing cotton if he knew he was going to lose money. It was a good year in terms of the amount of land planted but a very bad year in terms of the climate and agro-ecological conditions. For the latter reason it can't be taken as an indicator of the level of production attained.

I think the positive thing has been that we have generated economic policies that have barred the way to the negative tendencies of private production. Thanks to this policy we have registered, despite all the problems we've had (destimulation, problems in the countryside, insecurity), a final result that is more positive than negative. National production has increased, not fallen. At the same time we have given a big push to state production, to cooperative production, and to the peasantry. We have given support to the four sectors that make up agricultural production, which in turn is the economic base of the country: state property, the cooperative sector, big private property, and small private property.

Now some producers, cotton growers for example, have left the country because they did not accept working under these conditions. Here the cotton producer was an entrepreneur in the most dynamic sector of the economy. He had a lot of money, he grew rich, but he consumed rather than invested. He had yachts, bought expensive new cars every year, went on trips with his whole family, spent with great ostentation, bought houses. . . . So some of them did not accept the more humble role that was now theirs to play in this society — a more subdued, more subordinate role — and they left. But there are a lot of people here with experience in raising cotton, and those who left were immediately replaced. For the land is excellent, and since the equipment was already here in the country, a certain amount of experience was all that was required. It was no problem. There was an intermediary base of technicians, with mid-level management capacities, who immediately replaced these producers. The state rented them the land that had been abandoned by its owners.

[To be continued.]

8. Nicaragua's major crops are harvested from November of one year to March of the next. Agricultural data is usually given in reference to the harvest itself, rather than to a calendar year, which would include parts of two different harvests.

Meaning of antiabortion vote

Strong campaign to oppose amendment's passage

The October 17 issue of *International Viewpoint* contained an article by Aine Furlong analyzing the results of the September 7 referendum on abortion in Ireland.

Furlong pointed out that although the constitutional amendment reaffirming the ban on abortion passed by a 66 percent to 33 percent margin, the voting figures reflect a sharp division between rural and urban areas. In the city of Dublin, the amendment barely passed, with a 51 percent "yes" vote, while in the rural West, over 70 percent of those who went to the polls voted "yes."

"A decisive cause of this sharp division was the open intervention by the Catholic hierarchy in the last few weeks of what had been a long and stormy public debate," Furlong wrote. "Their statements had a much greater impact in the rural areas than in the cities."

The forces involved in the Anti-Amendment Campaign (AAC) share the view that "the referendum victory for the bishops looks like [it will be] very short-lived," the article stated.

Furlong noted that abortion is already illegal in Ireland, and that the new amendment is not likely to change the fact that some 10 Irish women a day go to Britain to have abortions. But "the amendment will encourage rightists who wish to close down clinics that refer women to Britain for abortions. Preparing to meet such attacks is now a priority task for those who mobilised against the amendment."

The main government party (Fine Gael) was opposed to the wording of the amendment, and Prime Minister Garret Fitzgerald called for a "no" vote, Furlong noted. "But his party was crippled with internal divisions — serious enough to badly damage its ability to stay in office for a full term."

The main opposition party, Fianna Fail, was monolithically in favor of a "yes" vote and hopes to benefit from the passage of the amendment, Furlong pointed out.

The Labour Party, which is in a coalition with Fine Gael, was also badly split and is "already losing support because of their participation in this viciously anti-working class government."

According to Furlong, "the main gainers in this situation are likely to be the extreme anti-Republican Workers Party, who took a clear, and very opportunist stand against the amendment on the grounds of opposition to making the constitution 'sectarian' towards Protestants."

Furlong reported that "Sinn Féin, the main anti-imperialist party, were not involved officially in the campaign at all. Their position

was of opposition to the amendment, but not to support the vote 'no' campaign, as they do not recognise the Southern constitution and therefore would not vote at all.

"Neither individual Sinn Féin participation in the campaign, nor the presence of all the smaller anti-imperialist parties in the AAC, could offset the damage this did to the anti-imperialist and nationalist movement in the eyes of those who look to it to bring answers to social, political and economic questions," Furlong argued.

"A clear lesson has to be learnt for the future

— Republican socialism will mean nothing unless there is active support to all the struggles of the oppressed in Ireland. No other method will advance the cause of Irish unity. Women want answers now about their rights — they will not be convinced by promises of what will happen after British control of Ireland is ended."

Furlong concluded that, on balance, "the result was a considerable achievement for the anti-amendment forces, representing tens of thousands of Irish voters who rejected a sectarian approach to the Southern constitution.

"The size of the 'no' vote certainly means that the issue has not been decided for all time, and to that extent also represents something of a set back for the far-right supporters of the pro-amendment campaign, who wanted a derogatory 'no' vote. The question of abortion and a woman's right to choose will be more and more discussed in post-referendum Ireland." □

Peru

Latin American women meet

Express solidarity with Central America

[The following extracts of an account of the second conference of Latin American and Caribbean women, held in Lima, Peru, July 19-22, are taken from the October 17 issue of *International Viewpoint*, a fortnightly magazine published in Paris under the auspices of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. The fuller report from which the extracts were taken originally appeared in *Combate Socialista*, the newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Colombian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

'All the hands, all the voices, all the blood can be songs in the wind, sing with me, sing, my American sister . . . ' With this song, which will make Mercedes Sosa* live forever, the vigorous applause of 600 women of different nationalities closed the four days of discussion of the second feminist conference of Latin American and Caribbean women which took place in Peru. These four days were punctuated by agreement and disagreement, problems and pleasures, laughter and tears, confusion and hope.

The biggest delegations, each of about 60 women, came from Colombia, Chile, and the Dominican Republic. This diversity allowed a real assessment to be made of the true state of the feminist movement in the Latin American

continent. It is a social movement which is still at the stage of propaganda, which is looking for its identity through diversity. The most interesting aspect of this conference was precisely the expression of the different conceptions and nuances which run through the feminist movement.

However, perhaps with the aim of trying to please everyone, the sisters who hosted the conference organized 18 workshops around the central theme: patriarchy. It should be noted that many women took up this problem in their contributions and tried to overcome it by proposing a discussion entitled "What has happened in feminism from Bogotá [where the first conference took place] to Lima?" During this discussion some progress could be made in looking for unity, beyond the initial differences.

While the plenary session did not discuss all the conclusions from the different commissions, this initiative, and others, succeeded in at least getting a general consensus on the adoption of motions of solidarity with the people and the women of Nicaragua and El Salvador, with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina, and with the democratic movement and feminists of Chile. Greetings were addressed to the Latin American conference of solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean which took place in Bogotá in the same period. And support was expressed for the struggles of the peoples of the world for their liberation. The proposal was also adopted

* A popular Argentine singer.

of a continent-wide housewives' strike on September 1, 1984.

The maturity displayed in the response to sectarian attempts to divide or manipulate the conference was also remarkable. These attempts came from women who do not call themselves feminists. There were on one side comrades who considered that the revolution and socialism would completely resolve the

oppression of women and that feminism should therefore adopt precise class positions. On the other hand there were all sorts of teachers and researchers who considered this conference as a sort of laboratory of experience and did not hesitate to explain they were not feminists.

As can be seen, a lot of things happened during this gathering, and we can still ask how

worthwhile some of them were. But, at the end of the day, we can say it was a rich experience, with many different aspects, whose influence will make itself felt on each participant, at a personal level as well as the different women's groups and in the women's movement as a whole, in the period between now and the next conference, which will take place in Brazil in 1985. □

STATEMENT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Solidarity with Philippine people's struggle

[The following statement was issued on September 25 by the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Following the assassination of former senator Benigno Aquino, Philippine government forces have attacked several opposition demonstrations violently in an attempt to suppress them. About a dozen people have been killed.

Today President Ferdinand Marcos is talking about reinstating the martial law that he clamped down on the country in 1972 and formally lifted two years ago.

In response to gigantic mass demonstrations demanding that the government resign and that those really responsible for the murder of Aquino be punished, the regime is stepping up repression and trying to intimidate people.

The Marcos regime is being rocked by a deepgoing social and economic crisis. It faces the spread of social mobilizations and mass struggles. The guerrillas led by the Communist Party are growing stronger. In the southern part of the archipelago, the government faces stubborn resistance from the Moro National Liberation Front and the people of the area.

At the same time, disaffection is growing among the middle classes, divisions are opening up in the bourgeoisie itself, and the government is more and more discredited in the eyes of international public opinion.

For more than ten years, the Marcos regime has directed an increasing militarization of the country, which has brought a train of pillage and massacre. There has been a rise of arbitrary arrests and growing numbers of "missing persons." The use of torture has increased. Paramilitary terrorist groups have gone on the rampage.

However, this repression has not succeeded in stopping the growth of the mass struggles. The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the National Democratic Front have played an important role in leading and widening these battles.

The democratic and revolutionary struggles

in the Philippines have entered a crucial period. The regime has the power of the army behind it and the direct support of the U.S., which has established some of its main military bases in the archipelago.

In particular since the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the Philippines have held a key place in the deployment of American air and sea forces in the Pacific and the Indian Ocean.

Of all the regimes that belong to the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the one in the Philippines is the closest to, and the most dependent on, Washington.

The riches of the country have, moreover, been pillaged by the imperialist capitalists, in particular the Americans and Japanese, and by the Marcos clan and its cronies. The democratic struggle against the Marcos dictatorship is at

the same time a social struggle and a fight that the working people and the oppressed are waging against imperialism.

The stakes involved in the ongoing struggles in the Philippines are considerable, and not just for the peoples of the archipelago but also for the future of the revolutionary struggles in the region and for the fight against imperialism worldwide.

Active solidarity is urgently needed from all democratic, progressive, and revolutionary forces. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls for broadening and strengthening the movement of solidarity with the struggle against the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship. In their fight against the Marcos regime and the power of the United States, the peoples of the Philippines must not remain isolated. □

Antiguan socialists condemn Grenada invasion

[The following statement was issued on October 24 by the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement (ACLM), before the actual U.S. invasion of Grenada but following a meeting of leaders of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) at which military intervention was discussed.]

[The ACLM, which identifies itself as a Marxist organization, is the largest leftist group in Antigua. It has been active in solidarity with the Grenada revolution.]

* * *

The ACLM is absolutely opposed to any foreign military intervention in Grenada by a Caribbean country or any other country for whatever reason. The upright Grenadian masses who, unarmed, rescued their prime minister, Maurice Bishop, from military house arrest on Wednesday, October 19, have the capacity to rid themselves of the military junta which has imposed itself

on them. Only the Grenadian people can solve Grenada's crisis.

Further, we are of the view that the CARICOM military forces, including Antigua's contingent of 16 soldiers, are not combat-ready troops and can only be used to give an appearance of respectability to the gunboat diplomacy of U.S. military intervention. We condemn the assembling of the CARICOM forces and we call for their immediate demobilization.

We call for, as well, a halt to all U.S. military activities in the region and condemn any U.S. military intervention.

Further, legal, economic, and diplomatic sanctions imposed by CARICOM against the military junta in Grenada are in order, in our view, since they reflect the will and outrage of the people of the CARICOM territories. However, such sanctions must be legal, and not illegal. It is unprincipled and downright wrong to oppose murderous illegality with illegal sanctions.