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Salvadoran Revolutionary Groups Take Big Strides Toward Greater Unity



**As Washington
Paves Way
for Deeper
Intervention**

22-23 R

Canada

Socialists Organize Central America Solidarity Rally

Bipartisan cover for U.S. war in Central America

By Steve Wattenmaker

With the Salvadoran army shaken by a powerful series of rebel offensives, Washington is redoubling its efforts to keep the regime in San Salvador afloat and at the same time prepare for an inevitable direct U.S. military intervention.

During 1983 El Salvador's Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) made substantial military and political advances. The guerrillas' Radio Farabundo Martí said January 2 that FMLN fighters had killed or wounded 6,974 government soldiers during 1983 and taken another 1,557 prisoner.

At year's end the FMLN dealt government forces two severe blows that demonstrated both the FMLN's military strength and the growing coordination among the FMLN's five member organizations. On December 30 the rebels overran a large army base at El Paraíso and then 48 hours later destroyed the heavily fortified Cuscatlán bridge, severing the Pan American highway east of the capital. The two operations were closely timed and coordinated with each other.

This example of closer military coordination reflects the trend toward growing political unity within the FMLN. In mid-December an FMLN communiqué announced that this process was rapidly leading toward a fusion of the five revolutionary organizations into a single, unified party. (See page 4.)

Meanwhile, Washington is doing everything possible to prop up the battered Salvadoran regime. On January 3 Reagan administration officials said the White House would ask Congress for up to \$100 million in additional military aid for the dictatorship. The funds were needed, they said, to immediately expand the Salvadoran army by 20 percent and supply the regime with several dozen new aircraft.

The U.S. government is well aware, however, that no matter how much money it spends to buy time for the faltering regime, the Salvadoran revolution cannot be derailed by the corrupt and demoralized Salvadoran army. That will eventually require the direct use of U.S. combat troops.

The Kissinger commission report on Central America, to be released January 11, is Washington's latest step toward putting a bipartisan stamp of approval on the U.S. war plans. The White House intentionally "balanced" former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other prominent Republicans on the commission with noted Democratic Party liberals. The administration also included AFL-CIO labor federation head Lane Kirkland.

Couched as a "peace" commission, the panel's real task was to provide a bipartisan

justification for deeper U.S. military involvement in Central America and the Caribbean. Initial reports on the commission's findings confirm that its members reached broad agreement in this task.

- The commission report will give strong backing to the Reagan administration's primary justification for U.S. intervention in the region — that U.S. national security is threatened by a "Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis" undermining "democracy" in Central America.

Panel member Henry Cisneros, a Democrat, told the January 10 *Washington Post* that the liberals on the commission "had to acknowledge that the Cubans have expanded their foothold in Nicaragua and that poses a danger for the future." The commission will endorse the policy that the "danger" must be eliminated by a massive U.S. military and economic presence in Central America.

- The commission will also give bipartisan endorsement to continued support for CIA-funded counterrevolutionaries attacking Nicaragua from sanctuaries in Honduras and Costa Rica.

In the last year the *contras* have butchered more than 700 Nicaraguan men, women, and children. Nonetheless, the report calls U.S. backing for the ex-Somozaist National Guard terrorists "one of the incentives working in favor of a negotiated settlement" in Nicaragua.

- The Kissinger panel also calls for an in-

crease in military aid to El Salvador that dwarfs the size of the current U.S. military aid package. The report will assert that El Salvador needs six times as much military aid for 1984 and 1985 as Congress has appropriated so far, according to the January 9 *New York Times*.

- Despite its stated role as a "peace" commission, the panel reportedly will also reject the proposals put forward by the FMLN and the Nicaraguan government for a negotiated end to the conflict in Central America.

The Kissinger report will turn a cold shoulder to both the FMLN's standing offer for unconditional negotiations aimed at stopping the bloodshed in El Salvador, as well as the Sandinistas' comprehensive peace proposals presented to Washington last October.

Nicaragua, in sharp contrast to the actions recommended by the Kissinger commission, indicated its willingness to peacefully resolve the conflict in Central America January 8 by signing an agreement put forward by the governments of Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Panama — the so-called Contadora group.

The agreement — signed by Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Costa Rica — provided for establishing three commissions to draft peace treaties for the region. However, Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto pointed out that while the agreement represented a step forward, it failed to get at the root of the conflict in Central America.

D'Escoto asserted that while Washington was mouthing a desire for peace in the region, it was, in fact, committed to a military solution.

The release of the Kissinger commission report is designed to increase — not diminish — Washington's drive toward a new Vietnam War in Central America. □

Lebanon headaches mount for Reagan and Shamir

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. and Israeli rulers are in a quandary over their military intervention in Lebanon. Eighteen months after the massive Israeli invasion, they have made virtually no progress toward their goals of consolidating a stable proimperialist regime throughout the country and forcing the withdrawal of Syrian troops. Armed resistance by the Lebanese people continues to take its toll on Israeli, U.S., and allied European troops, while anti-intervention sentiment mounts in U.S. and Israeli public opinion. In the United States especially, failure to make headway in Lebanon has given rise to a public policy dispute in ruling-class circles.

The 10,000 or more Israeli troops occupying the southern third of Lebanon "have been almost daily targets of ambushes, rifle shots, and bombs," the *New York Times* reported January

5. The Zionist regime has responded with stepped-up reprisals and armed terror.

Up to 100 persons died and some 400 were injured January 4 when 16 Israeli warplanes bombed and strafed the city of Baalbek in Syrian-held territory east of Beirut. Tel Aviv claimed this was a "surgical strike" aimed at "isolated terrorist installations." But most of the dead and wounded were civilians.

The Israeli warplanes also hit two villages southwest of the city and the Wavell Palestinian refugee camp on the outskirts. More than 150 Palestinian children were injured when a bomb hit their school. The camp's mosque was destroyed.

An army spokesman in Jerusalem later acknowledged that some civilians had been hit in the raid. "If they were there it was under their own risk," he added. "It was the same type of air strike as others we have carried out. It was

part of our ongoing policy to strike at the terrorists wherever they are."

Baalbek was singled out as an Israeli target because it is the headquarters of Islamic Amal, an armed group based among the Shi'ite Muslim population of Lebanon. Islamic Amal has been widely accused in the imperialist news media of having organized the October 23 bombings of French and U.S. military installations in Beirut and the November 4 attack on an Israeli headquarters in the southern city of Tyre. Islamic Amal's leaders have repeatedly denied these accusations.

Shi'ite Muslims predominate among the population of southern Lebanon and have been in the forefront of resistance to the Israeli occupiers there. Thus they have borne the brunt of Israeli reprisals.

Much of the resistance has centered in Sidon, the largest city in southern Lebanon. A general strike took place there December 29 to protest the arrests of 15 local residents — including two Muslim prayer leaders — and the killing of three persons in a clash with Israeli troops.

The day after the general strike, the Israelis sealed off southern Lebanon from the rest of the country by closing the bridges over the Awali River. Some 800 persons were rounded up and placed in the notorious Ansar concentration camp. On December 31, Israeli soldiers using police dogs routed 300 worshippers from a Shi'ite mosque in Sidon.

In response to the Israeli reprisals, Shi'ite and Sunni Muslim leaders in southern Lebanon issued a joint appeal at the end of December calling on the faithful to "swear before God to continue armed resistance until the total liberation of the areas occupied by the Israelis."

Such determination on the part of the oppressed people of Lebanon presents both Tel Aviv and Washington with a difficult choice. To attain their goals requires further military escalation, including the risk of full-scale war with Syria and a possible confrontation with the Soviet Union. The alternative is a costly war of attrition with eventual pullout and defeat. This dilemma has fueled differences within the U.S. ruling class over how to proceed.

The Reagan administration has hesitated in face of this predicament. Its military attacks on Syria and Lebanese opposition forces in late 1983 produced few results. It is now under fire at home on a series of fronts.

On December 28 the U.S. Department of Defense released the official report five top military officers had prepared on the October 23 bombing at the Beirut Airport in which 241 U.S. marines were killed. The administration's "emphasis on military options," the report said, had "greatly increased the risk" to the marines in Lebanon. It urged "a more vigorous and demanding approach to pursuing diplomatic alternatives."

The release of the Pentagon report provided an opening for Democratic Party leaders in Congress to back off from the earlier support they had offered to Reagan's policy. House

Speaker Thomas O'Neill said the "status quo position of our marines" was "unacceptable" and warned Reagan that "patience in Congress with Administration policies in Lebanon is wearing very thin."

Democratic presidential candidate Walter Mondale called at the end of December for the marines to be withdrawn in 45 days. O'Neill and Mondale are obviously not unaware that the U.S. intervention in Lebanon has less and less support among the people of the United States. An ABC News opinion poll released January 5 showed an absolute majority supporting the immediate withdrawal of the marines.

In a move that helped to further undercut

Reagan's belligerent policy, the Syrian government decided January 3 to release U.S. prisoner of war Lt. Robert Goodman, a navy flier shot down in December during a U.S. air raid on Syrian positions in Lebanon. By releasing Goodman at the appeal of Black civil rights leader and Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, the Syrian regime sought to spur opposition to Reagan's policy inside the United States.

The day after Goodman's release, the *New York Times* carried an editorial headlined "One American Out, 1,800 to Go" — a reference to the number of marines still in Beirut. The *Times* editors called on Reagan to set "a date for the Marines' departure. A month or six weeks should suffice." □

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Big strides toward revolutionary unity

FMLN draws lessons from Carpio's factional course

By Cindy Jaquith

The General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), in a major policy statement signed by the heads of El Salvador's five revolutionary organizations, announced December 16 that the fusion of all five groups into a single party is now on the agenda.

"Little by little the reasons for the existence of different revolutionary organizations [within the FMLN] are disappearing," said the communiqué. "The eagerly awaited objective of integrating all revolutionaries into a single party is already clearly looming on the victorious horizon toward which we are marching."

The FMLN statement was released in the wake of a major political development in the Salvadoran revolutionary movement.

In the first week of December, a new political organization publicly announced itself in San Salvador. Called the Revolutionary Workers Movement—Salvador Cayetano Carpio (MOR), it is a split from the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the five groups in the FMLN. The MOR denies the FMLN is the vanguard of the Salvadoran revolution.

In the second week of December, a major document was released by the FPL condemning the split action of the MOR and its decision to promote the factional policies of Carpio, who had been the best-known longtime leader of the Salvadoran revolutionary movement. The FPL statement noted that the MOR group split in rejection of the decisions made at a meeting of the Revolutionary Council — the highest body of the FPL — last August. Delegates at that meeting voted to:

- Condemn Carpio, their former commander-in-chief, for ordering the April 6, 1983, assassination of the FPL second-in-command, Mélida Anaya Montes (known as Commander Ana María);

- Condemn Carpio's decision to commit suicide April 12, 1983, after the arrest of the assassins, in an attempt to "evade his responsibility and save his reputation";

- Condemn the factional actions of Carpio within the FPL and FMLN as a whole that culminated in the murder of Ana María; and

- Condemn Carpio's line of blocking unified action of the groups within the FMLN, which obstructed progress toward fusion of the groups into a united FMLN as the vanguard of the Salvadoran revolution.

Carpio's guilt, the political conclusions the FPL has drawn from this experience, and the split that has occurred as a result are of such importance internationally that both *Barricada*, the newspaper of the Sandinista Na-

tional Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua, and *Granma*, the newspaper of the Cuban Communist Party, immediately printed the entire text of the FPL statement.

It appeared in *Barricada* and the daily *Granma* on December 13. The December 25 Spanish-language weekly *Granma* also carried the full statement, and the Cuban magazine *Bohemia* ran a news story about it in its December 23 issue.

FMLN strengthened

In its December 16 communiqué, the FMLN commended the FPL for its action in exposing and rejecting Carpio's factional policies. It noted that far from weakening the Salvadoran revolutionary movement, the lessons learned in the course of these events have strengthened the process of unification and fusion, including in the military struggle against the U.S.-backed Salvadoran dictatorship.

"Today the FMLN is more united and solid than ever," the communiqué said. "Its present capacity to make more rapid advances in the political and military spheres — as shown during [the FMLN's recent military campaigns called] 'Independence, Liberty, and Democracy for El Salvador' and 'Yankees Out of Grenada and Central America' — is based on a greater degree of coordination and cooperation among its forces and a higher level of morale and combative enthusiasm. These are the fruits of the consolidation of our unity."

The military coordination among the different organizations inside the FMLN was dramatically demonstrated during a 72-hour period beginning December 30. In closely coordinated attacks, FMLN forces delivered the Salvadoran army a staggering one-two punch.

On December 30 the FMLN fighters overran one of the Salvadoran army's most modern bases, El Paraíso, located about 40 miles north of the capital, San Salvador. It was the first time in the four-year-old civil war that the revolutionaries captured a major army installation. The Salvadoran regime admitted losing 100 soldiers in the attack, although the actual toll was probably higher. Residents near the base saw the army burying its dead in mass graves after the rebels withdrew. The base was completely destroyed.

Two days later FMLN forces captured and destroyed the largest bridge in the country, severing the main road link between eastern and western El Salvador. Several hundred government troops defending the Cuscatlán bridge about 50 miles east of San Salvador fled after the attack began.

The FMLN's Radio Venceremos said the

destruction of the bridge and the taking of the El Paraíso base marked the beginning of a new offensive called "All of the People Against Imperialist Intervention Until Victory." The offensive "will demonstrate superior levels of unified coordination among all of our forces throughout the country," the broadcast said.

With Washington preparing to sharply escalate its military intervention to prop up the faltering Salvadoran regime, both unified military action of the revolutionary forces and fusion of the groups into a single revolutionary party become more urgent.

The FMLN's announcement that fusion is now in sight is a historic conquest for the Salvadoran revolution and represents a big step in the process of unifying the various different revolutionary currents that have existed in that country for some time.

History of Salvadoran groups

Salvador Cayetano Carpio was a baker who became a leader of the Salvadoran labor movement in the 1940s. In 1947 he joined the Communist Party of El Salvador and rapidly became part of its leadership. He spent two years studying in the Soviet Union. In the late 1960s he became the general secretary of the CP but broke with the organization in 1969 over a disagreement on the tactics of armed struggle.

He and his supporters formed a group that publicly announced itself as the FPL in 1972. It began armed struggle against the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Other political groups, including eventually the CP, also took up arms against the Salvadoran regime. But these different organizations remained divided. Functioning underground, in conditions of severe repression, all of them suffered politically to one degree or another from ultraleft sectarianism in relation to the labor movement and popular organizations. Factional stances among them blocked joint action even when no overriding political differences existed.

Roots of unification

The 1979 triumph of the revolution in Nicaragua opened a new stage in the struggle in El Salvador, inspiring the workers and peasants there with the potential to do what their Nicaraguan sisters and brothers had done. As mobilizations by the Salvadoran masses against the dictatorship grew, militants of the several revolutionary groups began to press for unification of the fighting forces.

The example set by the leadership of the FSLN was important in this process. The FSLN had been divided into three competing

and public factions that sharply criticized each other until shortly before the insurrection that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship. Unification of these three tendencies into a single, fused FSLN was key to the revolution's victory.

In 1980 four of the Salvadoran groups — the FPL, Communist Party, People's Revolutionary Army (ERP), and the Armed Forces of National Resistance (FARN) — agreed to coordinate their activities in the United Revolutionary Directorate. Later joined by the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC), this became the FMLN.

Around the same time the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) was formed to unite mass organizations, unions, and broader political forces looking to the FMLN for political leadership.

Nonetheless, the five political parties within the FMLN retained their separate identities and their own fighting forces and areas of military operation. Continuing factional divisions among the groups also found their reflection in the international El Salvador solidarity movement, a factor that helped prevent the broadest possible unity in action to defend the Salvadoran struggle.

For its part, the FPL, under Carpio's leadership, took the position that while all five FMLN member groups were equal in principle, the FPL was more equal than the others in practice. It should have veto power within the FMLN and the right to carry out actions that conflicted with agreed-upon FMLN policy.

As one FMLN representative put it, the FPL's policy on many questions was one of "sí, pero no," — yes, but no. In other words, accepting the idea that consensus and compromise are necessary for unified action, but going a separate way in practice.

At the same time, the impetus toward further unification increased as the deepening of the revolution in El Salvador swelled the ranks of the movement with new fighters. The working class came more to the fore of the struggle. These developments posed more sharply the need for unification of the leadership. The Cuban and Nicaraguan leaderships also worked to further this process. The question of unity of revolutionary leadership was a major topic of discussion at a 1982 conference of Latin American revolutionists held in Havana, for example.

Evolution of FPL

The increasing momentum toward unification of the FMLN had a big impact on the ranks and leadership of the FPL. The FPL explained this evolution in the document it released in December.

At FPL leadership meetings in early 1983, the FPL reports, the majority of its leaders voted to correct their previous factional approach and work to genuinely unify the activity of the five groups in the FMLN. Two FPL leaders disagreed — Carpio and his close associate Rogelio Bazaglia, who was later ar-

rested in Nicaragua for directing the assassination team that killed Commander Ana María.

According to the FPL, Carpio rejected the new course of his party and "exercised a negative influence on the process of unification of the revolutionary forces as a whole."

Carpio, "with increasing frequency and on increasingly important points . . . paid no attention to the leadership bodies, or to decisions and accords they had already reached, and instead acted behind the back of our party," the FPL statement said.

Carpio refused to argue for his point of view "frankly and honestly before the collective leadership." Recoiling from objectivity, he resorted to personal attacks against those who disagreed with him, particularly Ana María. He increasingly abused the powers correctly given him for *military* purposes as commander-in-chief to seek advantage on *political* matters within the party, obstructing leadership decisions on unity and other matters.

Carpio organized a secret faction against the FPL leadership and placed the interests of his grouping above the interests of the party, the FMLN, and the Salvadoran revolution itself. Ultimately this factional blindness led him to use his authority as military commander-in-chief to order the murder of Ana María.

Coard and Carpio

There are parallels between this case and the developments that led to the overthrow of Grenada's workers and farmers government, which paved the way for the U.S. invasion.

In the case of Grenada, Bernard Coard, who was deputy prime minister, built up a secret faction within the New Jewel Movement and organized a campaign to discredit Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the central leader of the NJM. The Coard supporters did not explicitly raise fundamental political differences with Bishop. Rather, they spread gossip and slander about Bishop and his supporters being "petty bourgeois" and "less Marxist." They charged Bishop with "one-manism" and attempting to foster a cult around himself. As surviving New Jewel Movement leader Kenrick Radix put it, Coard used "the worst of Stalinist tactics."

In October, the Coard faction carried out a coup against the workers and farmers government, placed Bishop under house arrest, and then ordered troops to murder Bishop and his supporters when they attempted to lead the island's workers and farmers in an armed uprising to reestablish their government.

Washington quickly took advantage of this devastating betrayal of the revolution to invade and reimpose its domination over the island.

Noting the parallel between the factionalism of Coard and Carpio, the FPL statement explained the price at which the Salvadoran comrades have learned these lessons: "a living experience in struggle, attained at the cost of the lives of thousands of compañeros, and the assimilation of the revolutionary teachings of other peoples, led our organization as a whole

— leadership and ranks — to advance alongside the struggle of our people."

Unify solidarity movement

The FMLN, in its subsequent statement, concurred with the FPL's assessment of Carpio's role and the split by the MOR and drew particular attention to their implications for the international movement in solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador.

Carpio, the FMLN said, had "caused temporary damage to the process of the unity of all Salvadoran revolutionary forces in the FMLN. His corrosive sectarianism even transcended the borders of our country, affecting the cohesion and confidence of the international solidarity movement toward our struggle."

According to the FMLN, the MOR "is a group acting blindly, led by individuals whom Salvador Cayetano Carpio backed. Like him, they moved away from the revolution and, we would like to believe, unconsciously, are playing into the hands of Yankee imperialism and the genocidal dictatorship . . . although in reality it is too late to salvage the rule of these butchers."

The statement warned that the CIA will try to use these events to "step up its propaganda about a supposed split in the FMLN. . . .

"We already see, and we will see even more, propaganda from the enemies of the Salvadoran people around this question. They will put out all kinds of false versions and supposed eyewitness accounts. They will circulate Carpio's most insidious writings against unity."

The FMLN statement declared that no one outside the country should be confused by such propaganda.

The FMLN statement noted that its steps toward unification and fusion are "urgently called for" not only by the Salvadoran masses, but by the international movement in solidarity with their struggle. Indeed, the political advances by the FMLN, combined with military advances which are a product of this political process, can be a powerful impetus to greater unity in action within the movements around the world supporting the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador.

This is all the more crucial at this time. As the FMLN statement noted, "Powerless to halt the revolution through use of its puppets, Yankee imperialism, led by Reagan, is preparing to invade us and step up the destruction and the genocide."

By absorbing the lessons of the recent events in El Salvador and following the example and call of the FMLN, supporters of the Salvadoran struggle around the world can set aside political differences on other questions in order to organize united action on the decisive question today: mobilizing the largest possible protests by workers, oppressed nationalities, and their allies against the coming Vietnam. □

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Behind murder of Commander Ana María

FPL blames factionalism of Salvador Cayetano Carpio

[The following statement was issued in El Salvador on Dec. 9, 1983, by the Central Committee of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the five revolutionary organizations belonging to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). It was subsequently reprinted in *Barricada*, the newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, and in *Granma*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

The Central Committee of the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí (FPL), member of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), communicates to the working class, to the Salvadoran people, and to the other peoples of the world, to sister revolutionary organizations, to the world revolutionary movement, and to progressive governments, that in the course of the complex, difficult, self-sacrificing, and victorious struggle of the Salvadoran people for their liberation—in face of the oligarchy's rabid and genocidal military dictatorship, supported, equipped, and trained by Yankee imperialism—the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí, together with the other revolutionary organizations that make up the FMLN, have been applying, developing, and enriching their strategic line, assimilating the rich revolutionary experience of our people and of other peoples of the world.

In August of this year we held the Seventh Plenary Meeting of our Revolutionary Council, the highest leadership body of our FPL—Farabundo Martí party. In the framework of intense work, great seriousness, responsibility, and an increased level of political and ideological cohesion, the delegates discussed and deepened their understanding of the major problems facing the people's war, our organization, and the people of our country. This has made it possible to provide our party and people with:

A. A profound assessment of the [April 6, 1983] assassination of our second-in-command, Commander Ana María, and of the [April 12, 1983] suicide of our chief leader, Marcial, including a scientific assessment of the facts.

B. A strengthening of our party's highest leadership bodies, the Revolutionary Council and Central Committee, for which first and second secretaries were elected.

C. A profound scientific analysis of the national and international situation including the development of the war and the relationship of forces both domestically and abroad. On this



COMMANDER ANA MARÍA

basis, strategic guidelines were drawn up for the present period—guidelines that enrich our general strategic line.

Following investigation and assessment of the sorrowful and repudiated assassination of Compañera Mérida Anaya Montes (Commander Ana María) and the suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Marcial), the FPL Revolutionary Council has concluded the following:

That Salvador Cayetano Carpio, who was our chief leader and commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces for Liberation, embarked in recent years on a process of ideological and political decomposition. This led to grave distortions and deviations that eventually resulted in Compañera Ana María's assassination, which Carpio was the main organizer of and responsible for. Among these deviations were the following:

1. Marcial developed an exaggerated estimation of himself. He began to consider himself the most most consistent, pure, and flawless revolutionary of our country and of the entire region, as the sole genuine spokesman for the Salvadoran proletariat and people.

He developed a strong inclination toward receiving praise and adulation, toward placing himself and his opinions above those of the collective leadership and of party bodies, to protect and pay attention solely to those who applauded him blindly.

At the same time, toward others he expressed a lack of confidence. He looked on

those who did not accept his views as a danger to the revolution, as unconscious instruments of the enemies of the revolution.

2. As a consequence of this exaggerated self-esteem, Marcial became the victim of serious political backwardness and became incapable of thinking and acting at the level required by the historic demands posed by the development of our revolution.

Marcial clung tightly to dogmatic and sectarian schemes and plans. This, together with his obstinacy about prevailing at whatever cost, became an obstacle to the progress of the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí and exercised a negative influence on the process of unification of the revolutionary forces as a whole, thus harming the effort to liberate our people.

Meanwhile, a living experience in struggle, attained at the cost of the lives of thousands of compañeros, and the assimilation of the revolutionary teachings of other peoples, led our organization as a whole—leadership and ranks—to advance alongside the struggle of our people. Our thinking became enriched, our line and orientation developed. This, naturally, opened up a confrontation of ideas, within the framework of party norms and statutes.

3. Marcial's deviations deepened with the development of the people's war and with the development of the necessary internal ideological struggle to keep pace with these advances. Holding stubbornly to his opinions and demonstrating the negative characteristics of his personality, Carpio used his position as chief leader of the FPL—Farabundo Martí to make his point of view prevail.

With increasing frequency and on increasingly important points, he violated our party's revolutionary principles of functioning. He paid no attention to the leadership bodies, or to the decisions and accords they had already reached, and instead acted behind the back of our party.

The brunt of this conduct by Carpio was directed against the compañera Commander Ana María, Mérida Anaya Montes, second-in-command of the People's Liberation Forces, whom he saw as a rival. Acting out of deep-seated egocentrism, and finally out of hatred, he expressed the view that Ana María was undermining his own personal prestige.

Marcial increasingly distanced himself from the dynamic of collective thinking in our organization and leadership bodies, which never supported him in his attitude against Ana María.

4. While the collective leadership of the FPL—Farabundo Martí was linking itself closely to the ranks of our party, to the masses

and combatants, carrying out alongside them the daily struggle of our people, Marcial distanced himself from both the leadership and the ranks.

He surrounded himself with a group of people who saw their relationship with him as a source of prestige and authority within our party. These elements formed a genuine cult of personality around Marcial, adulating him, propagandizing his ideas, developing a genuine fanaticism toward him as an individual. This process, while it did not take hold within the overall membership of the FPL, did affect some *compañeros*.

5. In January and February 1983, the FPL–Farabundo Martí Political Committee, and later the Central Command, met to prepare for the Seventh Revolutionary Council, our party's highest body.

When the Central Command met, all of its members, with the exception of Marcial and Marcelo [Rogelio Bazaglia] approved agreements and measures that would enable application of our general strategic line to the new conditions that had arisen, thus assuring the advance of the people's war for liberation.

Salvador Cayetano Carpio, as a member and chief leader of these bodies, had the most ample opportunity to argue in favor of his point of view, but he did not do so frankly and honestly before the collective leadership. He never displayed the proletarian courage of presenting these views before the leadership bodies — the Political Committee and the Central Command.

To the contrary, he used methods that were incorrect and worthy of condemnation. At the meeting of the Central Command he tried to confuse its members. Against Ana María he launched denigrating accusations that were in contradiction with the most elementary norms of revolutionary ethics, accusations that only ended up in his degrading himself morally.

In light of such foul procedures, his unhealthy methods and intentions were rejected. Marcial was thus dealt a political and moral defeat by the entire Central Command, with the exception of Marcelo.

However, the Political Committee and Central Command did not yet understand the depth and genuine gravity of Marcial's ideological deformations. Accordingly, the measures adopted by those bodies were aimed at constructive efforts intended to encourage a context favorable to correction of his views and to strengthening the unity and cohesion of our party — the Popular Liberation Forces–Farabundo Martí.

6. The collective leadership addressed and criticized Marcial in the most fraternal manner, seeking to encourage conditions in the party that would help him overcome the problem as a revolutionary.

The Central Command, in an expression of maturity and genuine party-building spirit, reiterated its confidence in Marcial as chief leader and founder of our organization. It expressed confidence in his capacity to overcome his weaknesses and correct his deviations.

But Marcial no longer shared the collective interests of the party, of the revolutionary forces, of the working class, or of the people. Marcial was no longer the leader of the people he had been known as in the past. Grave political, ideological, and moral deformations, in combination with his recalcitrance in regard to the politico-military reality of the process and



SALVADOR CAYETANO CARPIO

our party, ended up affecting his conduct and personality.

7. Salvador Cayetano Carpio lost all perspective and respect for the FPL–Farabundo Martí, an organization that has earned the confidence of our people. Blinded by political ambitions and fanatical self-aggrandizement, he ordered and planned, along with Marcelo, the assassination of Ana María, thus stripping himself of his qualities as a revolutionary and leader of our people. To carry out the crime, he used a group of combatants placed under military discipline, in complicity with the *compañera's* security personnel.

Discovered in his crime Marcial opted, in a final act of political cowardice, for suicide, attempting to evade his responsibility and save his reputation, already stained by the infamy he himself had cast over it. He preferred to die stubbornly maintaining his egocentrism and self-veneration.

Before committing suicide, Marcial added a new infamy to his already incorrigible political cowardice. He wrote several letters, one of them to the Central Command, in which he presented the events as a conspiracy by false revolutionaries against him and what he called his unimpeachable course as a genuine revolutionary.

Marcial thus left behind poison to continue harming the revolution and our organization, in an action that was equally a desperate and blind attempt to preserve his own image above all.

But his murder of Ana María is totally and absolutely proven.

The Seventh Revolutionary Council of the People's Liberation Forces–Farabundo Martí, held in August 1983 in Chalatenango, received conclusive proof of this. It studied the phenomenon in all its depth, in all its determining and conditioning factors, and adopted a unanimous resolution condemning Marcial for the crime.

Such events, deformations, and deviations have no precedent in the life of the FPL–Farabundo Martí. However, as a result of the confusion, resentment, opportunism, and the fanatic personality cult around Marcial, a few ex-*compañeros* were taken by surprise and have gone to the extreme of separating themselves from our party.

They are seeking to split and divide the internal unity of the FPL, using methods that are deviate and harmful to the revolution and to our people and that benefit only the enemy.

This group holds the backward, sectarian, and antiunity positions put forward by Marcial. They deny the FMLN's role as the vanguard of the revolution and proclaim themselves the sole representatives of the working class. They deny the role that all democratic and progressive forces, together with our working class, can play in our process. They are deeply impregnated with an antiparty way of thinking and acting.

Linked to this group of individuals is the recently emerged Revolutionary Workers Movement–Salvador Cayetano Carpio. With this group, they are seeking to elevate the figure of Carpio before our people, hiding and covering up what is now clear and proven: because of his ideological disintegration, Marcial ended up betraying the interests of the working class and our entire people, doing irreparable damage to the revolution.

In face of all the slanders spread by this group about supposed deviations of the FPL–Farabundo Martí and of the entire FMLN, there is an undeniable fact that the entire world can see: the powerful advance of the revolution; the striking political and military victories won by the people's forces; the critical political and military situation in which the dictatorship finds itself; and the unquestionable advances in the process of unification and consolidation of the FMLN.

Revolutionaries know well the practices and measures developed by imperialism and world reaction to destroy revolutionary movements. One of their primary objectives is to sow divisions among the vanguard organizations of the people. In our country Yankee imperialism and its domestic puppets have carried out innumerable efforts to divide the vanguard of our people, the FMLN, and each one of its member organizations.

No one is unaware that recently in Grenada a group of revolutionaries was used either directly or indirectly by imperialism to provoke division and confrontation within the New Jewel Movement. This created propitious conditions for Yankee imperialist aggressors to

justify and carry out the invasion of Grenada, dealing a strategic blow to the revolution.

We call on this group [Revolutionary Workers Movement—Salvador Cayetano Carpio] to exercise good sense and reflection, to understand that their attitude is harmful to the interests of the proletariat and of the entire world, that it benefits only the enemy. In face of the treacherous plans of imperialism, the oligarchy, and its puppet dictatorship, the attitude of every revolutionary must be to strengthen internal unity among revolutionaries and to consolidate the FMLN.

To conclude, the Central Committee of the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí states before the people of El Salvador and the world:

1. That we are making clear to all compañeros who have been confused or deceived that the ranks of our organization are open to all who wish to return and rejoin, to close ranks and unify around our efforts to defeat the enemies of the people.

2. That we condemn the brutal assassination of our compañera Ana María, second-in-command of our organization, and that we hold responsible for that crime Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Marcial), Rogelio Bazaglia (Marcelo), and the other participants. In like manner, we condemn Carpio's cowardly suicide.

3. That the irreparable loss of our unforgettable compañera Mérida Anaya Montes, champion and bulwark of the desire for unity of our people, has strengthened the combative morale of our organization, the decision to strengthen the development of unity inside the FMLN, and the decision to struggle relentlessly.

It has deepened our love for the people and our determination to win. It has deepened our desire to be free and to bring the revolution against imperialism and exploitation to a victorious conclusion.

4. The FPL—Farabundo Martí is irrevocably committed to the working class and the people. Our strength, our conviction, and our determination rest on the unshakable confidence in the unlimited creative revolutionary capacity of the proletariat and people and on absolute confidence in the people's victory.

5. The FPL—Farabundo Martí, as a revolutionary organization forged in the course of the heroic struggle of the Salvadoran people, is capable of purging itself and advancing firmly in forging the unity of the entire people and in the development of the revolutionary struggle.

6. That the plenary meeting of the Seventh Revolutionary Council ratified the strategic politico-military line of our organization and enriched it on the basis of the new experiences and requirements of the revolution.

The theme of the Seventh Revolutionary Council — "The entire people prepared to defeat the intervention of Yankee imperialism" — a gathering dedicated to our second-in-command and to the other heroes and martyrs of the revolution, captures the spirit and readiness of the FPL and of the entire people to fight and

defeat Yankee troops or those of other puppet countries of imperialism that may try to attack our soil.

At the same time we drew up guidelines aimed at contributing, alongside the FMLN, to attaining definitive popular victory.

7. Finally, we call on the working class, on all working people, and on democratic and progressive sectors not to allow themselves to be confused by the campaign of slanders and lies propagated by the enemy and by all those who, directly or indirectly, are playing the enemy's game.

Join massively in the armed revolutionary struggle, help bring about the decisive and definitive battles against the enemies of the people!

Vigorously promote the struggle for immediate political, economic, and social demands!

Take all measures to prevent intervention by the Yankees or other forces in our country, and confront with determination any attempt at aggression against our country!

Strengthen the unity of the people around their vanguard, the FMLN, and close ranks against our class enemy!

Long live the political, ideological, and organic unity of the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí!

Long live the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front!

War on imperialism, the oligarchy, and its puppet dictatorship!

Revolution or death; the armed people will win!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

United to fight until the final victory!

Revolution or death, we will win!

For the Central Committee of the People's Liberation Forces—Farabundo Martí, signed by the following members of the Political Committee: Leonel González, first secretary of the FPL and commander-in-chief of the People's Armed Forces for Liberation. Dimas Rodríguez, second secretary of the FPL and second-in-command of the People's Armed Forces of Liberation.

Compañeros Milton, Salvador Guerra, Esteban Cabrales, Mayo Sibrián, Ricardo Gutiérrez, Jesús Rojas, Valentin, Miguel Castellanos.

El Salvador, Central America, Dec. 9, 1983.

Statement of Nicaraguan Interior Ministry

[The following statement was issued on Dec. 14, 1983, by Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior and published on the front page of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* the next day under the headline, "Clarifications by Ministry of Interior on murder of Ana María." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Ministry of the Interior, upon learning of the communiqué published by the Political Committee of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) of El Salvador, on December 11 of this year, on the assassination of Compañera Mérida Anaya Montes and the suicide of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, informs the Nicaraguan people of the following:

1. As stated in our communiqué of April 21, 1983, the following persons of Salvadoran nationality were arrested and are under the process of investigation:

a. Rogelio A. Bazaglia Recinos, arrested April 9, who confessed to planning and organizing the murder of Commander Ana María.

b. Walter Ernesto Elías, Andrés Vásquez Molina, and Julio A. Soza Orellana, arrested April 12, who confessed to carrying out the crime.

c. Alejandro Romero Romero and María Argueta Hernández, arrested the day of the crime, who confessed to being accomplices in it.

2. All of the above implicated were arrested between April 6, day of the crime, and April 12, and acknowledged during that period their responsibilities in it.

3. During the investigation, on April 11,

the individual Bazaglia Recinos, in addition to acknowledging his responsibility as planner and organizer of the crime, declared that his criminal action had been directed by Salvador Cayetano Carpio who, in addition to being his immediate superior, served as chief leader of the FPL Political Committee.

4. This incriminating statement was communicated April 12 to Carpio, who had arrived here from Libya April 9 and attended the funeral ceremony for Commander Ana María. Upon learning of Bazaglia's statement, Carpio declined to comment, neither accepting nor rejecting it, and maintained an absolute silence.

5. That same day, at 9:10 p.m., he took his own life, in the house he was living in, without having commented on the incriminating statement by his subordinate. Accordingly, the case was kept open to be clarified further.

6. All information about this event was communicated to the FPL Political Committee, at their request, through representatives who visited Nicaragua. The aim was to obtain from that body elements that would help clarify the facts.

7. The official communiqué of the FPL reports the assessment made of the facts by the leadership bodies of that organization, as well as their opinion on them. Accordingly, it will be made part of the files of the continuing investigative process of those who have been arrested.

8. The Ministry of the Interior, upon the conclusion of this complex investigative process, will proceed to submit before competent legal tribunals those who turn out to be implicated in the criminal actions being investigated.

'Today we are more united'

Communiqué of FMLN General Command

[The following communiqué was issued on Dec. 16, 1983, by the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front — in the name of all its member organizations, its leaders, combatants, and political and mass structures — addresses the Salvadoran people, the brother peoples of Central America, and other peoples of the world to indicate its full support to the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) in the face of the emergence of a group that is trying to divide the FPL's ranks and oppose the FMLN. This group is raising the image of Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Marcial), the murderer of the beloved and lamented Commander Mélida Anaya Montes (Ana María). Carpio's crime and subsequent suicide were unanimously condemned and then courageously exposed to our people and world opinion by the Seventh Plenum of the Revolutionary Council of the FPL, which brought together representatives of the FPL's ranks and is the FPL's highest authority. This exposure of the facts befits true revolutionaries who are faithful to the truth, to their ideas and principles, and are faithful to their unshakeable commitment to the workers and to the people in general.

Salvador Cayetano Carpio, Marcial, caused temporary damage to the process of the unity of all the Salvadoran revolutionary forces in the FMLN. His corrosive sectarianism even transcended the borders of our country, affecting the cohesion and confidence of the international solidarity movement toward our struggle. But the maturity of the leaders of all our organizations, including the other leaders of the FPL, made it possible for the FMLN to preserve its unity, which is the primary element for the advancement and victory of the Salvadoran revolution.

Comrade Ana María made decisive contributions to the defense of unity, particularly in the most tense moments of strife, and as a result she brought upon herself the hatred of Marcial, who finally took her life. Ana María died as a martyr for the unity of the FMLN, and the Salvadoran people will always honor her memory. Marcial cannot break up the desire for unity of the organizations in the FMLN as a whole, nor the desire for unity of the People's Liberation Forces in particular.

The murder of Ana María, committed under his orders, and his subsequent cowardly suicide were desperate acts at the moment of his political and moral isolation and defeat. The last lines he wrote before taking his life were his final attempt to embitter the revolu-

tionary ranks, to sow lack of confidence and confusion among them. But he failed in this attempt as well.

Today the FMLN is more united and solid than ever. Its present increased capacity to make more rapid advances in the military and political spheres as shown during the campaign called "Independence, Liberty, and Democracy for El Salvador" and "Yankees Out of Grenada and Central America," is based on a greater degree of coordination and cooperation among its forces and a higher level of morale and combative enthusiasm. These are the fruits of the consolidation of our unity.

The martyrdom of Ana María struck at our hearts and brought us closer together. The suicide of Marcial and the knowledge of his crime aroused in us feelings of loathing and indignation, but also brought us closer together.

Only a small group, contaminated by fanaticism, remained confused. Today they turn up, scattered in various countries, raising the name of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, and are linked to the emergence of the so-called Revolutionary Workers Movement (MOR). There are also some equally fanatical individuals who are enemies of unity and will try to channel economic aid from brother peoples toward the MOR so that it can survive. It will not take long for the CIA to dress in sheep's clothing and use its money to give a shot of oxygen to this group, and its existence will permit the CIA to step up its propaganda about a supposed split in the FMLN.

The deformations in Salvador Cayetano Carpio's ideological and personal character, his chauvinist ambitions, his unhealthy self-glorification, his aberrant conduct in the last years of his life, were already analyzed and made public by the FPL. This analysis contains valuable lessons that enrich our revolutionary thinking, and from which all the revolutionary movements of our continent can benefit.

The vile and cruel murder of Ana María by Salvador Cayetano Carpio, and his cowardly suicide, cannot be justified in the name of revolutionary ideas. Invoking the name of the working class and peasants in order to try to sanction the murder and legitimize his poisonous sectarianism is an offense to the working people who fight and spill their blood inspired by the highest ideals of justice and national and social liberation.

Only the enemies of the Salvadoran people and their revolution can gain from such arguments.

We categorically assert that in El Salvador there are not and cannot be revolutionaries outside of or against the FMLN, precisely because under its leadership the revolution is advancing and winning.

Anyone who truly wants the victory of the revolution must not cast aspersions on the FMLN, but rather must aid it, or that person is not revolutionary.

Powerless to halt the revolution through use of its puppets, Yankee imperialism, led by Reagan, is preparing to invade us and step up the destruction and the genocide. At a time like this, those who put an obstacle in the FMLN's path and seek to weaken it with pseudo-revolutionary allegations place themselves on the side of the enemies of the Salvadoran people and nation and are consciously or unconsciously acting as counterrevolutionaries.

The "MOR" is not and cannot be a revolutionary grouping. Instead it is a group acting blindly, led by individuals whom Salvador Cayetano Carpio backed. Like him, they moved away from the revolution and, we would like to believe, unconsciously, are playing into the hands of Yankee imperialism, the genocidal dictatorship, and its puppet army, although in reality it is too late to salvage the rule of these butchers.

The obvious and incontrovertible truth of the advance of the revolution led by the FMLN has rendered this type of obstacle ineffective. And we already see, and we will see even more, propaganda from the enemies of the Salvadoran people around this question. They will put out all kinds of false versions and supposed eyewitness accounts. They will circulate Carpio's most insidious writings against unity. But none of this will stop our advance toward the victory of the revolution.

In our country, where the people have close knowledge of the butchers and their lies, only an insignificant number of people will be confused. No one should be confused outside the country either. The only ones who will aid these maneuvers are those who, from shortsightedness and sectarianism, have ended up opposing revolutionary unity in their own countries, as well as the enemies of the revolution disguised as revolutionaries who are on the CIA's payroll.

Finally, we Salvadoran revolutionaries, loyal to the principles that govern those who give their all to the cause of the people, want to reiterate that we are not afraid that the people and the world should clearly know our problems and our errors. Revolutionary truth and the capacity to recognize our mistakes and criticize ourselves before the people are the reaffirmation of our capacity as a vanguard and is also something that fully strengthens the people's confidence that the FMLN is made up of people of a new type, forged with new values that will in the future be the guarantee of our exercise of people's democracy.

That is why the FMLN fully backs the explanations, motivated by revolutionary truth, that the FPL has provided the people. We fully support the procedure and the steps taken by the comrades in the struggle against the deviations in the thinking of Salvador Cayetano Carpio, and in the thinking of those who are now

trying to damage our people's struggle whether through naivete, lack of understanding, or because they too have been afflicted by the unhealthy sectarianism of Marcial.

The FMLN joins in the FPL's appeal made to those who retain their revolutionary sense of honor but are confused by these disturbing events and support this hopeless and useless effort to uphold the image of Salvador Cayetano Carpio. They should rethink what they are doing and step back from it. Salvador Cayetano Carpio's image was destroyed by his own blind personal vanity, his ambition for authority and fame, and the unforgivable murder of Comrade Melida Anaya Montes, the unforgettable Commander Ana Maria.

The enemy wants to confuse the people by saying that there are divisions and internal bat-

les inside the FMLN. But through purging the sectarian thinking of Marcial, and through the heroic example of Ana Maria and her sacrifice for the unity of our forces, we can reaffirm that, contrary to what our enemies say, today we are more united than before. Today we are delivering more shattering blows. Today as well, the position we put forward to the international community is a single one. Today we can demonstrate and prove in practice the need to advance further toward the unity so urgently called for by our people, the international solidarity movement, and the democratic and revolutionary forces.

If the enemy of our forces should detect any division among us, it will only be a division of labor and combat missions in order to insure that the forceful and crushing blows that await

them have the greatest possible coordination, cohesion, effectiveness, and scope.

Higher forms of unity are being worked out in the FMLN. Little by little the reasons for the existence of different revolutionary organizations are disappearing. The eagerly awaited objective of integrating all revolutionaries into a single party is already clearly looming on the victorious horizon toward which we are marching.

Unity in the fight, until final victory!

El Salvador, Dec. 16, 1983
Commanders: Leonel González
Roberto Roca
Schafik Jorge Handal
Ferinán Cienfuegos
Joaquín Villalobos

Cuba

'The revolution did not waver'

Castro speaks on 25th anniversary of revolutionary triumph

By Matilde Zimmermann

HAVANA — On Jan. 1, 1959, Fidel Castro, the head of the rebel army that had just defeated the Batista dictatorship, told the people of the city of Santiago de Cuba:

"The road has been long and hard, but we have arrived.

"The revolution begins now. The revolution will not be an easy undertaking; it will be hard and full of dangers.

"The revolution cannot be made in one day, but you can be sure that we will make this revolution."

A quarter century later almost to the hour and from the same balcony, Castro addressed the Cuban people. He explained why the victory of Jan. 1, 1959, represented a genuine social revolution, unlike earlier attempts. Using the example of Cuba, he showed how a socialist revolution brings real material progress and greater freedom to working people. He ended with a look at how the Cuban revolution stands up to the challenges of today, following the invasion of Grenada and faced with the threat of a new U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

'Women fight too'

Castro began by quoting some of his remarks of 25 years ago, including the prediction that "when the Cuban people is threatened it won't be just 30,000 or 40,000 members of the armed forces who will fight back, but rather 300,000 or 400,000 or 500,000 Cubans, men and women. . . . We have shown that men are not the only ones who fight. In Cuba women fight too."

This generated a huge roar of applause because one of the most dramatic successes of the

last year in Cuba has been the incorporation of women into the Territorial Troop Militias. One out of four of the first half million Cubans to volunteer for the Territorial Militias was female. Three out of four of the second half million were women.

Castro pointed out that although the language has changed, the basic ideas of the revolution were already present 25 years ago. "In those days we did not talk about a Marxist-Leninist party or socialism or internationalism. We did not even call capitalism by that name, and in fact very few people then would have understood the real meaning of the word. But everything that has happened since in our country, the incredible advances we have made politically, the historic place that the Cuban people and our ideas and national experience occupy in the world — all this is the result of the sacred revolutionary commitment we made then to the Cuban masses."

Most advanced social system

Unlike other leaderships that promised changes they could not or would not deliver, Fidel explained, "this time we not only carried out every single aspect of the program of Moncada but went much further, just as those of us who organized the attack on Moncada and founded the July 26 Movement had dreamed. The Cuban people managed to bring into being the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, a state that is the most advanced political and social system in human history."

Nobody knows better than the U.S. government the strength of the Cuban revolution, observed Castro.

"The revolution did not shake with fear or waver when it came time to make examples of

the war criminals that we had promised the masses would be punished, to confiscate the resources that corrupt rulers had stolen from the nation, to defend the right of self-determination and dignity of our people, when it came time to deal with the big exploitative monopolies of the Yankees and Cuban capitalists, to lower the cost of public services, rents, and medicines, to order the rehiring of all workers fired by the dictatorship.

"The revolution did not shake with fear or waver when it came to decreeing the most profound and radical land reform ever to be carried out in Latin America. . . .

"It did not waver when it came to returning blow for blow every instance of economic aggression by the United States — nationalizing one by one all the U.S.-owned sugar mills, telephone and electric companies, railroads, ports, mines, commercial chains, and banks. . . .

"It did not waver when it came to uprooting racial discrimination and eliminating gambling, prostitution, drug abuse, and begging.

"It did not waver when it had to create workers and peasants militias and get socialist weapons in order to fight against counterrevolutionary bands. . . .

"It did not waver when it came to uniting all the revolutionary forces, adopting Marxist-Leninist concepts and building a vanguard party, a feisty Union of Young Communists, and strong organizations of workers, peasants, neighborhood residents, women, students, and even children and teenagers. . . .

"It did not waver in the face of the huge task of wiping out unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, and the disastrous situation in terms of public health in this country. . . ."

One of the big challenges facing the Cuban revolution was that of overcoming the economic and social backwardness inherited from colonial and capitalist rule. In his January 1 speech, Castro summarized how 25 years of planned economic development had transformed Cuba. One example he gave was that now 100,000 sugar workers produce much more sugar than 350,000 workers did just 12 years ago — “and this without a single worker being left without a job.”

“Today the whole world — including our enemies — admits that our public health and education systems represent achievements that cannot be matched by any other Third World country or some industrialized countries. But our enemies try to cast doubt on our gains in economic development.” Castro answered them by explaining that Cuba’s economy had grown at an average rate of 4.7 percent a year over the 25 years since 1959 and that this growth meant real gains in the standard of living of Cuban workers and farmers — consistent improvement in education, health, housing, nutrition, public services, working conditions, recreation, and cultural life.

(A more detailed report on the economic and social accomplishments of 1983 and goals for 1984 was given in a report from the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party. It was published and widely distributed the day before the 25th anniversary speech.)

U.S. aggression

Castro concluded his outline of the revolution’s gains by saying “there is no doubt that our perspectives for the future are glorious. But for them to happen we need peace. And peace is threatened in the world and threatened in our region.”

Castro explained how Washington’s nuclear arms build-up and war drive presented the world with the danger of nuclear holocaust. “As part of the world, this danger threatens us. But the peoples of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and especially Latin America face an additional threat from imperialism’s attempt to play world cop, its frenzied war mongering, and aggression. The brutal and dishonest invasion of Grenada and the lies and subterfuges used to justify this horrible crime demonstrate the current U.S. government’s cynicism, immorality, lack of scruples, and absolute disregard for international law and national sovereignty. . . .

“Today the U.S. can indulge in the luxury of invading Grenada, of blockading economically and threatening two small countries like Cuba and Nicaragua, and of showing its claws and teeth in El Salvador and Central America. But the system of imperialist rule in Latin America is in crisis. The right-wing military dictatorships in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and other countries, the last bastions of capitalism and imperialism, have failed miserably, bringing these countries to a state of ruin

and economic collapse. . . .

“Structural and social changes are inevitable and will come sooner or later. And the more serious and unresolvable the longterm crisis is, the more profound the changes will be.

“Cuba cannot export revolution any more than the United States can stop it. Do they think that perhaps in the future they will be able to blockade and invade the whole of Latin America? Does Reagan think Brazil is the size of Grenada?”

As Castro neared the end of his speech, he spelled out what the imperialists can expect the next time they invade. “We need peace. Peace means a brilliant and secure future for our people. But peace is not won through concessions to imperialist aggression. Concessions to an aggressor only whet his appetite and lay you open to subjugation, oppression, and surrender.

“If after its miserable action in Grenada Washington thinks the Cubans have been weakened, it is being blinded by its own

stupidity. The patriotism, willingness to struggle, and revolutionary spirit of the Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Salvadorans is many times greater than before and their contempt and hatred for imperialism and its bloody methods is also many times greater. Every gross new action that imperialism tries will be more costly for it, more difficult, more impossible.”

The 25th anniversary celebration, which featured an award to the heroic city of Santiago de Cuba, was a solemn occasion. There were no banners or placards in evidence and very few chants from the crowd. By the time Castro’s speech was over it was nearly 11 p.m. and raining, but almost no one had sought cover except some members of the U.S. press corps.

But the New Year’s festivities this year are not all solemn by any means. There is a slogan one sees around Havana that expresses the confidence of Castro’s speech and the Eighth Plenum report in a more lighthearted way. It says, “25 years, and we are doing fine.” □

DOCUMENTS

Socialists hit Betancur kidnapping

Position of Colombian PSR

[The following statement was issued December 3 by the Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), Colombian section of the Fourth International. It outlines the PSR’s position on the November 22 kidnapping of Jaime Betancur, brother of Colombian President Belisario Betancur.

[In telephone calls to the news media shortly after the kidnapping, credit for the action was claimed by the National Liberation Army (ELN), one of several guerrilla organizations active in Colombia. Several days later, the ELN warned that Betancur would be killed if ten demands were not granted. These included an increase in the minimum wage to \$150 a month, an indefinite freeze on the prices of basic necessities, reductions in utility rates, the release of all political prisoners, and the withdrawal of the army from militarized areas of the countryside.

[As the PSR statement notes, this action claimed by the ELN — a group that the news media in Colombia and elsewhere has often characterized as “Castroist” — was condemned by Cuban President Fidel Castro in two public messages to President Betancur. In the first of these, Castro declared the kidnapping “absolutely unjustifiable” and warned that any harm done to the victim “would be a crime which no true revolutionary would commit.”

[In the second message, Castro again denounced the action as “a grave political error” and “an unjust action that harms public opinion.”

[Castro also expressed his suspicion “that

forces of another kind and with different motives have intervened in a direct or indirect way in these events by infiltrating an organization considered revolutionary.”

[Jaime Betancur was released on December 7. None of the demands raised by his captors were granted.

[The translation of the PSR statement is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1. As Compañera Socorro Ramírez [a central PSR leader] stated to the news media from the moment that the kidnapping of Dr. Jaime Betancur became known, the Revolutionary Socialist Party condemns this action. We consider it an attack on human life that amounts to imposing the death sentence. In this particular case, the threat comes from people acting in the name of the revolution, since the National Liberation Army [ELN] has taken credit.

2. We hail the timely and correct position taken by Compañero Fidel Castro, who has issued two open letters pointing out the grave consequences that would ensue if this operation should lead to Dr. Jaime Betancur’s death. The Cuban leader’s views have given rise to a vigorous and beneficial debate about kidnappings and other methods of individual terror that have done so much harm to the revolutionary movement in Colombia and throughout Latin America. Moreover, Fidel Castro has called into question the left-wing character of the group that has carried out the kidnapping. His view on this aspect is widely shared. The Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the

revolutionary movement of Colombia have made similar statements.

3. We support the two-minute work stoppage planned for December 7 and the mobilizations that the workers movement will carry out on that day to demand the release of Dr. Jaime Betancur and all those who have been kidnapped and to demand as well the return of

the "disappeared" and the dismantling of the paramilitary gangs. We call in particular for the implementation of the dialogue and truce between the guerrillas and the government, and for the demilitarization of the peasant areas. The struggle for democratic rights and the interests of the proletariat can be won only through the mobilization of the masses. □

Peru

Massive vote against regime

Working-class parties score major gains

By Fred Murphy

President Fernando Belaúnde Terry and his ruling People's Action Party (AP) were dealt a stunning defeat in Peru's countrywide municipal elections held November 13.

In Lima, the capital — whose 6 million people account for one-third of Peru's population — the AP's mayoral candidate was routed by Alfonso Barrantes Lingán of the United Left (IU)* coalition. IU candidates also won the bulk of the elections for district mayors in Lima's poor shantytowns and working-class neighborhoods. The IU also gained control of municipal governments in four provincial capitals — Cuzco, Puno, Huaraz, and Huanavelica.

The IU's overall vote total of 26 percent put it second behind the bourgeois-nationalist opposition party, the American People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), which received 38 percent of the votes. Trailing were the right-wing Christian People's Party (PPC) with 23 percent and the ruling AP with but 10 percent.

The Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT, Peruvian section of the Fourth International) had remained outside the United Left. It presented candidates in Lima and five other cities but received few votes, except in Juliaca, where it registered 5 percent, and in Tacna, where it outpolled the IU but trailed behind the APRA. After the elections, the PRT Central Committee met and ascribed the party's poor showing to a mistaken policy toward the IU (see accompanying document).

The election results present a striking contrast to the 1980 electoral victories of the People's Action Party. Belaúnde won the presidency in May of that year with 43 percent of the vote, and in municipal elections in November 1980 the AP received 40 percent in



Alfonso Barrantes, candidate of United Left and new mayor of Lima.

Lima and 33 percent countrywide.

The precipitous decline in the AP's standing and the significant gains registered by the working-class parties grouped in the IU reflect widespread popular discontent with Belaúnde's policies of economic austerity and military repression.

Tens of thousands of Peruvian workers have

lost their jobs as a result of industrial bankruptcies brought on by the slashing of tariff barriers. Continual currency devaluations have fueled inflation, which now stands near 150 percent. Real wages have fallen to 60 percent of their 1973 level. In the countryside, peasants who were already squeezed by mounting debts and the curtailment of new credit now face disaster owing to massive floods in the north and a two-year drought in the south.

In some of the poorest districts high in the Andes Mountains of south-central Peru, an armed guerrilla movement emerged in 1982 with considerable popular support. Belaúnde's response was to send in several thousand troops and special police units to crush the Maoist group known as the Communist Party of Peru "Sendero Luminoso" (SL — Shining Path). A year of de facto military rule in Ayacucho Province and surrounding areas has failed to eliminate the SL but has instead resulted in the massacre of hundreds of civilians and the curtailment of democratic rights throughout that region. In one particularly grisly incident on the day after the elections, counterinsurgency police shot 34 peasants in the village of Soccos. The dead included six small children and a woman eight months pregnant whose baby was "ripped out by gunfire," according to the Lima weekly *Caretas*.

Reports of torture and the "disappearance" of persons seized by the armed forces in Ayacucho Province have become widespread, and international human-rights groups such as Amnesty International have denounced the mounting repression.

The response of Peru's working people to Belaúnde's wide-ranging attacks on their rights and living standards has not been limited to the electoral repudiation of the government.

The country was paralyzed on September 27 by a general strike, called by the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP) and other trade-union groups. It was supported by the parties and elected mayors of the IU, by the PRT, by the country's two peasant federations,

Parliament suspends rights defender

In a new attack on democratic rights in Peru, United Left deputy Javier Diez Canseco was suspended from parliament for 120 days on December 13 by vote of the pro-government majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

The pretext was Diez Canseco's protest at the previous day's session of an attempt by the ruling party to ram through a wage-control measure. The deputy was charged with showing "disrespect for a public functionary."

As vice-chairman of the human rights commission of the Chamber of Deputies, Diez Canseco has played a key role in in-

vestigating and exposing the regime's brutal repression and terrorism against peasants in Ayacucho Province. The suspension deprives him of his parliamentary immunity from prosecution, thus offering the regime an opening to take further measures against him.

Hugo Blanco, an elected deputy of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), suffered a similar suspension from parliament last August because he accused Ayacucho region military chief Gen. Clemente Noel of murdering peasants. At the time, Blanco pointed out that suspensions of more than 15 days violate the parliament's own internal rules, but to no avail.

* The United Left is made up of most of Peru's working-class political parties, as well as independent leftists such as Lima mayor-elect Alfonso Barrantes. Among its principal components are the pro-Moscow Peruvian Communist Party; Democratic People's Unity (UDP), a bloc of revolutionary currents; the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), led by prominent figures from the 1968-75 populist military government; and the Revolutionary Left Union (UNIR), a bloc of groups of Maoist origin.

and by neighborhood and student groups. The work stoppage followed a wave of strikes in the copper mines and other key sectors.

Since the elections, provincewide general strikes have been held in Puno and Talara. Twenty thousand shantytown dwellers demonstrated in the center of Lima November 30 to demand potable water, title to the lands on which they have built their makeshift housing, and official recognition of their neighborhood organizations. Fishing workers have blocked

roads and carried out other protests against massive layoffs from the state fishing enterprise Pesca-Perú. Further strikes have occurred among copper miners, public employees, health workers, bank workers, and workers in the paper and dairy industries.

With Belaúnde's government thrown onto the defensive by the election results, and with the mass movement imbued with fresh confidence by the IU's gains, bigger struggles can be expected in Peru in coming months. □

DOCUMENTS

PRT seeks to join United Left

Peruvian revolutionists reassess position

[The following statement was issued in Lima on Dec. 3, 1983, by the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), Peruvian section of the Fourth International. The text has been taken from the December 12-18, 1983, issue of *Bandera Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Mexican section of the Fourth International (also called the PRT). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A good revolutionary is not one who never makes mistakes but rather one who is able to recognize mistakes and correct them.

1. The municipal election results have opened a new situation in the country. The most important development marking this change is the overwhelming victory of the United Left (IU) in the voting in Lima and other important cities.

This has meant not only a defeat for the government but also a victory for the working-class and popular opposition to the regime.

This electoral victory for the left brings to the fore concrete and palpable hopes for a government representative of the workers and not of the bourgeoisie.

2. This victory has not, however, been shared by our party. In Lima and in four of that city's most populous districts, as well as in Arequipa, Mollendo, Tacna, and Juliaca, our party presented slates of candidates opposed to those of the IU. In more than one case our party centered its electoral campaign on criticizing the United Left. The result of this orientation has been an electoral and political defeat for the PRT.

3. We do not believe that our error consisted simply in not having withdrawn our slates so as to give critical support to the IU. Rather, we believe our error has been greater and more deeply rooted.

Almost from its foundation,¹ our party has

conducted itself with a dogmatic and sectarian orientation in which the defense of revolutionary positions and party-building have been counterposed to united-front practices.

It was this attitude that blocked our understanding in 1978-79 of the great importance of unity between the FOCEP and the UDP.² This same sectarian orientation was evident in our failure to join with the UDP in defending the existence of the ARI in 1980,³ after the POMR, the UNIR, and the PCR⁴ withdrew from the ARI. The opportunity for building a revolutionary front was thereby closed off. It was this same dogmatic policy that irresponsibly

participated in the May 1978 Constituent Assembly elections as part of the bloc known as the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP). PRT leader Hugo Blanco was a leading candidate on the FOCEP slate, which received 11.5 percent of the vote, outpolling all other currents on the Peruvian left.

2. UDP — Democratic People's Unity. At the time of the 1978 elections, the UDP was a bloc of revolutionary, centrist, and Maoist tendencies that received 4.2 percent of the vote. Two of the Trotskyist groups that subsequently founded the PRT belonged to the UDP but withdrew when the PRT was formed. Today, the UDP is part of the United Left; its principal components are the Revolutionary Vanguard (VR) and the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR).

3. ARI — Revolutionary Left Alliance, a short-lived electoral bloc formed in January 1980 among the PRT, the UDP, and various other Maoist and Trotskyist currents. PRT leader Hugo Blanco was to have been the ARI's candidate for president in the May 1980 general elections, but the bloc fell apart less than two months after its founding.

4. POMR — Revolutionary Marxist Workers Party, Peruvian affiliate of the Fourth International (International Center for Reconstruction), a current whose most prominent figure is Pierre Lambert of France.

UNIR — Revolutionary Left Union, a bloc of Maoist groups.

PCR — Revolutionary Communist Party, a Maoist current that had belonged to the UDP but left it at the time of the ARI breakup.

bly kept us outside the United Left when it was constituted in September 1980 as the framework for the unity of the left. Since then, our party has incorrectly remained outside that framework.

4. Our party has understood that without the unity of the workers and peoples movement there can be no victory and no revolution. Revolutionary positions have no prospects of success if they are unable to gain a majority on the terrain of the united front.

The tragic experience of Grenada, where division among the revolutionaries made possible the imperialist invasion, provides negative proof of this. The revolutionary victory in Nicaragua and the gains of the revolution in El Salvador — achieved on the basis of firmly defending unity — are the positive proof of the same proposition.

5. In formulating this public self-criticism, our party recognizes that the United Left is the framework of the political united front of the workers and of the Peruvian people. It is therefore within the United Left that joint action by the left parties must be encouraged; it is inside the IU that democratic debate and confrontation among the various opinions existing on the left must unfold.

In making this statement our party publicly commits itself to work loyally and in a spirit of unity within this framework and to build the IU's base committees.

6. This statement hardly means that our party is giving up its approach of consistent struggle to defend the interests of the exploited, or its political and programmatic positions.

Our party has not covered up, nor will it hide in the future, its disagreements with the leaders of the United Left. But it does commit itself to debate those differences in a mature fashion on the basis of mutual respect and defense of the integrity of the united front.

In this sense the PRT reaffirms:

a) the necessity of extending to all levels the unity achieved in the IU — to build a single workers federation and a single peasant federation.

b) the need to democratize all the workers and people's organizations, combating all forms of bureaucratism and of usurpation of the democracy of the masses.

c) the need to build the people's defense fronts⁵ throughout the country as united-front organs based on assemblies of the people and as the future organs of people's power. This task falls in the first instance today to the elected IU mayors.

d) the need to defend the political independence of the workers in face of the various bourgeois opposition currents. The PRT therefore rejects any alliance with the American

5. The People's Defense Fronts are local, regional, or province-wide coalitions involving trade unions, peasant groups, shantytown dwellers, church groups, small merchants, local officials, and opposition political parties. These fronts have most often taken shape around struggles aimed at countering the central government's traditional neglect of the economic needs of Peru's interior.

1. The PRT was founded in October 1978 through a fusion of five Trotskyist groups. Three of these had

People's Revolutionary Alliance (APRA).

e) the urgency of going forward from the electoral victory to an effective defeat of the government through mass mobilizations.

f) the need to prepare the masses on all levels — including that of self-defense — to confront the militarists who will seek by any and all means to block the workers' advance to power.

g) the conviction that only a break with im-

perialism and the beginning of the socialist transformation of the economy will be able to bring the country out of crisis; that only a workers government based on the toilers' own organs of power will be able to truly guarantee that the democratic rights and well-being of the masses will be respected.

7. The PRT calls on its members and supporters to prove in practice the new course our party is taking by offering not only an example

of militancy and self-sacrifice in the defense of the interests of the exploited, as they are already doing, but also, and now above all, by becoming the most firm defenders of the unity of the left and of the mass organizations.

8. Considering that the IU is the road toward unity of the masses, we request the PRT's incorporation into the IU. In the coming days we will formalize this request for admission. □

Argentina

Why Alfonsín won the elections

Peronism in decline as workers seek new leadership

By Marcelo Zugadi

BUENOS AIRES — The end of the Argentine dictatorship through the October 30 elections was a victory of the working-class and popular resistance. At the same time, it showed that the bourgeoisie still has room for maneuver.

The Peronists, who received 62 percent of the votes in the 1973 elections, were reduced to 40 percent this time. The Radical Civic Union (UCR), on the other hand, climbed from 24 percent in 1973 to 52 percent in these elections.

An analysis of the electoral results indicates that the most concentrated and politically advanced sectors of the workers movement, the majority of the 5 million young people who had never voted before, and the most progressive layers of the middle classes all voted against the Peronists and brought victory to UCR presidential candidate Raúl Alfonsín.

Peronist candidates were elected to the governorships of 12 provinces — the most backward and least populous — out of 23. This in turn brought them a majority in the national Senate.

But the Peronists lost in Córdoba, the center of the automobile industry and the stronghold of the working-class vanguard over the past decade. They lost in Villa Constitución, the main steel center, where in 1975 the anti-bureaucratic struggle in the unions reached its highest pitch. They lost also in the industrial suburbs of Buenos Aires, where the bulk of the working class is concentrated and where the Peronists had traditionally been the strongest. And they lost as well in the capital itself, receiving only 27 percent of the votes there as against the UCR's 64 percent.

Workers 'depolticized'?

Juan Alemán, a key figure in the military regimes who has close ties to the imperialist banks, explained the UCR's victory as the result of the dictatorship's economic policies. These supposedly elevated many workers into the "middle class" and led them to identify with their new social status by voting for Al-

fonsín. "The radicals ought to thank Martínez de Hoz [an economics minister under the dictatorship] for their triumph," Alemán said.

Curiously, some commentators who consider themselves Marxists have put forward similar arguments. As they see it, the high vote for the UCR flowed from the depoliticization of the citizenry by the armed forces and hence was a political victory for the dictatorship.

But this is quite far from the truth. The defeat of the Peronists is a historic event that reflects a prolonged development of the consciousness of the workers movement. Alfonsín's victory, on the other hand, is a conjunctural event that in no way means the crystallization of a new ideological position or organizational framework among the workers and youth. Rather, Alfonsín was their momentary choice to stave off the possibility that those who control the Peronist movement might come back to power. That is, the right-wing politicians, the union bureaucrats with close ties to the military, and the ones who organized the armed gangs that decimated the opposition within the Peronist movement itself in 1973-76.

The negative reflection of an historic step forward

Peronism was the political expression of the working class as a whole for thirty years. Despite being a nationalist-populist movement with bourgeois leadership, Peronism provided the framework for the social and political unity of the workers movement. Through it, the working class achieved a high degree of organization and conquered important gains.

The rightward development of Peronism and the utilization of its working-class and popular base as an instrument for the defense of capitalism necessarily compelled the exploited to seek out an alternative of their own. But a mass political movement cannot be reconstituted and provided with a different leadership all at once. Thus when the workers turned away from Peronism, this initially weakened the working class and its allies by depriving them of their vehicle of social unity and polit-

ical expression. The complexity of this shift was evident in 1976, when the workers movement refused to defend Isabel Perón's government and entered into confrontation with the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy. This opened the way for the installation of a dictatorship.

The military regime was able to maintain stability for five years and launch bigger attacks than ever before on the conquests of the workers. In this sense, Alfonsín does represent a phenomenon analogous to the dictatorship: his victory is based on the political disorientation of the working class.

But something else is going on beneath the surface. Alfonsín owes his victory to the workers who have gone furthest in their political and trade-union experience and who have identified Peronism as a bourgeois and counterrevolutionary leadership. They cast their votes against the 1973-76 government and the union bureaucrats ensconced in the Peronist party apparatus. These broad layers of the proletariat — decisive in the evolution of the class as a whole — are no longer Peronists but have not yet taken up a different alternative. They are in transition from the class-collaborationist notions imposed by Peronism toward something still undefined.

They are not and will not be a social base for the maneuvers of some demagogue like Alfonsín who paints himself social-democratic pink in order to better represent the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The working-class vanguard — including the left-Peronist currents in the unions — voted for what it considered the best opportunity for gaining democratic space. The Peronists — divided and led by the worst elements of the union bureaucracy and even by actual criminals — offered neither stability nor respect for the rules of the game of bourgeois democracy. The politicized workers knew perfectly well that Lorenzo Miguel, chief of the union apparatus, had made a deal with the military to try to bring out a new edition of the union-armed forces alliance that gave birth to Peronism in 1943.

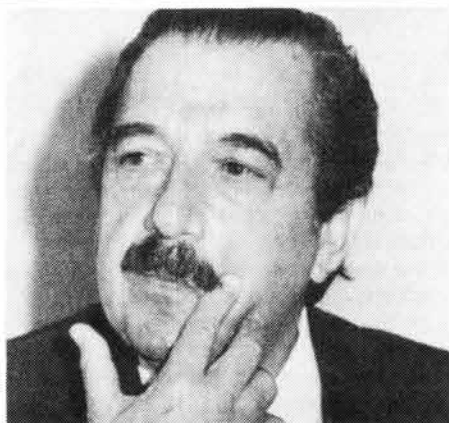
In rejecting such an alliance the workers

were not retrogressing toward Alfonsín's brand of liberalism but rather advancing along a road that leads toward rejecting the class-collaborationist notions of Peronism, repudiating the military, and getting rid of the union bureaucracy.

Default by the left

Why this positive course was reflected in votes for Alfonsín can be understood by looking at the positions the left took in the elections.

The Communist Party supported the Peronist candidates. The revolutionary currents inside the Peronist movement submitted to the right wing's blackmail and made little impact on public opinion. Both the Movement Toward Socialism (MAS) and the Workers Party (PO)* proclaimed themselves mass parties and, in a frenzy of extreme sectarianism, rejected the need for a working-class united



PRESIDENT RAÚL ALFONSÍN

front in the elections.

It was impossible to foresee that so many workers would take the difficult step of voting for a bourgeois candidate from the party that was traditionally their enemy, and against the party they had supported since 1945. But there can be no doubt that broad sectors of the working class and its allies would have supported a working-class alternative independent of the bourgeoisie had a credible one been presented.

On the basis of a totally erroneous view of the degree of ideological maturity of the proletariat, the CP, the revolutionary Peronists, the MAS and PO, and other forces on the left viewed the elections merely as an opportunity

to build their own organizations. They chose either to openly support the Peronists or to try to draw individuals away from the Peronists. In doing so, they rejected the possibility of creating an independent workers party or presenting candidates through a workers and people's front.

The most advanced workers and youth were thereby left to fend for themselves. They in turn inflicted a severe electoral defeat on the leftist groups: the ranks of revolutionary Peronism and of the CP disobeyed their leaders and voted for Alfonsín. The CP, which sent two deputies to parliament in 1973, elected none this time. The MAS, which received 182,000 votes under the name PST in 1973, got but 42,000 in these elections. And the PO, which signed up 70,000 supporters to gain legal standing in March, received only 13,000 votes on October 30.

Great expectations

Alfonsín's victory has created big expectations among a broad majority of the Argentine population. Above all, he is expected to safeguard democratic rights. No one, not even from the most reactionary sectors, now dares to question the unrestricted exercise of individual liberties.

No one expects a rapid economic recovery, but hope does exist that the UCR will eradicate corruption, get the productive apparatus started up again, put an end to squandering and

* The MAS is the new name taken by the Socialist Workers Party (PST), which was a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina until splitting from the international in 1979. Its long-time central leader is Nahuel Moreno.

The PO until the mid-1970s formed the Argentine affiliate of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. Today it is part of a small international current known as the Fourth Internationalist Tendency.

For further information on the approach these two organizations took to the elections, see *Intercontinental Press*, Oct. 31, 1983, p. 607.

Argentine junta members prosecuted

Newly elected Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín has moved to prosecute the nine top generals and admirals who made up the military juntas that ruled the country between 1976 and 1982. These officers — including ex-presidents Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, Gen. Roberto Viola, and Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri — have been charged with "homicide, illegal privation of liberty, and torture of prisoners."

The charges stem from the campaign of terror waged by the military dictatorship in which thousands of Argentines lost their lives and between 6,000 and 30,000 were kidnapped and "disappeared" by security forces.

The newly elected Congress, at Alfonsín's request, repealed on December 22 the so-called amnesty law the last junta had decreed in September in an attempt to block such prosecutions of military officers.

The new regime has also forced into retirement half of the generals in the army, two-thirds of the navy's admirals, and a considerable number of top air force officers. It has taken the national intelligence service out of military hands and has

stripped the armed forces of control over other institutions, ranging from arms factories to automobile registration.

A sixteen-member commission has been appointed to investigate the fate of the thousands of "disappeared" persons; it is empowered to order documents or testimony from any public official or member of the armed forces.

The Congress is also considering new laws that would make the torture of prisoners a crime equal to murder and put an end to the jurisdiction of military courts over civilians.

At the same time, Alfonsín has sought to make clear that his moves are aimed against "abuses" and not at the military as a whole. Prosecution of the ex-junta members has been left in the hands of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, a body composed of nine retired senior officers.

In an effort to equate the brutal military regimes with those who took up arms against them, Alfonsín has also ordered the prosecution of seven exiled guerrilla leaders — six from the Montonero Peronist Movement and one from the People's Rev-

olutionary Army (ERP). The Montoneros have hailed the ending of military rule and have announced the dissolution of their armed apparatus. Nonetheless, Montonero leader Ricardo Obregón Cano was immediately jailed when he returned to Argentina on December 20.

By acting swiftly against nine of the most notorious figures from the military regime, Alfonsín aims to avoid the more serious weakening of the armed forces that could result from the punishment of all those officers who played a role in organizing the "dirty war" of the late 1970s. This could prove difficult, however, since private citizens are free to bring charges against those who tormented them or their relatives. Such cases have burgeoned in recent months; among the top officers so indicted is Alfonsín's immediate predecessor as president, Gen. Reynaldo Bignone. Many officers have reportedly fled the country to avoid prosecution.

Meanwhile, the remains of 200 more unidentified victims of the repression have been discovered in unmarked graves since Alfonsín's inauguration.

— Fred Murphy

set limits to imperialist voracity.

For political reasons, but also because of the needs of the bourgeois sectors he represents, Alfonsín will seek to satisfy these expectations within certain limits. Taking advantage of the deep crisis inside the armed forces that blocks them from coming back into power for a prolonged period, the ruling team will try to reorganize the military along liberal lines, subordinating it to the civilian power. The class relationship of forces and the government's own declared aims make it fairly certain that democratic rights will be broadly upheld. The regime will also move to dismantle the armed paramilitary apparatus that has existed since 1973.

Economic dilemma

The change from a monetarist economic policy to one that boosts employment and tends to redistribute income so as to reactivate the domestic market is what Alfonsín's economic program amounts to. This will in no way suffice to break the grip of recession and inflation. The weight of the foreign debt closes the way to any development program. The extreme distortions in the national economy, tied in to a recessive and inflationary international framework, will cancel out the effects of the timid reforms proposed by Alfonsín. His initial attacks on finance capital and his firm stance regarding the foreign debt are steps the government had to take, both to favor the non-

monopoly bourgeoisie and because the country is materially unable to comply with its foreign commitments.

Such moves could enhance for a time the anti-imperialist image that is falsely attributed to Alfonsín. But insofar as these measures fail to go to the root of the problem and put an end to the country's economic dependency, they will spur but not satisfy the anti-imperialist sentiments of broad sectors of the masses.

The more audacious Alfonsín's demagogic measures, the stronger will be the chains that bind him to the expectations he generates. Without significant increases in real wages, an end to unemployment, and solutions to housing and health-care problems, it will prove impossible for him to maintain working-class support. Without an end to inflation, lower interest rates, economic development, and social stability, his middle-class backing will dissipate. But taking all these necessary measures would mean rapidly losing the support of the big bourgeoisie and control over the armed forces.

Class struggle

Alfonsín's political room for maneuver is circumscribed by the smashing defeat of the armed forces on one hand and by the absence of an independent leadership of the workers movement on the other. The two irreconcilable giants — the monopolist bourgeoisie associated with imperialism, and the working

class — lack their general staffs. But this does not halt or soften the class struggle. Nor is the new regime neutral in that conflict — it is clearly aligned with capital, of which it forms a subordinate part and to which it has responded and will respond in every critical situation.

But the workers movement that undermined and defeated the dictatorship has a whole series of conquests to recover and feels itself powerful enough to do so. It will not be stopped with political maneuvers and demagogic promises. This government will not solve any of the fundamental problems of Argentine society; it will wind up using violence against the workers and their allies just as the Peronist government did ten years ago.

The new situation is different from the one of 1973–76, however, in that the armed forces will need more time to recover from the disarray in their ranks. The workers movement will continue to take its distance from Peronism but will probably wait somewhat longer before launching a national offensive. So Alfonsín may enjoy some additional breathing space.

Nonetheless, if the economic crisis and questions like the disappeared, corruption, and the Malvinas Islands dispute with British imperialism do not receive prompt and positive solutions, fresh explosions cannot be ruled out. In any event, the coming period will see a race between the working class and the bourgeoisie to gain political ground and prepare for the inevitable social confrontation. □

DOCUMENTS

What road for antimissiles movement?

'Nonalignment' versus unilateralism

By Ernest Mandel

[The following appeared as an editorial in the December 1, 1983, issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, a quarterly magazine published in Belgium by the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International. The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Among the many questions debated in the antiwar movement in Europe, the questions of "nonalignment" and unilateralism occupy a special place. A great deal of ink has flowed concerning the supposed need for the antiwar movements of Western Europe, North America, Japan, and Australia to adopt a nonaligned attitude toward the "two superpowers" or the "two blocs" (China's place in this whole affair is rather unclear, to say the least).

If "nonalignment" is used simply to mean that the antiwar movement in the imperialist countries should not subordinate its objectives to the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvers; that it

must examine each Soviet proposal on partial disarmament exclusively from the vantage point of its ability to encourage or, inversely, hinder the broadest possible spread of mobilizations taking place in the Western countries against imperialism's remilitarization campaign; that it must develop continuous propaganda in favor of the total abolition of nuclear weapons in all countries of the world, without exception, and under strict international control (which is possible today through satellites and other sophisticated means) — then that conception has our complete approval.

A united and massive antiwar movement in the Western countries can only exist in the form of a movement independent of any government and any state — including the government of the Soviet bureaucracy, whose twists in foreign policy (not to mention its internal political regime) create legitimate distrust among the working masses. This distrust is the product not of "anti-Soviet propaganda," but of the concrete experiences that have marked the consciousness of these masses: the armed interventions that repressed the Hungarian rev-

olution of 1956 and the "Prague Spring" in 1968; the open military and political pressures against the rise of proletarian struggles and independent organization in Poland in 1980–81; the military intervention in Afghanistan; the terrible repression of dissidents (not only the pro-Western ones, but also oppositional socialists and communists) in the USSR; the absence of elementary democratic freedoms for the working class, such as the right to strike, and so on.

But revolutionary Marxists do not subscribe to the neutral notion of "superpower," which is applied without any socioeconomic content and without the slightest consideration of class character.

In our view, the USSR is not a capitalist country and is not driven by internal contradictions toward a policy of expansion or aggression on a world scale. We also think that the "threat of a Soviet invasion of Western Europe" is a dangerous and absurd myth. American imperialism — and this is all the more true for the whole international im-

perialist alliance (U.S. + Western Europe + Canada + Japan + Australia) — has far greater technological, industrial, military, and financial resources than the “Soviet bloc.”

Since 1945 it has *always* been imperialism that has taken the lead in the nuclear arms race. Today this remains just as true as ever. The Kremlin has only *reacted* to these threats, without ever matching or surpassing them.

In our view, the very nature of capitalism drives it to international expansion and aggression and gives it a destructive tendency. One cannot say the same about Soviet society, whatever its weaknesses, insufficiencies, and perversions. If one lays to rest — as mountains of irrefutable evidence indicate we should — the no less dangerous myth that paints Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, and Andropov as the apostles of the “spread of the world revolution,” we must recognize the essentially *conservative* character of the Soviet bureaucracy and the fact that its fundamental strategic line is not to disturb the world status quo but rather to maintain it.

What is incorrectly portrayed as “Soviet expansionism” is actually the extension of the world revolution by forces independent of the Kremlin, forces that have acted or are acting contrary to Soviet pressure, instructions, and recommendations.

When this extension takes place anyway, the Kremlin faces an agonizing choice. It can let these forces grow to the point of becoming centers that pursue an *independent* policy in international affairs, and that might even be transformed into *revolutionary* centers that could help overcome the atomization of the Soviet and Eastern European masses themselves. Or it can try, with varying degrees of success, to channel them, control them, or “retrieve” them through limited economic and military aid.

Having said this, we in no way seek to impose on other political components of the antiwar movement our analysis of the fundamentally different character of the imperialist powers and the USSR. We do not make acceptance of this view a precondition for building this movement as a mass movement based on a united front. In our view, what we need is a movement *whose objective is united action* in pursuit of a highly progressive goal, not a battlefield or an ideological alliance between different tendencies of the world workers movement.

We do not accept the notion that anyone can forbid us from putting forward our positions on all questions that might come up, including on the differing character and dynamics of capitalist and Soviet societies. At the same time, we defend that same right for all other tendencies. But we refuse to subordinate the struggle for the common practical goal to the outcome of some ideological *debate*.

In our opinion, the important thing is that this be an independent, democratic, self-governing movement *of mass mobilization and action*. Concretely, this means we see unilateralism as a decisive question, because you

cannot have a mass movement that is really oriented toward action in the West unless it fights for the unilateral elimination of its own government’s nuclear weapons and the nuclear bases in its own country.

It is obvious that the “nonaligned” demand for mutual and parallel nuclear disarmament in the West and the East cannot constitute the objective of mass action here and now in Britain, West Germany, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, etc. If a demand of this type became the central objective of the antiwar movement in these countries, one would have to expect to see two things develop at the same time. First, the movement would be turned away from mass mobilization and action in the streets and would turn into a diplomatic pressure group in Geneva, Washington, and Moscow. Second, the democratic and nonexclusionary character of the movement would be dissolved under the pressure of anti-unilateralism, denunciation of the “Reds,” and antiactivism.

Moreover, it is perfectly obvious that in practice the hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people who demonstrate in the West can only *act* against the nuclear missiles and bases in their own countries, just as the millions of Polish workers can only *act* against the misdeeds and mismanagement of their own masters; and just as the hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants in Central America can only *act* against the repression, oppression, and superexploitation perpetrated by their own dictatorships and by the imperialism present on the scene. Everything else is propaganda, protest, and solidarity. And, while that is indispensable for internationalist proletarian education, it can never attain the breadth reached by mass mobilization and action around concrete goals.

Once you start to move away from mass action and orient toward diplomatic pressure, the presence within the movement of forces who want to carry out action on a unilateralist basis becomes a source of embarrassment and uneasiness, and there will be a tendency to exclude them through the well-known methods of witchhunts of communists, beginning with the assertion that they are at least “objectively agents of Soviet imperialism” if not completely on Moscow’s “payroll.”

So unilateralism is a life and death question for the antiwar movement because of its ability to sustain the largest possible independent, united, and democratic mass mobilizations and actions against the threat of nuclear annihilation.

The fundamental logic of complete “nonalignment” pushes in the opposite direction from the fundamental logic of mass action. In effect, the logic of “nonalignment” is, as many opponents of the Western antiwar movement (including the reactionary wing of Soviet dissidents) have already stated repeatedly: as long as hundreds of thousands of people are not demonstrating in the streets of Moscow, Leningrad, Prague, Budapest, East Berlin, and Bucharest “against the deployment

of Soviet nuclear weapons,” the hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in the streets of New York, London, Tokyo, Rome, Bonn, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Madrid, and Copenhagen “obviously weaken the West.”

The logic of unilateralism is the only one that makes it possible to oppose this logic in a coherent way. The struggle against the threat of a nuclear holocaust is much too crucial to be left in the hands of governments that have not shown the slightest inclination to end the nuclear arms race and destroy and ban atomic weapons once and for all. The only thing they have accomplished in 38 years is to “control” the nuclear arms race in their mutual interest and through their mutual consent, but not to put an end to it.

The more the nuclear arsenal grows, even in a “controlled” way, the more explicit becomes the threat of a nuclear holocaust. That is why the working masses of this planet must take the question of the nuclear armaments race out of the hands of governments and deal with it themselves.

The problem of nuclear disarmament will not be resolved around diplomatic conference tables, but in the streets and in the factories. One cannot advance along this road unless each people takes aim at its own government and its own nuclear weapons builders and merchants, without waiting for some miracle by which the peoples of the world decide suddenly to act at the same moment, all together.

Each success along this road will serve as an example and will be the best way to draw other peoples into action. The recipe of complete “nonalignment,” which consists of waiting for mass action to unfold somewhere else than where you are, is a recipe for passivity and hopelessness. The strategy of unilateralism is a strategy of action and hope.

That is precisely why the unilateralist movement in capitalist Europe can only maintain and assert its credibility in the eyes of broad Western masses if it consistently struggles for the right of the masses of the USSR and Eastern Europe to develop their own movements for peace that are democratic, self-run, and independent of their governments and of the bureaucracy.

If the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucrats refuse to recognize this right, they thereby show that the Kremlin views the defense of its monopoly of political activity and organization in the USSR and Eastern Europe as more important than the struggle to save their own people and all of humanity from nuclear holocaust, and as more important than the organization of a massive and united antiwar movement in the capitalist countries, which is an important element in achieving that goal.

In other words, the bureaucracy thereby confirms that it subordinates peace in the world, defense of the Soviet Union, and the interests of the Soviet and world working class to the defense of its own special and limited interests as a reactionary caste, its privileges, and its power. □

Solidarity rally with Central America

Broad gathering organized by Revolutionary Workers League

By Robert Simms

MONTREAL — Solidarity with liberation fighters in Central America and around the world was the theme of a spirited public meeting held here December 30. More than 140 people attended the event, organized by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the RWL's Montreal youth committee, the Comité de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire (CJR — Revolutionary Youth Committee).

The meeting, which attracted many solidarity activists, took place between sessions of the RWL's pan-Canadian convention.

Chairperson Carole Caron opened the event, noting that while its central theme was directed toward mobilizing opposition to the expanding U.S. war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions, the meeting was also taking place on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. This too became a theme. Tribute was also paid to the 19th anniversary of the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Oscar Dada, a representative of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador, was the first to explain the deepening U.S. invasion of Central America. "That's the only way it [the United States] thinks it can stop the region's revolutionary forces," he said. He added, "in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Reagan will find two peoples ready and willing to struggle. In the end, our peoples will defeat imperialism."

Dada also referred to the accelerating process of unification that the organizations making up the FMLN are undertaking. One of the impulses to this was the lesson drawn from dealing with unprincipled factional strife within the coalition.

Through their experiences, the FMLN's member groups have concluded, he said, that "unity is a strategic choice, and we must constantly deepen it. We are convinced that the unity process has now become an irreversible fact."

Pastor Valle-Garay, who is consul-general for Nicaragua in Toronto, was unable to attend because of the demands posed for his work by the escalating U.S. attacks against Nicaragua. His message on behalf of the Nicaraguan government was read by Phil Cournoyer, co-chairperson of Canadian Action for Nicaragua in Toronto.

Valle-Garay thanked the trade unionists and solidarity activists across Canada who recently raised more than \$1 million in aid for his country. "Nicaragua needs this kind of support now more than ever," he wrote, adding, "we are

prepared for peace and we welcome it. We are also ready for war."

Chants of "no pasarán" from the audience greeted his message. "No pasarán" is a popular Nicaraguan slogan meaning "they [the imperialists] shall not pass."

Don Rojas, a leading member of Grenada's New Jewel Movement who was press secretary to Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop before Bishop was executed, also sent a message. "Although imperialism has militarily vanquished our people . . . thanks to a group of opportunistic, ambitious, infantile, and unscientific individuals posing as ultrarevolutionaries, it has not destroyed the spirit and example of the Grenadian Revolution," he declared.

"It is a particular honor to send you greetings on the eve of the 25th anniversary of the glorious Cuban revolution," he stated, and noted, "the Cuban people continue to share the fruits of their revolution with the peoples of the world."

Rojas listed the impressive Cuban support to Grenada, from doctors to airports, including the sacrifice by 24 "heroic Cuban construction workers" killed by the U.S. invaders.

The Cuban revolution's 25th anniversary was also taken up by José Pérez, editor of the Spanish-language U.S. socialist biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States. Pérez, whose Cuban parents took him from Cuba in 1960, remembered the exciting New

Year's Eve before the final victory on Jan. 1, 1959. He was seven years old at the time.

Pérez also drew attention to the outstanding role Cuba plays in the world revolutionary process because of the capacities of Cuba's revolutionary leadership. "If any test showed the true revolutionary stature of Cuba, it was Grenada," he said.

The Cuban communists "told the truth about Grenada, the whole truth, the bitter truth," he emphasized, but they did more. They ordered their workers in Grenada to defend themselves against insuperable odds, not "to defend the Coard government and its bloody deeds, but the Central American and world revolution."

Cécile Deschamps brought greetings from the Carrefour Culturel d'Amitié Québec-Cuba (Québec-Cuba Friendship Association). "Carrefour aims to make people aware of what has happened" in Cuba in the last 25 years, she said, such as the great advances in health care and education. She added that while there can be "differences in thinking" among various groups, we can all defend Cuba together.

The meeting sent a telegram to the Cuban government hailing the revolution's 25th anniversary.

The director of the Palestine Information Office in Ottawa, Abdullah Abdullah, noted that imperialism is not only stepping up its intervention in Central America, but is also trying to contain struggles worldwide, including in the Middle East. Regarding the presence of



Monica Jones/IP

Abdullah Abdullah of Palestine Information Office speaking to rally in Montreal.

U.S. troops in Lebanon and the new U.S.-Israeli strategic alliance, Abdullah stated, "the Americanization of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the new turn that we have to confront."

When he finished, the audience cheered and chanted "OLP! OLP!" the French initials for the PLO.

One of the striking things about the rally was the similar lines of march pointed out for revolutionary movements by those speaking on behalf of the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Grenadian, and Palestinian struggles.

The representatives of these movements described common conclusions drawn from the big events in world politics: the upsurge of workers and farmers rebelling against imperialism, especially in the oppressed nations; the growing ferocity of imperialist war against these uprisings, including imperialism's willingness to go to war with its own troops; the need for revolutionaries to rely on the masses; and the need to build unity in the struggle for revolutionary goals and to counter unprinci-

pled factionalism with proletarian leadership methods.

Katy LeRougetel, the speaker for the RWL and CJR, spoke along similar lines. In this era of wars and revolutions, she said, "the center of these confrontations, the center of war and revolution today, is in Central America." The reason, she explained, is that Nicaragua's revolution and the revolution gaining ground in El Salvador "pose a fundamental alternative to the capitalist system of Reagan, Trudeau, and Thatcher."

The escalating war in Central America, which will eventually involve U.S. troops directly, "will be a lengthy war," LeRougetel said. "The U.S. troops were in Vietnam more than 10 years. When they go into Nicaragua, they will not leave quickly, nor will they leave victorious."

The Canadian government likes to give the appearance of sometimes marching out of step with U.S. imperialism, she noted, but Trudeau and Reagan share fundamental aims: "they are

in alliance against the workers and farmers of the world." And Canada's rulers are especially fearful that examples like Nicaragua might inspire the Québécois, an oppressed nation, to say "why don't we liberate ourselves too?"

The government offensives against workers in British Columbia and Quebec is the other side of their support to imperialist war, she said. Building united "mobilizations to oppose the war against Nicaragua is an essential tool in the war we are fighting against the bosses here."

Héctor Marroquín, who is seeking political asylum in the United States from the Mexican government and is an SWP member, sent a message thanking trade unionists in English Canada and Quebec for supporting his fight against deportation to Mexico by the U.S. government.

The meeting ended with the audience clapping and chanting "Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat" — It's only a beginning, continue the fight. □

Greetings from El Salvador, Palestine

[The following are excerpts from the speeches to the December 30 solidarity rally in Montreal by Oscar Dada of the FMLN-FDR and Abdullah Abdullah of the Palestine Information Office in Ottawa.]

Oscar Dada

I want to give fraternal greetings to the members of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR) and the Comité de la Jeunesse Révolutionnaire (CJR) on behalf of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front.

We recognize the spirit of collaboration and solidarity which you have shown in defense of the liberation movements of Central American and Caribbean peoples, as well as your important participation in the construction of the solidarity movement in Quebec.

I also want to speak somewhat of my own country. During their three years in a united movement, which has seen steady growth in political and military terms, each of the member organizations of the FDR and FMLN has experienced very important developments as a result of the revolutionary process we have lived through.

We have gained great political and military maturity. The organizations have learned from each other by validating and assimilating the contributions which each has produced in the different forms taken by the war.

We have learned from our victories, but we have learned above all from our weaknesses and errors. We have also learned from the willingness of our people to make sacrifices and to fight until final victory. We have understood that unity is a strategic choice and that we must constantly deepen it.

The imperialist invasion against our sister

people of Grenada was a historic lesson for us, not only with respect to the political and military events, but also concerning the aspect of unity. We learned from this experience how important it is to be watchful over the process of unity and to strengthen it, to resolve any difference that might exist among the revolutionary forces, precisely because the unity of these forces represents the advance guard of the liberation process of our people. The FMLN is deepening its unification process. To reach this stage, each of our organizations has had to undergo some serious self-criticism.

The experience of the war of liberation and the blood shed by our martyrs through our errors has filled us with a profound love of revolutionary truth, and we have accepted the consequences that this must bring.

It is the unity process in particular and the Salvadoran people in general which will be the fundamental reason for our victory. After three years of people's revolutionary war, the FMLN and FDR have made important advances.

In response to the Salvadoran government's political and military defeat, U.S. imperialism is in the process of deepening its direct invasion of Central America. That is the only way it thinks it can stop the region's revolutionary forces. The escalating intervention by the Reagan administration and its puppet governments in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador has put us on alert. It has obliged us to prepare ourselves ideologically and militarily with better forces and with serenity.

Abdullah Abdullah

It has been an established fact that since the inception of Israel some 35 years ago, the United States, as the leading imperialist power, has found in Israel an advance post for its work, for its aggressiveness, and for

spreading its hegemony. The United States in the past few weeks has gone further by establishing a new alliance between Israel and the United States.

Last year, the PLO and the Lebanese National Movement confronted an Israeli invasion that lasted almost three months, with the full support — militarily, politically, and otherwise financially — by the United States.

The declared goal of the invasion was to eliminate the PLO, thus exterminating the hopes and aspirations of the Palestinian people and all the revolutionary groups in the Middle East region. But the PLO did not vanish.

They thought that the Palestinian people would abandon their support for the PLO. The response that came from the Palestinian people in the 90 countries of the world where they are scattered is that they are solidly behind the leadership of the PLO, behind the struggle of the PLO to achieve its goal, which is for the Palestinian people to live free and dignified in their own country.

We know that in the past few years the Americans were trying to corner the PLO. It was a test for the American imperialists. By cornering the PLO they wanted to send a message to every revolutionary in the world.

They used the Syrians to bargain with, at the expense of the Palestinians. They wanted to eliminate all those who believed in the independence of our work in dealing with the enemy. And by independence, we mean that we won't accept bargaining away or compromising the national interests of our people. Therefore, eliminating this obstacle, by bringing in the new Syrian element, was to give them a free hand in dealing with the Middle East.

We tell them that United States imperialism will be fought with the same ferocity that we are fighting the Zionist regime of Israel. □

Granma

Newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba. Published in Havana.

The Nov. 27, 1983, issue of *Granma's* English-language weekly carried the text of a speech given November 15 by Minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces Raúl Castro. Castro spoke at ceremonies in Holguín, Cuba, honoring 13 unknown Grenadian soldiers whose bodies had been shipped to Cuba by U.S. authorities on Grenada.

The Cuban defense minister hailed the heroic resistance to the U.S. invasion by "these ordinary rank-and-file fighters," who, he said, "took a clear and courageous stand, over and above the confusion."

The Grenadians' resistance was crushed, Castro continued, "not just because of the overwhelming difference in forces used against them, but especially because of the unfavorable conditions for mass resistance created by the group responsible for the events which opened the doors to the brutal imperialist aggression."

The Cuban leader denounced Washington for having unleashed overwhelming military force "on a people who could only offer symbolic resistance, limited by the most adverse circumstances wrought by disunity." He continued:

"It is true that there is no tradition of violent struggle in the Caribbean. Its small peoples, balkanized by colonialist and neocolonialist actions, have only recently attained formal independence and sought true social justice.

"The finest exponent of such aspirations was precisely Grenada which, under the wise leadership of beloved Comrade Maurice Bishop, was embarked on a revolutionary process that was eminently bloodless, coolheaded and far-reaching and had majority support among the population.

"There lay the alleged danger to the United States of a process which was a model for any of the supposed paradise islands whose appearances conceal the true situation of peoples who are gradually losing their identity and can no longer recognize themselves as they are. It was the United States which pounced with disproportionate violence on what was already prey to splits and opportunism. . . .

"From the unjust fate of Grenada, revolutionaries can draw a lesson in understanding how, within a strong and robust revolution, groups and factions are cancers which must be excised with urgency and determination to impede their spread. Calm and prudence need to be shown in employing the correct formula Fidel taught us: be neither tolerant nor implacable.

"In Grenada it was shown that divorce from the masses is tantamount to the suicide of a revolutionary movement, because a revolution which is incapable of successfully calling all the people to war — the only possible way of confronting a powerful invader — becomes an indefensible process."

Raúl Castro concluded by emphasizing how the U.S. invasion of Grenada proves once again that Cuba has "no alternative but to continue preparing ourselves to make our country an invincible bastion against the United States. . . .

"As instructed by Comrade Fidel, we will not rest — and we have come a long way with much success over the past few years — until every man and woman able to fight in this country is given a rifle, or a grenade, or a mine that can explode under the invader's boots."

Canadian Tribune

Weekly newspaper of the Communist Party of Canada. Published in Toronto.

Under a four-column headline, "Jamaicans shed light on Grenada events," an article datelined Kingston, Jamaica, in the Dec. 12, 1983, issue said in part:

"Following the killing of Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop which paved the way for the U.S. invasion of October 25, the Workers' Party of Jamaica was one of the first to try to shed light on the circumstances.

"More recently, at a press conference Nov. 22, Dr. Trevor Munroe, WPJ secretary-general presented 'new information' on the death of Maurice Bishop, based on interviews with WPJ members and supporters who returned from Grenada between Nov. 14 and 17. . . .

"Munroe said the accounts provided by WPJ members, 'now allow the Workers Party of Jamaica: One — to confirm that an armed confrontation leading to a cross-fire in which four soldiers and over 17 people died did take place at Fort Rupert on Oct. 19; two — to state that Maurice Bishop and three other cabinet members were not killed in the cross-fire; that thirdly, while unarmed, they were executed immediately following the shoot-out, by elements in the military unit which recaptured the fort.

"The Workers' Party of Jamaica condemns this execution as a violation of revolutionary principles and denounces the soldiers who carried it out."

"The WPJ believes, on the strength of its new information that the Central Committee of the ruling New Jewel Movement 'neither ordered this execution nor even knew about it beforehand,' but that it was a grave error 'not to have immediately informed the people truthfully that Maurice had been executed . . . and

that the offending soldiers would be brought to justice — while explaining to the Grenadian people the extraordinary circumstances leading up to the execution."

"Based on the statements by its returning members, the WPJ believes that the first shots at Fort Rupert on Oct. 19 were fired by members of the crowd supporting Bishop and the first casualty was a soldier; that 'the New Jewel members present at the fort were counted out and got the clear impression that they, the leadership of the army and the party were going to be liquidated by Maurice Bishop and his supporters.' The WPJ also asserts that some of the biggest businessmen in Grenada — known opponents of the revolution — were among the leaders of the crowd which rescued Bishop.

"While these circumstances can explain the rage of the soldiers,' Munroe's statement says, 'they cannot in any way justify executions . . .' the WPJ maintains that despite the crisis, 'the Grenadian people would have been able to find their own solutions; that the military invasion by the U.S. armed forces, which has taken scores of lives remains totally unjustified; and that the hundreds now being held in detention without cause and under inhuman conditions should be immediately released.'"

hablan los COMUNISTAS

"The Communists Speak," weekly newspaper of the Dominican Communist Party (PCD). Published in Santo Domingo.

In the Oct. 27–Nov. 3, 1983, issue, PCD General Secretary Narciso Isa Conde denounced the U.S. invasion of Grenada, which he said was "closely linked to the unpopularity of the improvised military regime that replaced the people's revolutionary government . . . after a sharp factional struggle and the murder of [Maurice] Bishop and his principal collaborators." Isa Conde continued:

"The process thereby weakened, the main leader of the masses assassinated, the popular majority disoriented by such a grotesque act, and despotism imposed in the name of a militarist faction that was supposedly or in fact leftist, a situation developed that made the success of a low-cost foreign military aggression extraordinarily easy."

Isa Conde said the events in Grenada confirmed once again "that the method of settling political differences in the revolutionary ranks by means of repression, violence, and murder favors the enemies of the revolution in the short, medium, or long term. . . .

"That lesson must be assimilated.

"That lesson must be energetically brought to the attention of all those within the ranks of the revolution who feel inclined to apply or

support such methods against other revolutionaries or against other Marxist tendencies and sectors."

In a two-part series published in the November 10-17 and Nov. 24-Dec. 1, 1983, issues, Sully Saneaux took up other aspects of the Grenada events.

Saneaux also addressed a question that "many persons" had been raising: Shouldn't the Cuban government have sent troops or otherwise intervened in Grenada "to preserve the revolutionary conquests"? Saneaux responded:

"It has in fact been the case that Cuban soldiers have answered the call of revolutionary governments seriously threatened by foreign aggressions, with the aim of *helping them* to resist. . . . Now, in the case of Grenada after October 25, what kind of government did that country have? Was it perhaps a revolutionary government? Was Cuba politically obligated to 'put out the fire' irresponsibly set by others?"

"It is our understanding, and we are not inventing this notion, that the duty of making, developing, and preserving the revolution in each country is the *duty of the people of the country itself*. Consequently, Cuba had no role to play as an 'undoer of wrongs' in that particular situation in Grenada. . . ."

"Taking the hypothesis further, if a Cuban presence had indeed prevented the pirate landing, what would have followed if not the necessity of maintaining that presence in order to preserve the revolutionary conquests achieved under Bishop?"

"For revolutionaries who believe in the masses, in our masses, it would be very frustrating to accept the notion that the road to socialism must pass along such a tortuous course."



"*People's Vanguard*," published weekly in Santo Domingo by the Dominican Liberation Party (PLD).

In a series of three articles in the Nov. 2, 9, and 16, 1983, issues, PLD Chairman Juan Bosch assessed the counterrevolution in Grenada and the U.S. invasion of that country.

Bosch focused especially on the events of October 19 in the Grenadian capital of St. George's, which culminated in the murders of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leading government, trade-union, and New Jewel Movement figures.

From the day Bishop was placed under house arrest, October 12, to the day he was killed, Bosch said, "six days and nights went by in which nothing important happened in Grenada except for a small demonstration a few kilometers from St. George's calling for Bishop's release." However, "from one moment to the next on the morning of Wednesday the 19th, a multitude of 3,000 to 4,000 persons headed for the Government House . . . broke

down several doors, and brought Bishop into the streets."

"Who planned and led that march on the 19th?" Bosch asked. "Were they really supporters of Maurice Bishop, or were they foreign agents who formed part of a plan drawn up carefully quite far from Grenada? Were they Grenadians or North Americans?"

In Bosch's view, Bishop committed a crucial error in letting himself be "dragged along" by the crowd. "If it was the CIA . . . that organized the demonstration . . . Maurice Bishop should have imposed his authority on the crowd that made up the march. Bishop knew that the CIA had made plans to eliminate him, and he should have suspected that that powerful agency must have been or could have been behind or in the midst of the crowd that surrounded him when he left the Government House. . . ."

The crowd brought Bishop "to the doors of Fort Rupert, the place where the real power in his country lay. Power had passed from Bishop to the military chief, Hudson Austin, but the facts indicate that Maurice Bishop had not come to realize that the one who controls political power is the one who controls the guns."

Nonetheless, Bosch went on, "the responsibility for these events does not fall on the head of Maurice Bishop; that responsibility will always be borne by Bernard Coard, his wife Phyllis Coard, and Hudson Austin. . . ."

"Bernard Coard was held to be a good economist in Grenada, but the events that led to his need to put himself on an equal level with Bishop in the leadership of Grenadian public life indicate that his political capacity was inferior to his petty-bourgeois ambition for political and social advancement. Moreover, neither Coard nor his supporters on the New Jewel Central Committee took into account the enormous role that this could play at a certain moment, given the foreign relations of such a small country as Grenada."

Thus when the Coards and Austin deposed Bishop, the regimes of neighboring states "alleged that the seizure of power by the 'radicals' in Grenada was a real threat for them all and that only the United States could guarantee their existence. Based on that invitation, the government of Ronald Reagan decided on the invasion of Grenada, and now presents it to the North American people as a feat of international generosity instead of what it was, an unspeakable and indefensible abuse of force."

International VIEWPOINT

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

Writing in the Dec. 12, 1983, issue, Daniel Jebrac assessed the Reagan administration's efforts "to impose its imperialist 'peace' on the Middle East."

To accomplish this, he said, "Washington

has to reestablish a Christian Phalangist state in Beirut ready to negotiate with Israel. It has to neutralize southern Lebanon, get the Israelis to agree to restore the Golan Heights to Syria, and set up a Palestinian ministate in the West Bank under Jordanian tutelage."

Jebrac cited three obstacles facing Reagan in this endeavor: "the Lebanese regime's lack of authority," "the problem of the existence of the PLO, which has been weakened but not broken," and "the intransigence of the Zionist leaders themselves."

In a section of the article taking up the consequences of the forced withdrawal from Tripoli, Lebanon, by Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat and PLO units loyal to the organization, Jebrac stated that this completes "the process begun by the [PLO's] retreat from Beirut last summer."

He continued, "Still more weakened, Yasser Arafat will be impelled, in order to escape the clutches of the Syrians, to turn back toward Hussein of Jordan and to accept the celebrated Jordanian Option, which means abandoning any perspective of a sovereign Palestinian state, even in a part of Palestine."

"Syria will gain from this in two ways. Arafat will be discredited in the eyes of the more militant sections of the resistance and it will be able to hold an alternative leadership of the PLO that it controls up its sleeve. The November 24 prisoner exchange accord between Arafat and Israel, facilitated from behind the scenes by France, could mark a milestone on this road."

In Lebanon, Jebrac said, "there is no prospect in sight for consolidating Amin Gemayel's regime"; the country could therefore "slide toward de facto partition. The Israelis could settle in in the south. . . . The Syrians could dig in in the north and in the Bekaa Valley. And the puppet Lebanese rump state could be maintained in Beirut under the protection of American and French troops. Each one could help in its own way to assure order by eliminating any troublemakers such as diehard Palestinians or Islamic militias. From this standpoint, the Syrian attack on the PLO does not represent preparation for war but rather an attempt to improve Damascus's position for any bargaining that may take place."

Still, a new military confrontation between Syria on one side and the United States and Israel on the other is by no means excluded. In that event, "it would be necessary in order to defend the Palestinian cause and the Arab peoples against imperialism to defend Syria as well."

"Such support for Syria would not, however, in any way justify giving up the defense of the PLO and its unity against the criminal Syrian aggression in Tripoli. . . ."

"On the other hand, the existence of a representative Palestinian national movement strongly rooted in the occupied territories remains the most intractable obstacle to the solutions the imperialists have in mind for the region."

Achievements of a popular revolution

Part I of introduction to 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

By Steve Clark

[In December 1983, Pathfinder Press published a new book, *Maurice Bishop Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-83*.* The 400-page book contains speeches and interviews with the murdered Grenadian revolutionary leader as well as statements by the Cuban leadership on the events surrounding Bishop's overthrow and the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

[We are reprinting below, in the first of two parts, the introduction to the book, written by its editor, Steve Clark. Clark, who is the editor of *Intercontinental Press* as well, visited Grenada in 1980 and 1983. The introduction is copyright ©1983 and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

[In this first part, Clark discusses the development, strategy, and achievements of the Grenada revolution. The second part will cover the events leading to the overthrow of the workers and farmers government and the subsequent U.S. invasion.]

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On October 12, 1983, Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada and founding leader of the New Jewel Movement, was placed under house arrest at the orders of a clique of army, government, and party officials organized by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard.

On October 19, Bishop and five other central leaders of Grenada's revolutionary government and the New Jewel Movement were murdered in cold blood, again at the order of Coard's clique.

On October 25, thousands of U.S. Marines and Army Rangers landed in Grenada to establish a military occupation of the island and brutally reverse the far-reaching popular advances gained as a result of the March 13, 1979, revolution.

In less than two weeks, the Grenada revolution had been betrayed, its workers' and farmers' government overthrown by renegades, and the island nation invaded and occupied by U.S. imperialism.

Pathfinder Press is publishing this new collection entitled *Maurice Bishop Speaks* because Bishop's own words are the best available record of the accomplishments and inspiring perspectives of that revolution, which for four and a half years marched forward arm in arm with revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba. Making this material accessible to the widest possible audience is an elementary responsibility of all those engaged in the struggle against world imperialism and for freedom and justice for the vast majority of humanity.

Political weapons

Maurice Bishop's speeches and interviews provide political weapons not only for revolutionary-minded fighters in Central America and the Caribbean, nor even just for those in other oppressed nations of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia. They also form part of the revolutionary continuity and political arsenal of fighters for national liberation, democracy, peace, and socialism throughout the world, including working people in the United States, Britain, Canada, and other imperialist countries. Bishop himself stressed this international significance of the Grenada revolution during a July 1980 interview reprinted here from the socialist newsmagazine, *Intercontinental Press*. The interview was conducted by Andrew Pulley, Diane Wang, and myself.

Bishop told us that the New Jewel Movement understood "the importance of progressive forces worldwide joining together. We see that struggle as being *one* struggle, indivisible. And what happens in Grenada, we recognize its importance for all struggles around the world."

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"We certainly place a great deal of importance on the activity, the potential, and the possibilities for the American working-class movement," Bishop said. Not only its potential for solidarity with national liberation struggles and opposition to Washington's war moves, but also "in terms of the potential of doing mortal damage to the international capitalist and imperialist system from within the belly of the main imperialist power on earth."

Both in this 1980 interview, and again very forcefully in his June 1983 speech to more than 2,500 people in New York City, Bishop emphasized the historic importance and potential impact of the Grenada revolution on the Black population of the United States. The island is 95 percent African in origin, he reminded the New York audience, and it is also English-speaking, thus facilitating direct communication with U.S. Blacks.

What Bishop wanted to communicate above all was the indissoluble connection between the battles for national liberation and socialism and the worldwide interdependence of peoples engaged in those struggles. He understood that the March 1979 victory in Grenada, together with that in Nicaragua the following July, represented the extension of the American socialist revolution opened two decades earlier in Cuba. He told a May Day 1980 rally in Havana that "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."

Bishop also recognized what this meant for U.S. imperialism; the stakes were very high, involving the preservation of the capitalist system of exploitation and oppression right on its own doorstep. Washington has "certainly put Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada as being the key countries to get at," Bishop explained during the July 1980 interview.

"Cuba for obvious reasons. It is obviously the vanguard in this region. Nicaragua because of its *tremendous* importance for Central America. Everybody in Central America wants to be a Sandinista." And Grenada, in addition to the special reasons already cited, because it was part of this unfolding revolutionary process.

As Fidel Castro put it, Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba were "three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice on the very threshold of imperialism."

U.S. invasion of Grenada

The October 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada marks the first direct use

Dedication to 'Maurice Bishop Speaks'

To the memory of Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Fitzroy Bain, Jacqueline Creft, Vincent Noel, and Norris Bain whose accomplishments and living political heritage form part of the imperishable revolutionary continuity of the world's working people in their struggle against imperialist oppression and exploitation and for the establishment of socialism.

To George Louison, Kenrick Radix, Don Rojas, and other leaders and cadres of the New Jewel Movement and Grenada revolution who maintain their commitment to the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of their own country, the entire Caribbean and Central America, and the world.

To the Grenadian and Cuban working people who gave their lives in Grenada in combat against U.S. imperialism's first direct use of U.S. troops in its effort to halt the advancing socialist revolution in the Americas.

of Washington's own military forces in the new Vietnam-style war that the U.S. rulers have begun to carry out in Nicaragua and El Salvador, as well. Rolling back the socialist revolution in the region is top priority for the U.S. capitalist class, its government, and its two political parties. That is why virtually all Democratic and Republican politicians, both liberals and conservatives, fell in line behind the Reagan administration's militarily successful onslaught against Grenada, despite a few initial tactical misgivings.

The world relationship of class forces has shifted further to the detriment of the U.S. imperialists over the past decade. Since their military defeat at the hands of Vietnamese liberation forces in 1973-75, and the break in one of the longest capitalist economic booms, the U.S. rulers have sustained further blows — in Indochina, Iran, and in Central America and the Caribbean.



Maurice Bishop speaking on March 20, 1979, one week after overthrow of Gairy dictatorship.

These blows have increased the political price Washington will pay at home and internationally when it directly uses U.S. troops and planes against revolutionary struggles. Opposition to military interventions abroad, which became widespread among U.S. working people during the Vietnam War, will come more quickly and go deeper as the deaths and setbacks of the next war unfold. Recognition that this will occur has put important obstacles in Washington's path. It has already been of decisive importance to the workers and peasants of Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, and Cuba. It has bought them precious time to consolidate their revolutions and to prepare to defend their conquests against the inevitable escalation of Washington's aggression.

The U.S. rulers, however, do not intend to wait until they have achieved majority support at home before launching military action against the Central American and Caribbean revolutions. They cannot accept the extension of the socialist revolution to Nicaragua, then El Salvador, followed by other countries. For Washington, the events that opened wide the door to an invasion of Grenada created a golden opportunity to make a first decisive move. The prior beheading of the revolutionary forces and disarming of the people there meant that military victory would come relatively cheap in U.S. lives and dollars. The accomplished fact of the invasion was then used to whip up greater support for Washington's political and military objectives. The justifications for the invasion were presented after it had already taken place. The propaganda of the deed came first, then propaganda of the word.

Reaction in the United States

The response in the United States to the invasion showed that such actions by the rulers can succeed, at least for a time, in spreading confusion and even winning an important measure of acceptance. At the same time, the polarized character of the response, the debates and discussions in thousands of workplaces, and the immediate nationwide pro-

tests against the invasion all testified to the profound changes in consciousness of the U.S. working class over the past decade. These changes are the result not only of the Vietnam War, but also of escalating attacks on jobs, living conditions, racial equality, and political rights in the United States.

Polls confirming majority opposition to U.S. military intervention in Central America will not stop Washington from aiding the counterrevolutionary war already under way against Nicaragua and the Salvadoran freedom fighters. Nor will antiwar opinion alone halt the steady buildup of U.S. military forces in Honduras and throughout the region, or the use of these U.S. troops, planes, and ships in what could escalate into a new Vietnam-style war.

But the changed political consciousness of the U.S. working class and labor movement *will* play a much more decisive role much more rapidly than even during the late stages of the Vietnam War in helping to ensure defeat of the U.S. invading forces and victory for the workers and peasants of those countries.

That is one reason why Nicaraguan leader Tomás Borge told visiting Canadian trade unionists last summer that while he was "not optimistic in regards to peace," he was "absolutely optimistic in terms of victory."

Behind Borge's confidence in victory is his conviction that the armed workers and peasants of Nicaragua are determined to defend their revolution, their social conquests, and their national sovereignty.

Grenada before Bishop's overthrow

Prior to the events culminating in the arrest and subsequent murder of Bishop and other NJM leaders, this same conviction about the readiness of the Grenadian workers and farmers to defend their social gains gave reason for confidence that if imperialism ever invaded, it could only conquer after a mighty battle. As Bishop often warned, it would be far easier for U.S. invaders to come onto Grenada than to get off it alive.

"As we begin the fourth year of our revolution," Bishop told the third anniversary rally on March 13, 1982, "it is very clear that the great strength of the revolution, first and foremost, lies in the unbreakable link between the masses and the party; between the masses and the government; between the masses and the state. That is what gives our revolution invincible force, because the masses see the party, see the state and the government as theirs; not something foreign or strange, or apart or isolated from them, but living, throbbing entities that embody their aspirations, their interests, and their hopes."

When the U.S. invasion actually came October 25, however, Grenada's workers' and farmers' government had already been overthrown thirteen days earlier. On October 12, the Coard group placed Maurice Bishop under house arrest and organized to use whatever deadly force was necessary to establish its own total domination. One week later, the revolution suffered another devastating blow, when Bishop, five other NJM leaders, and other Grenadians were gunned down by Coard's supporters. The very first proclamation of the new, self-appointed "Revolutionary Military Council" was a four-day, round-the-clock curfew, with the warning that violators would be "shot on sight." The entire population of Grenada was placed under house arrest.

"In our view, Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression," President Fidel Castro explained to more than 1 million people gathered in Havana November 14 to honor the Cuban volunteer construction workers killed during the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

"As soon as the internal dissensions, which came to light on October 12, became known," Castro explained, "the Yankee imperialists decided to invade."

As a result of these events, Castro said, the new Grenadian government had become "morally indefensible. And, since the party, the government, and the army had divorced themselves from the people, it was also impossible to defend the nation militarily, because a revolutionary war is only feasible and justifiable when united with the people."

The U.S. imperialists, Castro said, "wanted to kill the symbol of the Grenadian revolution, but the symbol was already dead. The Grenadian revolutionaries themselves destroyed it with their split and their colossal errors.

"We believe that, after the death of Bishop and his closest comrades,

after the army fired on the people, and after the party and the government divorced themselves from the masses and isolated themselves from the world, the Grenadian revolutionary process could not survive.

"In its efforts to destroy a symbol," he said, "the United States killed a corpse and brought the symbol back to life at the same time."

Imperialism brought the Grenada revolution to the attention of millions of workers and farmers around the world. It had to try to destroy the example of that revolution, to obliterate the "symbol" it had become. But the lessons contained in this collection, *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, prove that this example has importance far beyond Grenada and the Caribbean. These are *living* lessons for those committed to learning from and continuing the worldwide fight that Maurice Bishop was part of.

Grenada's colonial history

As Cuban journalist Arnaldo Hutchinson explains in the historical review of Grenada that follows this introduction, the island had been a colony — first of France, later Britain — for more than 300 years prior to obtaining formal political independence in 1974. The French colonialists exterminated the native Carib and Arawak Indian population, replacing it with slave labor shipped in chains from Africa. Britain maintained Grenada as a source of agricultural products processed and packaged by British companies, which walked off with virtually all the profits. Little industry was permitted to develop on the island beyond tiny handicraft workshops, and the lush and fertile island was kept dependent on imported food. A small number of plantation owners and prosperous merchants served the colonial power as a base of local support and stability.

Little changed for the people following independence. The neocolonial government of dictator Eric Gairy, already ensconced under direct colonial administration, remained in power. In the early 1950s, Gairy had won wide popular support as a leader of the fight for independence and to unionize agricultural workers. He had subsequently misused his influence, however, to sell out Grenada's working people and build up his own holdings in real estate, tourism, and commerce. His government served the profit needs of a handful of wealthy Grenadians, above all his own. The island's economy remained subordinate to British, Canadian, and U.S. finance capital. Gairy used the government to gain an edge on his local business competitors and advance his own personal interests and eccentric obsessions. He pushed through antistrike and other repressive measures. To defend his corrupt and exploitative regime in the face of rising protests, Gairy unleashed the thugs of his feared and hated Mongoose Gang to murder and brutalize opponents.

Origin of New Jewel Movement

In 1973 the New Jewel Movement was formed, primarily through the merger of two organizations that had been established the previous year: the Movement for Assemblies of the People (MAP), whose best-known leader was Maurice Bishop, and the Joint Endeavour for Welfare, Education and Liberation (JEWEL), whose most prominent spokesperson was Unison Whiteman. The new organization quickly showed its capacity to mobilize mass support through two rallies of more than 10,000 people each that same year. Over the rest of the decade, the NJM helped initiate and lead repeated struggles for democratic rights, against imperialist domination, and for improved conditions for workers and farmers. NJM members won leading positions in several island trade unions, as well as three seats in Grenada's parliament.

Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman explained the NJM's political evolution and perspectives in a 1977 interview with Cuba's main weekly magazine, *Bohemia*, retranslated into English for this collection. The initial political inspiration for the organization, Bishop said, came from "the ideas of 'Black Power' that developed in the United States and the freedom struggle of the African people in such places as Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau."

"But unquestionably," Bishop added, "through the Cuban experience we got to see scientific socialism close up." This, above all, he explained, "has been teaching us, on the practical level of day-to-day political struggle, the relevance of socialism as the only solution to our



Wayne Carter

Youths working on an agricultural cooperative. Bishop government's agrarian reform measures helped increase food production and provide jobs for the unemployed.

problems. Our party began to develop along Marxist lines in 1974, when we began to study the theory of scientific socialism."

In the weeks leading up to March 13, 1979, NJM leaders learned of a plot by Gairy to assassinate them while he was out of the country. The revolutionists thwarted the planned massacre by organizing a successful armed takeover of the True Blue army barracks and of the island's sole radio station. An appeal for mass support over the renamed Radio Free Grenada brought the people into the streets by the tens of thousands, occupying the police station and other strategic points and ensuring victory.

The revolutionary government born in this triumphant popular insurrection was politically independent of both the imperialists and local Grenadian capitalists and plantation owners, basing itself instead on the workers and farmers. The New Jewel Movement took the initiative in establishing a People's Revolutionary Government (PRG), composed primarily of NJM leaders but also of representatives from other sectors of the anti-Gairy opposition, including some professionals and businessmen. Maurice Bishop became prime minister.

The New Jewel Movement immediately carried out a measure proven by history to be indispensable to the survival and advance of every genuine workers' and farmers' revolution. As Bishop explained in a 1981 interview with Cuba's *Granma Weekly Review*, "It is our firm belief that no revolution has a right to call itself that if it does not have or does not develop a capacity to defend itself. This is why the Gairy army was disbanded and a new army, the People's Revolutionary Army, was created. This is also why we have been building the People's Revolutionary Militia so that the people of our country will themselves be involved in the defense of what they have fought for and what they are trying to build."

Radical popular uprising

The March 1979 revolution was a radical popular uprising. In its direct impetus and immediate tasks, it was a democratic, anti-oligarchical, anti-imperialist revolution. Like the Cuban revolution twenty years earlier, and the Nicaraguan revolution a few months later, however, the

Grenada revolution was at the same time profoundly anticapitalist from the outset. Deeply influenced by the Cuban revolution, the NJM leaders recognized that consistent efforts to carry out democratic tasks and throw off imperialist domination would inevitably bring the workers and farmers into conflict with the profit needs of both foreign and local capitalists.

Starting from the organization and mobilization of Grenada's working people to combat imperialist oppression and establish democratic liberties, the new government began laying the foundation for working people to carry out the transition from the domination of capitalist property relations to the establishment of a workers' state based on state-owned industry, economic planning, and a government monopoly of foreign trade. That was how the Cuban revolution had developed, making possible enormous gains for the Cuban workers and peasants in education, health, life expectancy, elimination of discrimination against Blacks and women, and growing democratic participation in administering their own affairs.

That is what the New Jewel Movement set out to achieve on March 13, 1979. "With the working people we made our popular, anti-imperialist, and democratic revolution," Bishop explained. "With them we will build and advance to socialism and final victory."

The new workers' and farmers' government was an indispensable instrument at the service of the Grenadian masses to deepen their mobilization, organization, education, and class consciousness. It put an end to the political dictatorship of the imperialist-backed capitalist minority in Grenada, replacing it with the opening stage of what Marxists call the dictatorship of the proletariat — that is, political rule by, and in the class interests of, the workers and poor farmers, the laboring majority.

The Grenadian capitalists, landowners, and some imperialist interests retained substantial property holdings in agriculture, real estate, commerce, tourism, and industry. But they no longer held *political* power. They could no longer dictate that the government and state in Grenada would act to defend profits over the needs of the workers and farmers.

Still ahead of the revolution was the task of breaking the economic power of the remaining big capitalists and landlords. Bishop and the NJM leadership correctly sought to lead this transition in a manner that would maximize development of productive jobs and social benefits, and minimize unnecessary hardship for working people.

Was Bishop too 'moderate'?

Following the house arrest and subsequent murder of Maurice Bishop, the big-business press in the United States and elsewhere began peddling speculation that this course carried out under Bishop's leadership had been too "moderate" for "more Marxist" figures such as Coard and had not been to the liking of Cuba either.

First, there is no indication that any explicit fundamental economic or social policy question was at the root of the betrayal by Coard and other NJM renegades. The factors behind their treachery will be discussed shortly.

Second, there is no evidence that Cuban leaders disagreed with the "mixed economy" course followed by Bishop and the NJM. More importantly, the Cubans would not have meddled in the internal affairs of the Grenadian government and party even if such differences had existed.

As Fidel Castro explained in his November 14 speech, reprinted as an appendix in this book, "Socioeconomically, Grenada was actually advancing satisfactorily. The people had received many benefits, in spite of the hostile policy of the United States, and Grenada's Gross National Product was growing at a good rate in the midst of the world crisis.

"Bishop was not an extremist," Castro said. "Rather he was a true revolutionary — conscientious and honest. Far from disagreeing with his intelligent and realistic policy, we fully sympathized with it, since it was rigorously adapted to his country's specific conditions and possibilities."

Those "specific conditions and possibilities" in Grenada involved advancing the socialist course charted by the New Jewel Movement in the face of enormous objective problems. Grenada's revenues were largely dependent on the export of three agricultural commodities — bananas, cocoa, and nutmeg — and on tourism and the wholesale and retail trade

generated by it. The revolution met intense economic and military pressure from U.S. imperialism right from the outset. Moreover, Grenada is a very small island of some 110,000 people, with very little industry and a small working class.

All this created objective limits to the pace of economic development needed to undergird permanent advances in social conditions and to free the country from imperialist domination and the legacy of colonial oppression. Moreover, the revolution came at a time when the demand and prices for its agricultural products were slumping on the world market, while outlays for needed industrial, consumer, and energy imports were steadily climbing.

NJM perspective

The NJM leaders understood that it would take organization, education, and discipline for the working class to prepare itself and its allies, the small farmers, to administer the entire society and all the industrial, agricultural, and commercial enterprises that made it up. It would take time for the new government to build up an infrastructure of roads, new plants and equipment, state farms and cooperatives, and administrative and scientific know-how to lay a solid basis to begin development along socialist lines. Even over the longer haul, there were no plans to expropriate small shops or tourist homes, let alone small farms.

The revolutionary leaders of the Nicaraguan workers' and farmers' government, too, have so far left many shops, factories, and agricultural holdings in private hands, while declaring socialist property relations to be their goal and taking important steps toward a workers' state as they consolidate their workers' and peasants' government.

Of course, for a revolutionary leadership to follow this path means facing the challenge and responsibility to organize working people to advance their own class interests in the ongoing struggle between exploiters and exploited. Capitalists and landlords can be expected to engage in speculation, black-market operations, and other profiteering — even sabotage and decapitalization. They will use their remaining economic clout to attempt to rebuild their lost political power.

The question for a revolutionary leadership of the working class in any such situation is not how quickly in the abstract to move toward expropriation. The tempo and methods necessary for carrying out a fundamental social transformation are determined by objective material realities and class relations. Acting on a preconceived schema could bring the economy to a screeching halt, send potential allies of the workers fleeing to the counterrevolution, and decimate and demoralize the working class and poor farmers themselves.

A nationalized factory won't produce more than a privately owned one if the skills don't yet exist to run it or if sufficient resources have not yet been accumulated to invest in new equipment, raw materials, upkeep, and wages. An expropriated foreign bank won't marshal more funds for socialist construction if the bank's assets were largely kept outside the country and the impact of the expropriation is to cut off access to grants and loans from capitalist governments and financial institutions before alternative aid has been secured. An expropriated plantation will neither provide decent lives for the landless nor provide products needed for export income until the government can provide the credit, tools, fertilizer, and elementary farming skills to carry out a successful agrarian reform. And expropriating the whole thing will produce nothing but chaos until at least minimal methods of control, accounting, and planning can be instituted from the individual farm and enterprise up to the national level.

Even after the workers and farmers hold state power, in other words, wealth is still produced by applying human labor to land, machinery, and raw materials, not by applying signatures to decrees.

As Bishop explained in the July 1980 interview with *Intercontinental Press*, it is wrong to think that "a revolution is like instant coffee; you just throw it in a cup and it comes out presto."

Challenge confronting leadership

The challenge confronting the revolutionary leadership in Grenada was how to prepare, educate, and organize the working population to run that society given the existing material conditions in that small country. The answers could only be determined by a concrete assessment of

the level of Grenada's economic and social development; the political relationship of class forces at home and internationally; the prospects for economic assistance from the USSR, Cuba, and other workers' states and from other sources; the class consciousness and organization of the working class; and the firmness of its alliance with working farmers and other nonproletarian working people.

That required political leadership capacity and experience, not ultra-left haste and administrative methods.

Two years prior to the revolution, Maurice Bishop presented a sober but optimistic assessment of the prospects facing Grenadian socialists in the 1977 interview with the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*.

"Socialism is the future we would like to see in Grenada," Bishop explained in that interview. "At present the reality is that the most backward forms of capitalist exploitation exist in Grenada. We have to remember that Grenada — with its small territory, high unemployment, great poverty and misery, with the small size and low level of consciousness of its working class, with all its commercial ties to imperialism, and with a profoundly repressive government — must accomplish democratic advances in step with the march of the other countries of the region.

"We know how poor and backward our country is," Bishop said. "And we know how difficult it would be to resist the general economic and political pressures that imperialism would unleash against Grenada if it tried to break the bonds of domination without first making serious attempts to develop true and significant links with the socialist camp.

"However, despite all the difficulties," he concluded, "we feel that the perspectives for the cause of social revolution in Grenada are good."

Two years later, the New Jewel Movement would begin to put in practice the socialist course it had charted for Grenada.

Bishop, Whiteman, and other NJM leaders were quite aware of the snares and traps involved in leading a social revolution in tiny and poor Grenada. One conceivable response to this recognition could have been to conclude, as many "official" Communist parties have done in the colonial world, that the workers and farmers are simply not ready to take power there. That the only "realizable" goals must be limited to democratic reforms, and therefore the capitalist class or some sector of it must still play the leading role in any revolutionary government.

That was *not* the response of the New Jewel Movement, however. Bishop and the other NJM leaders correctly saw the Grenada revolution as part of the world struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism. They had the courage to take the power and chart a course toward the construction of socialism. But they also had the political sense to understand the real conditions and immediate tasks in Grenada, as well as the steps needed to prepare the working class and its allies to rebuild their society on the foundation of state property and democratic planning.

The Russian experience

The Grenadian revolutionists, of course, were not the first to confront the difficult tasks of leading the working class and its allies through the transition from the decaying capitalist social system toward socialism. On a world scale, the workers' first historical experience in this regard was the Russian revolution.

In 1919 the new Soviet government took the initiative in launching the Communist International. During its first five years as a revolutionary leadership of the world working class, the Comintern, as it was called for short, discussed the lessons of this first experience in conquering and wielding power; it drew important conclusions for revolutionary strategy and tactics. Extensive discussions of this question were held at the Comintern's fourth world congress in December 1922, and at a meeting of its international executive committee the following July.

At the July 1923 gathering, a resolution on workers' and farmers' governments was adopted. It stressed that following the conquest of power, the working class must remember "the necessity to harmonize its movements with the sentiments of the peasantry in their respective countries, to establish a correct coordination between the victorious proletariat and the peasantry, and to observe a rational policy in the gradual introduction of the economic measures of the proletariat, such as was arrived at by the victorious proletariat of Russia in that period of the Rus-

sian revolution which is called the New Economic Policy."

What was Russia's New Economic Policy? Why in his speech to the 1922 Comintern congress did Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin say that the NEP was rich in "important practical conclusions for the Communist International" and "of first-rate importance to all the Communist parties"?

Lenin explained that following the October 1917 victory, the new Soviet government had "made an attempt to pass, as gradually as possible, breaking up as little of the old as possible, to the new social relations. . . ."

By mid-1918, however, the onslaught of imperialist invasion and full-scale civil war had forced the Russian revolutionary leaders to abandon this initial course toward as efficient and gradual as possible a transformation of property relations. Faced with escalating economic sabotage by the capitalists and the imperatives of producing food and industrial goods for the war, the Bolsheviks carried out sweeping nationalizations and centralized virtually all trade through the state.

By the end of 1920, however, both domestic counterrevolutionary forces and imperialist invaders had been largely defeated by the new Red Army. On the other hand, the capitalists elsewhere in Europe had succeeded in defeating revolutionary struggles in Hungary, Germany, and Italy, tightening the isolation of the world's first workers' state. Moreover, the civil war had taken a heavy toll inside Russia. Many of the most class-conscious workers and poor peasants, who were the vanguard of the Red Army soldiers, had fallen in battle or died from disease and starvation at the front. The economic and social dislocation from the war was exacerbated by drought and famine.

As Lenin explained at the Comintern's 1922 congress, "after we had passed through the most important stage of the Civil War — and passed through it victoriously — we felt the impact of a grave — I think it was the gravest — internal political crisis in Soviet Russia.

"This internal crisis," Lenin said, "brought to light discontent not only among a considerable section of the peasantry but also among the workers. This was the first and, I hope, the last time in the history of Soviet Russia that feeling ran against us among large masses of peasants, not consciously but instinctively."

Too-rapid transformations

The source of this crisis, Lenin explained, was not just the war-caused destruction. It was also a consequence of the too-rapid economic and social transformations that had been imposed on the young workers' and farmers' republic by its struggle for survival. While the peasants had supported this fight against the reimposition of landlordism and tsarism, their alliance with the working class was now near the breaking point as a result of the policies of the previous few years. And this alliance, Lenin stressed, was key to the defense of the Soviet republic and its advance toward socialism.

"In this respect," Lenin said at the party's tenth congress in 1921, "we are very much to blame for having gone too far; we overdid the nationalisation of industry and trade, clamping down on local exchange of commodities. Was that a mistake? It certainly was."

Lenin explained this again the following year at the fourth Comintern congress. "The reason for [the crisis]," he said, "was that in our economic offensive we had run too far ahead, that we had not provided ourselves with adequate resources, that the masses sensed what we ourselves were not then able to formulate consciously but what we admitted soon after, a few weeks later, namely, that the direct transition to purely socialist forms, to purely socialist distribution, was beyond our available strength, and that if we were unable to effect a retreat so as to confine ourselves to easier tasks, we would face disaster."

That was the origin of the New Economic Policy adopted by the Russian revolutionists in early 1921. The NEP made it possible for peasants to sell a portion of their produce on the open market inside Russia. Restrictions on private trade were relaxed to supplement state-organized exchanges. To help revive industrial production, the Soviet republic sought to lease nationalized factories, mines, forests, and oil fields to foreign and domestic capitalists.

In introducing the NEP, a resolution adopted by the fourth congress explained, "the Soviet government is following an economic path which it would doubtless have pursued in 1918-19 had not the implacable de-

mands of Civil War obliged it to expropriate the bourgeoisie at one blow. . . ." The resolution was drafted on behalf of the Russian delegation by Comintern leader Leon Trotsky.

Such measures, Lenin pointed out, were even more important for nations less economically advanced than Russia itself. In a 1921 letter to communists in Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, and several other nations oppressed under the old tsarist empire, Lenin advised: "You will need to practise more moderation and caution, and show more readiness to make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and particularly the peasantry. You must make the swiftest, most intense and all possible economic use of the capitalist West through a policy of concessions and trade."

In other words, Lenin explained, these allied soviet republics must "effect a slower, more cautious and more systematic transition to socialism."

'Reformist action'

On the basis of the NEP experience, Lenin drew some general conclusions for Marxist revolutionists in an article written at the end of 1921. "True revolutionaries have mostly come a cropper," he said, "when they began to write 'revolution' with a capital R, to elevate 'revolution' to something almost divine, to lose their heads, to lose the ability to reflect, weigh and ascertain in the coolest and most dispassionate manner . . . at what moment, under what circumstances and in which sphere you must turn to reformist action."

The last two words of Lenin's statement may appear a bit jarring. What did he mean by recommending "reformist action"? Lenin explained himself as follows:

"Marxism alone has precisely and correctly defined the relations of reform to revolution, although Marx was able to see this relation from only one aspect — under the conditions preceding the first to any extent permanent and lasting victory of the proletariat, if only in one country. Under those conditions," Lenin stressed, "the basis of the proper relation was that reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat. Throughout the capitalist world this relation is the foundation of the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat — the ABC."

"After the victory of the proletariat," however, Lenin said, "if only in one country, something new enters into the relation between reforms and revolution. In principle, it is the same as before, but a change in form takes place." Under such conditions, he said, reforms can represent "a necessary and legitimate breathing space when, after the utmost exertion of effort, it becomes obvious that sufficient strength is lacking for the revolutionary accomplishment of some transition or another."

Based on the experience of the world's first proletarian revolution, the Comintern's fourth congress drew some conclusions about the tasks of a victorious workers' and farmers' government, which it defined as a government which "is born out of struggle of the masses, is supported by workers' bodies which are capable of fighting, bodies created by the most oppressed sections of the working masses."

"The overriding tasks" of such a government, the congress resolution on tactics explained, "must be to arm the proletariat, to disarm bourgeois, counterrevolutionary organizations, to introduce the control of production, to transfer the main burden of taxation to the rich, and to break the resistance of the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie."

Accomplishments of the Grenada Revolution

How had Grenada's workers' and farmers' government measured up to these kinds of challenges during its first four and a half years? The record shows that it had begun to do all this and more. The steps by the New Jewel Movement to dismantle the old state apparatus and army and replace it with a new government, army, and militia have already been explained. What about other political, social, and economic gains?

All of Gairy's repressive legislation was wiped off the books. New laws were adopted making it compulsory for employers to recognize unions and ensuring the right to strike. As a result, membership in the island's trade unions rose from about 30 percent of the labor force before the revolution to some 90 percent. Other organizations won thousands of members, as well. These included the National Women's Organisation, the National Youth Organisation, and the Productive Farmers'



Pat Kane/JP

Conference of Technical and Allied Workers Union in February 1982. As revolution progressed, workers gained in confidence, organization, and political consciousness.

Union.

Along with these organizations, other bodies were formed at the initiative of the NJM leadership to begin the hard work of increasing the democratic involvement of working people in determining and administering the affairs of their country. Councils were set up in workplaces, parishes, villages, and neighborhoods. These councils discussed and debated proposed government policies, including the nation's 1982 and 1983 budget and plan. They had the power to summon government ministers and other officials to appear before them to be held accountable for their policies.

The New Jewel Movement leaders understood that these mass organizations and councils could not work miracles. Given the small size of Grenada's working class and the poverty and lack of education bequeathed by centuries of colonial oppression, it would take hard work and consistent attention to achieve effective participation by working people in running the affairs of their society. It was not enough to set up councils, encourage people to attend, and then hope the rest would take care of itself.

In order to focus attention on this important challenge, the New Jewel Movement designated 1983 the Year of Academic and Political Education. In his January 1983 speech launching this, Prime Minister Bishop explained that "our people must develop in the new year a mental grasp on the true nature of the international capitalist crisis which is holding back the progress of our revolution and the development of all poor countries in the world. They must know the causes and origins of this crisis. They must see clearly the link between politics and economics, between imperialist exploitation and persistent poverty, between the mad buildup of arms by imperialism and the economic crisis.

"With their political consciousness raised and broadened," Bishop explained, "our people will better understand the necessity to join and to strengthen those mass organizations and trade unions that already exist. Political education will help to identify from the ranks of our working people the future leaders of the revolution and it will help to prepare the working class to assume its historic role of transforming Grenada from backwardness and dependency to genuine economic independence."

At his public meeting in New York City in June 1983, Bishop announced that preparation of a draft constitution had begun, laying the groundwork for future island-wide elections. These elections, he stressed, would not replace but instead "institutionalize and entrench the systems of popular democracy" already established. The goal was the "involvement of our people in a participatory way from day to day and week to week," not "just the right to put an 'X' next to Tweedledum or Tweedledee" every few years, as in elections in the United States, Canada, Britain, or many East Caribbean islands.

Economic front

On the economic front, Grenada's workers' and farmers' government had also registered impressive achievements. In 1982 its Gross National Product grew by 5.5 percent, for a total increase of nearly 14 percent

since the 1979 revolution. This was at a time when the world capitalist system was suffering its worst downturn since the 1930s and the economies of most countries in the Western Hemisphere, including other Eastern Caribbean islands, were stagnating or declining.

Moreover, in line with the revolution's socialist goals, the state sector was increasingly taking the lead in the island's economic development. The single most ambitious government project was the new international airport to promote tourism and expedite export and import trade. Another priority was upgrading development of the island's agriculture and related "agro-industries." This involved both crop rehabilitation and the construction of factories to process, package, and market these products. Other major projects included new roads, including vital feeder roads to transport farm produce; several dozen buses for the island's first public transportation system; upgrading water, telephone, and electrical services, now all state-owned; and hotel and tourism development.

Whereas Gairy had spent only EC\$8 million on such development projects the year before the revolution, the PRG had laid out EC\$237 million since March 1979, which is equivalent to almost U.S.\$88 million. In 1982, the thirty-two new state-owned enterprises produced about one-quarter of all goods and services on the island.

As Bishop cautioned in the July 1980 interview with *Intercontinental Press*, however, the bottom line for the progress of a workers' and farmers' government has to be measured, "Not in terms of how many industries you have or how many hotels you have when the profits are going to a very tiny elite, but in terms of what benefits are truly getting to the masses." The government, he said, must meet "the basic needs of the population — jobs, health, housing, food, clothing."

Here, too, the Grenada revolution had important accomplishments to its credit.

Real wages had risen by 10 percent over the 1981–82 period. Living standards actually improved more than suggested by this figure. For one thing, unemployment had fallen from about 50 percent to 12 percent during the first four years of the revolution, bringing higher family income. Most important, there had been a dramatic increase in the "social wage" — that is, the vital services and commodities available free or at low cost, as a *right*, to the population. In all, more than one-third of the country's operating budget went to health and education.

A land reform law empowered the government to take out a compulsory ten-year lease on any land above 100 acres that was underutilized to put it into production on a cooperative or state-owned basis. The government had expanded the supply of low-interest loans to small farmers and farm cooperatives and also initiated programs to help guarantee markets for their produce. A state-run tractor pool of 45 machines was established, and the government sought to advance modern farming by establishing four new agricultural training schools, as well. These measures had begun not only to raise the income of farmers and agricultural workers, but also to provide jobs for the unemployed.

Health care, education

Medical and dental care became free. Medicine was provided without charge for hospital patients and at low cost for others. Clinics were built throughout Grenada, the central hospital modernized, and the number of doctors and dentists more than doubled.

Secondary school became a right for all Grenadians; under Gairy, tuition was required, making education a privilege for the rich. Free books, school uniforms, and hot lunches were provided to elementary school children from low-income families. In addition, hundreds of students received scholarships for university or advanced technical education, never before available to any but the wealthiest Grenadians. An adult education program had already made strides toward combating illiteracy, with the aim of wiping it out by 1985.

Free milk was distributed to thousands of families. Price controls were imposed on basic imported items such as sugar and cooking oil.

Some 75 percent of families had received interest-free loans and low-cost materials to repair their homes. The newly opened Sandino Housing Plant had gone into production with a potential output of 500 prefabricated housing units each year.

Some 30 percent of workers were exempted from taxation altogether, while new taxes and fees were imposed on local companies, import-ex-

port merchants, and profits of foreign-owned firms not reinvested in Grenada.

A social insurance plan was set up, Grenada's first on a national scale, covering workers employed in both private and public sectors. Benefits included retirement pensions, sickness and disability pay, maternity benefits, and payments to dependents of the deceased.

Special attention was placed on upgrading the rights and opportunities of Grenadian women. Legislation was adopted and implemented against sexual harassment of working women. Women workers were guaranteed equal pay for equal work. A maternity leave law compelled employers to give time off, most of it at full pay, to women both before and after childbirth.

Social programs such as these were a political choice that followed from the class interests the government defended. These programs were vital to the well-being of Grenadian workers and farmers. Since it is they who produce the island's wealth, their improved health, education, and welfare was an investment in Grenada's most important resource — its working people.

Substantial foreign aid

The costs and skills required for these social benefits and development projects would have put them out of reach for many years if Grenada had been limited to its own means. But it received substantial foreign aid. The most generous contributors were the government and people of Cuba. As Fidel Castro explained November 14, "Even though Cuba is a small underdeveloped country, it was able to help Grenada considerably, because our efforts — which were modest in quantity though high in quality — meant a lot for a country less than 400 square kilometers in size, with a population of just over 100,000."

Castro reported that the total over four years amounted to some \$550 for every Grenadian. The biggest single Cuban contribution came in the form of materials, equipment, designs, and skilled volunteer construction workers for the Point Salines airport project. But Cuba also provided doctors, teachers, and technicians; financed and constructed the housing plant and other industrial projects; helped establish a fisheries school and fishing fleet; and assisted in training a professional army to safeguard the revolution's gains.

Other assistance came from Libya, Syria, the Soviet Union, several Eastern European workers' states, and North Korea. The U.S. government not only refused aid to Grenada, but also sought to prevent other capitalist governments and international financial institutions from providing any. Despite such sabotage, Grenada did get considerable help from the European Development Bank and from the Canadian and other governments.

Early on in the revolution, a U.S. diplomat offered Grenada a paltry \$5,000 — if the new government pledged not to develop economic or diplomatic relations with Cuba. The Grenadian revolutionists indignantly rejected this blackmail. Prime Minister Bishop gave a speech to the island's working people explaining that while the new government wanted cordial relations with Washington, "Grenada is no longer in anybody's backyard!" Grenada was a sovereign nation, he said, and would make up its own mind about both its affairs at home and its friends abroad.

From the start, the revolutionary government pursued an internationalist course. It established the warmest fraternal bonds with the government, leadership, and people of revolutionary Cuba and Nicaragua. Despite its own pressing tasks and limited cadres, the PRG sent young volunteer Grenadians to help with the literacy crusade on Nicaragua's English-speaking Atlantic Coast. It mobilized and educated Grenadians in solidarity with liberation struggles in the Caribbean and Central America, South America, Africa, Asia, the Mideast, and throughout the world. It joined the Movement of Nonaligned Countries. It established diplomatic and trade relations with Vietnam, the Soviet Union, the Eastern European workers' states, and North Korea.

"Because our own struggle is internationalist," Bishop said during the July 1980 interview, "we have over the years been giving our fullest support to all international causes that demand such support. We see that as our internationalist duty."

[To be continued.]

Immigrant workers fight layoffs

Riot police sent against Talbot strikers

By Will Reissner

A strike against layoffs at the huge Talbot automobile factory in Poissy could have repercussions throughout French industry. The plant, which has more than 16,000 workers, is owned by Peugeot, France's largest automaker and its largest privately-owned company.

Peugeot, which also owns Citroën, bought the Talbot plant from Chrysler when that company sold most of its operations outside North America to avert bankruptcy.

Since December 7, workers at Poissy have been on strike, protesting an agreement between Peugeot and the French government that allows the company to lay off 1,905 workers at the facility. Peugeot had originally requested permission to eliminate 2,900 jobs at Poissy.

Peugeot's management tried to reopen the plant, where hundreds of workers had been sitting-in for three weeks, but was unable to resume production. Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, a member of the Socialist Party, ordered riot police to enter the factory on December 31 and remove the strikers.

When management tried to reopen the plant on January 3, after the scheduled New Year's shutdown, workers entering the facility blockaded the assembly lines with forklift trucks.

The following day, more than 30 people were injured when clashes broke out in the plant between striking workers and employees trying to resume production.

Another round of fighting in the plant took place January 5. More than 55 people were injured, some seriously. For the second time in a week, riot police removed the strikers.

Peugeot then announced that the plant

would remain closed until further notice and that all employees were suspended without pay. The company also stated that it would spin off its Talbot holdings to two subsidiaries, a move that many workers feared was the prelude to ending production of Talbot cars in France.

The struggle at Talbot is being closely watched throughout French industry because plans have already been announced to lay off 100,000 workers in the auto, steel, shipbuilding, and coal sectors in the near future. If the Talbot workers can force the company and government to back down on the plan to eliminate 1,905 jobs at Poissy, that victory would encourage similar resistance in other industries.

'Prime minister of unemployment'

The strike has also been an acute source of political embarrassment for the government, which is a coalition of the Socialist and Communist parties. Pierre Mauroy, who ordered the riot police into the factory, had personally taken charge of the negotiations with Peugeot and had agreed to allow the elimination of 1,905 jobs at Poissy rather than the 2,900 the company had originally targeted.

At the time of the agreement, Mauroy hailed the outcome. "The government," he stated, "does not intend to oppose necessary changes [in French industry]. But it intends to see that these changes are achieved by means of negotiation and that workers' rights are respected."

Mauroy once commented that he had not taken office in order to become "prime minis-

ter of unemployment." But the government's original plan in 1981 to create 400,000-500,000 new jobs was abandoned, and more than 2 million workers are now out of work. The National Statistics Institute predicts that the number of jobless will swell by another 400,000 by the end of 1984.

Role of immigrant workers

More than half the workforce at Poissy, as in most French auto plants, is made up of immigrant workers, mostly from North Africa. The large majority of the 1,905 workers slated to lose their jobs are immigrants.

Immigrant workers have become an increasingly important factor in the French labor movement in the past two years. During the economic boom of the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of foreign workers were recruited in their native countries to fill vacancies in French industry.

With the economic downturn, however, the immigrant workers are suffering disproportionately in terms of layoffs. The government is trying to encourage immigrant workers to return to their native countries, offering cash bonuses to those who agree to leave France.

But many of the immigrant workers have been in France for several decades and have few prospects for finding a job if they are forced to leave the country. As one worker put it: "At the age of 19 [at home] you had a 50-50 chance of finding work, and you no longer have those odds when you are 29, or 34, or 38."

Strikes spur unionization

For more than two years immigrant workers have spearheaded a whole series of struggles in the automobile industry. In October and November 1981 a first wave of strikes broke out in Renault plants. In the spring and fall of 1982, strikes took place in a number of Renault, Citroën, and Talbot plants. In December 1982 and January 1983 a new wave of strikes began in Citroën and spread within weeks to almost every major automobile factory in France.

In the course of these strikes, immigrant workers for the first time became involved in a massive way in the unions. Most joined the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the union federation close to the Communist Party. The French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which is close to the Socialist Party, also attracted significant numbers of immigrant workers.

The latest round of struggle began in late July 1983, when Peugeot announced plans to eliminate the jobs of more than 7,000 of its 81,700 workers.

The CGT responded with slowdowns and strikes in many of the plants of the Peugeot group. The Poissy Talbot plant was immediately shut down by a 24 hour protest strike.

At the time, Jean-Pierre Linocier of the CGT noted that "if Peugeot is given a free hand, thousands of other jobs in the auto indus-



Workers sitting-in at Talbot plant. Sign reads: "We do not accept any layoffs."

try will be lost. A Socialist government should not fight economic problems through capitalist means."

At the Poissy plant, the CGT distributed

leaflets in French and Arabic warning workers that "your job and your future are at stake."

When Mauroy and Peugeot reached the agreement to limit the jobs lost at Poissy to

1,905, the CGT leadership agreed with the outcome. The CFDT at Talbot, however, rejected the plan, stating that "the struggle must continue so all the layoffs are overturned." □

Dominica

Regime steers closer to Washington

Interview with leader of Dominica Liberation Movement

[The following is an interview with Ronald Green, a member of the Political Committee of the Dominica Liberation Movement (DLM), the largest left-wing organization on that Eastern Caribbean island. During the 1980 elections, the DLM polled 10.8 percent of the votes cast in those districts where it ran candidates.

[The interview was obtained by Ernest Harsch on Dec. 20, 1983, in New York City.]

* * *

Question. The Eugenia Charles government in Dominica is one of those in the Caribbean that has been most vocal in supporting the U.S. invasion of Grenada and sent police from Dominica to take part in the Caribbean intervention force alongside the U.S. troops. What was the response of the Dominica Liberation Movement to the invasion?

Answer. First of all, we condemned the invasion as a blatant act of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation.

Our feeling was that the Grenadian people, after four and a half years of revolution, of consciousness-building and participation in the process, had the capacity to solve their own problems.

In the context of what appeared to be a lack of popular support for the new RMC [Revolutionary Military Council], our feeling was that an invasion was totally unwarranted.

In fact, it was an opportunity for Eugenia Charles and U.S. imperialism — led by Ronald Reagan — to smash an important experiment in the Caribbean that was succeeding, and that the people in the region realized was succeeding.

So our position was to very firmly condemn the invasion. We called it "the most brutal act in West Indian history."

Q. Both within Grenada and elsewhere in the Caribbean, the imperialists and their local allies are trying to use the overthrow of the Bishop government to try to discredit the left, to put forward all sorts of anticommunist propaganda to weaken support for leftwing parties. How has this been reflected within Dominica?

A. The main thing has been the fantastic management of information and propaganda. They have utilized the opportunity to say, for

example, that when left parties have problems of leadership this is how they solve them, by killing each other.

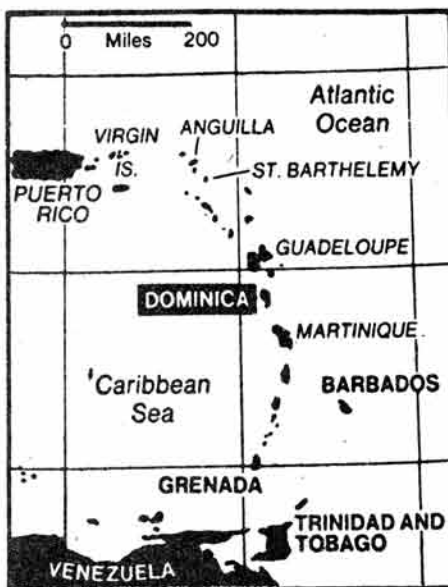
Precisely because the opposition in the country, including the left, appear to be having problems (the opposition Labour Party is split into two factions),¹ this kind of propaganda has a big effect on the masses of people.

The references to our party as the "super Marxists," the "Coardites,"² etc., have also been a factor in this propaganda. This has come not only from the state, through the radio broadcasts that it controls. The church has also played a very significant role, on the pulpit and in private trying to put forward the view that we are the communists in the country. Dominica is 90 percent Catholic and is a small country,³ so this has been a very serious setback.

1. In 1979, during the mass upsurge against the Patrick John government, John's Labour Party split into two factions: one, the Dominica Labour Party, led by John; and the other, the Democratic Labour Party, led by Oliver Seraphine, who briefly succeeded John as prime minister in the interim government formed after John's resignation.

2. A reference to followers of Bernard Coard, who led the faction in Grenada that overthrew the government of Maurice Bishop.

3. Dominica has a population of only 85,000.



Q. What have been the policies of the Eugenia Charles government since coming into office, particularly toward the working population?

A. Well, the policies toward the working people are evident in the victimization that has taken place in the country since the coming into power of Eugenia Charles in July 1980.

Partially because of an agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) that was signed about two years ago, some workers have lost their jobs. There have been a number of IMF restrictions and efforts to tighten public spending in the country.

The policy has also taken on the tone of political victimization. Members of the civil service, the police force, the nursing staff, teachers, and others who are known to be supporters of the Labour Party (which was in power for 19 years and is now in opposition) and of the Dominica Liberation Movement have been shifted, posted to remote places, or forced into retirement.

These kinds of policies have fiercely affected the working class.

There is also legislation, like the Labour Contract Bill, which restricts the right of trade unions to organize workers who would be employed by new screwdriver-type industries⁴ that are being brought in by the Eugenia Charles government.

All in all, there is a very serious attack on working people.

Some of the trade union leaders rationalize this by saying that the need for industrialization and the need for investment in the country means to go easy. They also rationalize this by pointing to the fact that Hurricane David devastated us in 1979 and Hurricane Allen did the same same thing a year later; they say that we are in bad shape and so must allow a certain amount of compromise to attract foreign investment.

The whole policy of development through almost total reliance on foreign investment has meant a policy of moving much closer to the strategic needs of the Ronald Reagan government.

But, in fact, the actual investment has not come. So there has been a loss of popular support for the Eugenia Charles government, be-

4. Small-scale manufacturing assembly plants.

cause people have not seen anything concrete from what was promised.

Q. How have the closer ties between the Dominica government and Washington been manifested?

A. The Eugenia Charles government put forward very strong arguments for Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative. Other manifestations of the ties reflect themselves, of course, most seriously in things like the invasion of Grenada.

There have also been the visits of U.S. warships to Dominica and the secret defense agreement signed about a year ago with other Caribbean islands.

And there is the training of police in Panama, Florida, and elsewhere. The police is the only security force in our country, since the army was disbanded by the Eugenia Charles government.⁵ The size of the police force has almost tripled since she came into power. Within the force there is a special section which takes on the role of an army. They have been given special counterinsurgency and other training, to orient them against the democratic and progressive forces in the country and toward the kind of virulent anticommunist propaganda that the U.S. puts out. So you have Dominicans — because of the level of propaganda training they get in the police force — who are very, very hostile toward people trying to organize in Dominica for a better life, despite the fact that they themselves come from very humble origins.

They are also trained, we are sure, in torture and all kinds of techniques of questioning.

While the DLM itself has not directly faced the onslaught of this, it has been seen in the antimarijuana campaign, and the anti-Rastafarian campaign.⁶ Almost 20 youth in the country have been shot and killed by the police force, without any evidence put forward to substantiate that they died in shoot-outs. Sometimes the killings are not even reported.

That attitude of shoot first and ask questions later is reminiscent of U.S. campaigns in Vietnam, Central America, and elsewhere.

So a certain orientation has been embedded in the minds of the security forces which runs counter to the democratic trend in the country. It also runs counter to even the possibility of something like what happened in May 1979,⁷ when the people were able to demonstrate in an

essentially nonviolent fashion to remove a government that had become corrupt. The Eugenia Charles government has now taken steps to close off the possibility that the people — having come to the conclusion that the government was not in their interests and that the electoral process did not allow for change in the near future — could demonstrate and call for the government to be removed.

Q. You mentioned the 1979 upsurge. Could you go back before that and describe the development of the anti-imperialist and working people's struggle in Dominica?

A. The Labour Party came into power in 1960. It essentially put out of power the colonial elite that was centered in Roseau [the capital]. It gave a great sense of impetus to working people in the country, who felt for the first time that they had a government that was in their interests.

The Labour Party had very strong support from working people. It was reelected in 1965, 1970, and 1975. During that period there had been some talk of socialism, but it was rather vague. There was however a mixed economy of public, cooperative, and private sector operating in the country.

Edward Leblanc ruled the country until the early 1970s, when there was a change of leadership in the Labour Party. The party then began to go on barren ground. It lost its sense of direction and became involved in get-rich-quick schemes, leading to certain contacts with South Africa and other forces that were very interested in setting up Dominica as a tourist haven. Not that tourism cannot be a major part of the economy, but it was the manner in which it was being done and the particular personalities involved.

So we had a situation where that party, because of its loss of a sense of direction, began to take Dominica on a very laughable path in the region.

The struggle against imperialism in that period reached its height with independence in 1978, with the Freedom Party of Miss Charles on the one hand arguing against independence, saying we were not ready yet, and the Labour Party and other progressive forces in the country pushing for immediate independence.

Dominica had been essentially a British-controlled country. After independence, an opportunity for U.S. intervention came with the rebellion in May 1979.

The progressive forces, the Dominica Liberation Movement, had a very big influence in that whole mobilization of people — workers, farmers, youth. It called for a new form of government, away from the corruption and connections of that regime.

It appears that the U.S. intervened then, in an advisory fashion, to ensure what they considered stability and to minimize the influence of the progressive forces in the formation of the new government.

In fact, there were two members of the Dominica Liberation Movement who got cabinet posts: Atherton Martin became minis-

ter of agriculture and Michael Douglas became minister of finance. Subsequently, Atherton Martin and Michael Douglas' brother Rosie — who was an appointed senator — were fired on the advice of the U.S. They were called communists.

Q. How does the DLM characterize itself, and how was the party formed?

A. The DLM is a national liberation organization, a party of the working people, with an anti-imperialist and anticapitalist program.

It came together in the heat of the mobilization of people against the excesses of the Patrick John Labour Party regime in early 1979. But it was preceded by five years or so of organized work.

In 1976 the People's Democratic Party was formed. It was a national liberation organization that had developed out of the Movement for a New Dominica, which was essentially a Black Power protest group that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In 1977 there came the Popular Independence Committee (PIC), which was in the lead of the campaign for independence.

In 1978, shortly after independence, the PIC split into two groups: the PIC, led by Rosie Douglas, and the Working People's Vanguard.

So there were three fairly substantial groups, in terms of membership and participation. All these progressive groups came together and formed a united party, the Dominica Liberation Movement, in April 1979.

An additional group was also part of that, the Dominica Democratic Alliance (DDA), to which Michael Douglas belonged. But in many respects it was a paper group only.

Subsequently, there were internal leadership problems involving Michael Douglas, who was expelled from the party. His brother, Rosie, left as a result of the expulsion. That meant that, in effect, the two groups they led, the DDA and the PIC, also left.

So the Dominica Liberation Movement ended up being a united party of the Working People's Vanguard and the People's Democratic Party. □

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5. The army was disbanded following a coup attempt in 1981.

6. The Rastafarians are a Black-nationalist cultural and religious current in the Caribbean, who use marijuana as part of their religious beliefs.

7. On May 29, 1979, some 15,000 people rallied outside the government offices in Roseau to protest the Patrick John government's policies (ties with South Africa and measures to suppress freedom of the press and the right to strike). Two people were killed when troops opened fire. Outrage over the killings led to further mass demonstrations and an island-wide general strike to force John's ouster. Eventually, after he had been deserted by his entire cabinet, John resigned on June 21.

Massive South African invasion

Washington encourages new assault

By Ernest Harsch

Since early December, the racist white minority regime of South Africa has been conducting a new — and massive — invasion of Angola.

Striking hundreds of miles into that independent, Black-ruled country, South African air and ground forces have inflicted heavy damage and taken hundreds of lives. But they have also met with stiff Angolan resistance.

Angola, which has heroically stood up to repeated South African aggressions over the years, is again confronting the full power of the apartheid regime's military might. In doing so, it is also confronting U.S. imperialism. While Washington claims to favor "peace" in southern Africa, it has consistently sought to shore up the apartheid regime's position, provide it with the means to carry out its attacks against neighboring countries, and politically justify invasions like the one in Angola.

The Reagan administration thus bears as much responsibility for South Africa's latest aggression as does the racist regime of Pieter Botha itself.

Bomb hospitals and schools

According to the South African military chief, Gen. Constand Viljoen, the current drive into Angola began on December 6. He claimed that the attack was directed against guerrilla bases of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for independence for South African-occupied Namibia, a country that lies just south of Angola.

While the South African authorities are certainly eager to strike blows against SWAPO and against the tens of thousands of Namibian refugees who have fled into Angola, their main target is Angola itself. They have been extremely hostile to the Angolan government ever since the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), which waged a long guerrilla struggle against Portuguese colonialism, emerged as the ruling party with Angola's independence in 1975. The MPLA government has frequently defied imperialist dictates and has provided assistance to SWAPO and the African National Congress (ANC), the South African liberation organization.

According to the Angolan News Agency (Angop), South African planes bombed Caiundo, in Kuanda-Kubango Province, on December 18, killing dozens of villagers and destroying "a school and a hospital."

A few days later, Angolan Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Venancio de Moura declared that "the invasion force is composed of

three motorized brigades, four artillery units, and a squadron of 100 planes, which have not stopped their over-flights and bombings of economic targets, schools, and villages."

By early January, the Angolan authorities were reporting that the South African force was composed of nine regular army battalions and two companies, which could number up to 10,000 troops. This would make it the largest South African invasion of Angola since August 1981.

In addition to the ground actions, South African planes have bombed the towns of Cahama, Kassinga, Luiovo, Cuvelai, and Mulondo. On December 22, Kassinga was occupied by South African troops, the Angolan government admitted.

South African artillery units and warplanes have also bombarded the region around Lubango, which is nearly 200 miles north of the Angola-Namibia border. General Viljoen has declared that South African troops would strike "as far north as possible."

Despite the invaders' vastly superior firepower, they have encountered unexpectedly stiff resistance from the Angolan army and militia. Units of the Angolan People's Liberation Armed Forces have shot down three South African warplanes, taken South African prisoners, and captured machine guns, radio equipment, rocket launchers, and other armaments.

Although the Pretoria regime follows a general policy of downplaying its battlefield casualties (to lessen concern among South Africa's white minority), it was forced to admit that at least 21 of its troops had been killed as of January 7.

Occupation of south

In a sense, this new invasion of Angola is really an extension of the one launched in August 1981, which Pretoria code-named Operation Protea.

Since that invasion, large areas of southern Angola have remained under de facto occupation by South African troops. Frequent South African operations in the region have been carried out from a South African base at Ngiva, a town 20 miles inside Angola.

Troops involved in the latest drive northward were drawn both from bases in Namibia and from bases in southern Angola.

In addition to carrying out its own attacks, Pretoria has sought to spread terror and destruction throughout much of Angola by arming, financing, training, and directly supporting armed bands of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). The UNITA, which was allied with South Africa during the Angolan civil war of 1975-76, is

seeking to topple the MPLA government and has conducted numerous terrorist and sabotage attacks in southern and central Angola.

Since Angola won its independence in 1975, the economic and human toll of this combined South African-UNITA drive has been enormous.

According to a May 1983 United Nations report, South African attacks had taken some 10,000 lives up to 1982. Economic damage to Angola — the destruction of roads, railways, bridges, factories, and refineries — has been estimated at \$10 billion.

Pretoria's own 'Grenada'?

In launching their invasion of Angola, the South African racists have been greatly encouraged by Washington's own aggressive policies around the world. The October U.S. invasion of Grenada was a particular boost.

Viljoen, seeking to justify the drive into Angola, declared, "As little as the United States can afford a Grenada sitting on its doorstep, so little can we allow in our bordering territories the enemies [of South Africa] to have a carte blanche."

The Reagan administration's encouragement to Pretoria has been more direct as well.

Since coming into office, Reagan has followed a policy of "constructive engagement" with Pretoria, that is, the forging of closer political, economic, and military ties. The U.S. representative to the United Nations has consistently vetoed any move to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

In mid-November, just a few weeks before the invasion of Angola began, Charles Lichenstein, the deputy U.S. ambassador to the UN, declared in an interview with a leading South African business publication that South African destabilization of countries like Angola and Mozambique "will remain in force until Angola and Mozambique do not permit their territory to be used by terrorists to attack South Africa." Lichenstein thus echoed, almost word-for-word, the justification Pretoria uses for its attacks against neighboring countries.

In a similar manner, Washington has sought to provide political cover for Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia by demanding that the issue of a withdrawal of all Cuban troops from Angola be linked to any negotiations over independence for Namibia.

Since the Cuban troops are in Angola at the request of the Angolan government, to help protect Angola from imperialist attack, Washington's demand has been rejected by the Angolan and Cuban governments as an arrogant attempt to interfere in their sovereign affairs.

Speaking at a news conference at the United Nations January 5, Angola's UN delegate, Elísio de Figueiredo stated that the Cuban troops in Angola were not involved "at this stage" in the current fighting. He added, however, that the Angolan government reserved the right to call for military help from other countries, including Cuba. □