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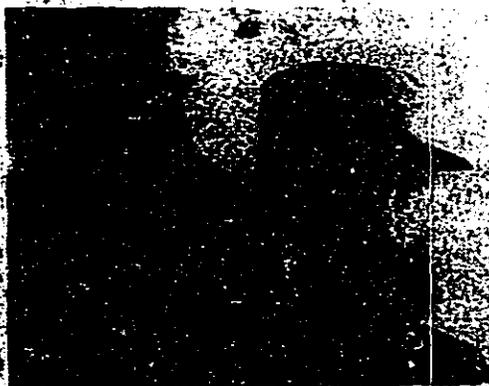
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Plus also BL [unclear] P 36

Farewell address by Commander In Chief Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party and President of the Councils of State and Ministers, in funeral homage to the heroes fallen in unequal combat against Yankee Imperialism in Grenada.

W/Rev
Oct 20th 6 in HBS files

Delivered at Revolution Square, Havana, on November 14th, 1983.



with practicing a cult of personality and drawing away from the Leninist norms and methods of leadership. In our view, nothing could be more absurd than to attribute such tendencies to Bishop. It was impossible to imagine anyone more noble, modest and unselfish. He could never have been guilty of being authoritarian, if he had any defect, it was his excessive tolerance and trust.

Were those who conspired against him within the Grenadian party, army and security, by any chance, a group of extremists drunk on political theory? Were they simply a group of ambitious, opportunistic individuals, or were they enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadian revolution? History alone will have the last word, but it would not be the first time that such things occurred in a revolutionary process.

In our view, Coard's group objectively destroyed the revolution and opened the door to imperialist aggression. Whatever their intentions, the brutal assassination of Bishop and his most loyal, closest comrades is a fact that can never be justified in that or any other revolution. As the October 20 statement by Cuban party and government put it: "No crime can be committed in the name of revolution and liberty."

In spite of his very close and affectionate links with our party's leadership, Bishop never said anything about the internal discussions that were developing. To the contrary, in his last conversation with us he was self-critical about his work regarding attention to the armed forces,

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. We could only fight, therefore, if we were directly attacked. There was no alternative. It should nevertheless be noted that, despite these adverse circumstances, a number of Grenadian soldiers died in heroic combat against the invaders.

The internal events, however, in no way justified Yankee intervention.

Since when has the government of the United States become the arbiter of internal conflicts between revolutionaries in any given country? What right did Reagan have to rend his mantle over the death of Bishop, whom he so hated and opposed? What reasons could there be for its brutal violation of the sovereignty of Grenada — a small independent nation that was a respected and acknowledged member of the international community? It would be the same as if another country believed it had the right to intervene in the United States because of the regressive assassination of Martin Luther King or so many other outrages, such as those that have been committed against the Black and Hispanic minorities in the United States, or to intervene because John Kennedy was murdered.

The same may be said of the argument that the lives of 1,000 Americans were in danger. There are many times more U.S. citizens in dozens of other countries in the

of the attack, to which were added a similar number of translators and service personnel from the mission. Nowhere in those documents that they have been crowing over is there something that has anything to do with the idea of military bases in Grenada. What they do show is that the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to the government of Grenada for the army and the militia were subject to an article that prohibited their export to third countries, which refutes the idea that Grenada had been turned into an arsenal for supplying weapons to subversive terrorist organizations, as the present U.S. administration likes to call the revolutionary and national liberation movements. No weapons ever left Grenada for any other country, and, therefore, Reagan can never prove that any did.

The assertion that Cuba was about to invade and occupy Grenada is so unrealistic, absurd, crazy and alien to our principles and international policy that it cannot even be taken seriously.

What has been proven is the absolutely scrupulous way in which we refrained from meddling in the internal affairs of that country, in spite of our deep affection for Bishop and our total rejection of Coard and his group's conspiracy and coup, which could serve only the interests of imperialism and its plans for destroying the Grenadian revolution. The messages containing precise, categorical instructions to our embassy in Grenada, which have been widely publicized by the government of Cuba, constitute

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gathered here, in this same place, to deliver a funeral address for the 57 Cubans who were viciously murdered in the Barbados plane sabotage, carried out by men who had been trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Today we have come once again to bid farewell — this time to 24 Cubans who died in Grenada, another island not very far from Barbados, as a result of U.S. military actions.

Grenada was one of the smallest independent states in the world, both in territory and population. Even though Cuba is a small, undeveloped 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.

For instance, the value of our contribution to Grenada in the form of materials, designs and labor in building the new airport came to \$80 million at international prices — over \$500 per inhabitant. It is as if Cuba — with a population of almost 10 million — received a project worth \$5 billion as a donation. In addition, there was the cooperation of our doctors, teachers and technicians in diverse specialties, plus an annual contribution of Cuban products worth about \$3 million. This meant an additional annual contribution of \$40 per inhabitant. It is impossible for Cuba to render considerable material assistance to countries with significantly large populations and territories, but we were able to offer great assistance to a country like tiny Grenada.

Many other small Caribbean nations, used to the gross economic and strategic interests of Colonialism and Imperialism, were amazed by Cuba's generous assistance to that fraternal people. They may have thought that Cuba's selfless action was extraordinary, in the midst of the U.S. Government's dirty propaganda, some may even have found it difficult to understand.

Our people felt such deep friendship for Bishop and Grenada, and our respect for that country and its sovereignty was so impeccable, that we never dared to express any opinions about what was being done there or how it was being done. In Grenada, we followed the same principle we apply to all revolutionary nations and movements, full respect for their policies, criteria and decisions, expressing our views on any matter only when

unarmed a majority on the 12th, he was placed under house arrest. On the 13th, the people took to the streets and freed Bishop. On the same day, Coard's group ordered the army to fire on the people and Bishop, Whittman, Jacqueline Craft and other excellent revolutionary leaders were murdered.

As soon as the internal dissensions which came to light on October 12 were manifest the Yankee Imperialist decided to invade.

The message sent by the leadership of the Cuban party to Coard's group on October 15 has been made public. In it, we expressed our deep concern over both the internal and the external consequences of the split and appealed to the common sense, serenity, wisdom and generosity of revolutionaries. This reference to generosity was an appeal not to use violence against Bishop and his followers.

This group of Coard's that seized power in Grenada expressed serious reservations toward Cuba from the very beginning because of our well-known and unquestionable friendship with Bishop.

The national and international press have published our strong denunciation of the events of October 19, the day Bishop was murdered. Our relations with Austin's short-lived government, in which Coard was really in charge, were actually cold and tense, so that, at the time of the criminal Yankee aggression there was no coordination whatsoever between the Grenadian army and the Cuban construction workers and other cooperation personnel. The basic points of the messages sent to our embassy in Grenada on October 12 through 25, the day on which the invasion took place, have been made public.

Those documents stand in history as irrefutable proof of our clean principled position regarding Grenada.

Imperialism, however, presented the events as the coming to power of a group of hard-line Communist, loyal allies of Cuba. Were they really Communist? Were they really hard-liners? Could they really be loyal allies of Cuba? Or were they rather conscious or unconscious tools of Yankee imperialism? Look at the history of the revolutionary movement, and you will find more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left.

Arren's Ppl Pot and Lang Gary — the ones responsible for the sabotage in Kermoochee, the same level of

3. The main purpose of the invasion was to protect the lives of American citizens.

4. The invasion was a multinational operation undertaken at the request of Mr. Scoon and the Eastern Caribbean nations.

5. Cuba was planning to invade and occupy Grenada.

6. Grenada was being turned into an important Soviet-Cuban military base.

7. The airport under construction was not civilian but military.

8. The weapons in Grenada would be used to export subversion and terrorism.

9. The Cubans fired first.

10. There were over 1,000 Cubans in Grenada.

11. Most of the Cubans were not construction workers but professional soldiers.

12. The invading forces took care not to destroy civilian property or inflict civilian casualties.

13. The U.S. troops would remain in Grenada for a week.

14. Missile silos were being built in Grenada.

15. The vessel Viet Nam Heroico was transporting special weapons.

16. Cuba was warned of the invasion.

17. Five hundred Cubans are fighting in the mountains of Grenada.

18. Cuba has issued instructions for reprisals to be taken against U.S. citizens.

19. The journalists were excluded for their own protection.

None of these assertions were proved, none are true and all have been refuted by the facts. This cynical way of lying in order to justify invading a tiny country reminds us of the methods Adolf Hitler used during the years leading up to World War II.

The U.S. students and officials of the medical school located there acknowledge that they were given full guarantees for U.S. citizens and the necessary facilities for those who wanted to leave the country. Moreover, Cuba had informed the U.S. Government on October 22 that no foreign citizens, including Cubans, had been disturbed, and it offered to cooperate in solving any difficulty that might arise, so that problems could be settled without violence or intervention in that country.

given them to fight in their work areas and camps if attacked, and the fact it was impossible — according to the information we had — for hundreds to remain in the mountains. Later, the names and jobs of all cooperation workers were published, as well as the known or probable situation of each one. The facts have shown that the information provided by Cuba was absolutely true. There isn't a single fact in all that information that could be proven false.

The assertion that the Cubans initiated the acts of hostility is equally false and cynical. The irrefutable truth is that the Cubans were sleeping at the time of the air drop on the runway and around the camps. Their weapons were stored, they had not been distributed. There weren't enough to go around, and they weren't distributed until the landing was already underway. And that is when the Cuban personnel went to the places assigned to them for that emergency. Even so, our personnel, now organized and armed, had time to see the U.S. paratroopers regrouping on the runway and the first planes landing. That was the invader's weakest moment. If the Cubans had fired first, they would have killed or wounded dozens — perhaps hundreds — of U.S. soldiers in those early hours. What is strictly historical and strictly true is that the fighting began when the U.S. troops advanced toward the Cubans in a belligerent way. It is also true that when a group of unarmed cooperation personnel was captured, they were used as hostages and forced to lead the way in front of the U.S. soldiers.

The invasion of Grenada was a treacherous surprise attack, with no previous warning at all — just like Pearl Harbor, just like the Nazis, the note from the government of the United States to the government of Cuba on Tuesday, October 25, in an attempted response to our note of Saturday, October 22, was delivered at 8:30 in the morning, three hours after the landing had taken place and an hour and a half after the U.S. troops began attacking our compatriots in Grenada. Actually, on the afternoon of the 26th, the U.S. Government sent the government of Cuba a deceitful note that led us to believe that the fighting would cease in a reasonable and honorable manner, thus avoiding greater bloodshed. Although we immediately responded to that note, accepting that possibility, what the

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The invasion of Grenada was a treacherous surprise

figure of Grenadian losses, including civilian losses. A hospital for the mentally ill was bombed, killing dozens of patients.

And where is Mr. Reagan's promise that U.S. troops would withdraw in a week? President Reagan himself in his first address to the U.S. people, at 8:30 A.M. on the day of the invasion, in a speech prepared before the landing, stated that the situation was under control. That same day, his own spokesmen described the resistance

The supposedly secret documents that fell into the hands of the United States and were published by the Yankee administration a few days after the invasion refer to the agreement between the governments of Cuba and Grenada by virtue of which our country was to send Grenada 27 military advisers, which could later be increased to 40 — figures that coincide with the ones Cuba published on the number of advisers, which was 22 on the day

land. It was our only way to stay, share, to withdraw at that time would have been dishonorable and could even have triggered aggression in that country then and in Cuba later on.

In addition, events unfolded with such incredible speed that if the evacuation had been planned for, there would not have been time to carry it out.

In Grenada, however, the government was morally indefensible, and, since the party, the government and the

no one can yet say whether those who used the name of the CIA were inspired and guided on by imperialism.

It is something that could have been done by the CIA — and, if somebody else was responsible, the CIA could not have done it any better. The fact is that allegedly revolutionary arguments were used, involving the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and charging Bishop

the invading forces were facing. The military parade the Pentagon had planned to hold in four hours, did not take into account the tenacious and heroic resistance of the Cuban cooperation personnel and of the Grenadian soldiers. Who, then, has told the truth, and who has cynically lied about the events in Grenada? No foreign journalists — not even those from the United States — were allowed to see and report on the events on the spot. The pretext that this prohibition was a security measure for the journalists is both superficial and ridiculous. What they obviously wanted was to monopolize and manipulate information so they could lie without any hindrance to world public opinion, including the people of the United States. This was the only way they could spread deliberate lies and falsehoods of all kinds — which would be difficult to clear up and refute after their initial impact and effect on the people of the United States. Even in this, the method used by the U.S. Administration was Fascist.

What is left now, objectively, of those 19 assertions? Where are the silos for strategic missiles that were being built in Grenada? But all those lies that the world did not believe, told by the U.S. President and his spokesmen, made a tremendous impact on U.S. public opinion.

Moreover, the invasion of Grenada was presented to the U.S. people as a great victory for Reagan's foreign policy against the Socialist camp and the revolutionary movement. It was linked to the tragic death of 249 U.S. soldiers in Beirut, to the memory of the hostages in Iran, to the humiliating defeat in Vietnam and the resurgence of the United States as an influential power on the world scene. A dirty, dishonest appeal was made to U.S. patriotism, to national pride, to the grandeur and glory of the nation.

This was how they got a majority of the U.S. people — it is said that it was 65 percent at first and then 71 percent — to support the monstrous crime of invading a sovereign country without any justification, the reprehensible method of launching a surprise attack, the press censorship and all the other similar procedures the U.S. Government used for invading and justifying its invasion of Grenada. Hitler acted the same way when he occupied Austria in 1938 and annexed Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, in 1938 in the name of German pride, German grandeur and glory and the happiness and security of German subjects. If a poll had been taken in Hitler Germany at that time, in the midst of the chauvinistic wave unleashed by the Nazis, around 80 or 90 percent of the people would have approved of those aggressions.

The deplorable, truly dangerous fact — not only for the peoples of the Caribbean, Central and Latin America, but for all the peoples of the world — is that, when world opinion unanimously denounced the warmongering, aggressive, unjustifiable action that violated peoples sovereignty and all international norms and principles in the United States as manipulated, misinformed and deceived, majority opinion supported the monstrous crime committed by their government.

There is something even more disturbing: when this about-face was effected in U.S. public opinion, many U.S. politicians who initially had opposed these events ended up by condoning Reagan's actions, and the press — censored, humiliated and kept at a distance from the events — ended up moderating its complaints and criticism.

Are these, perchance, the virtues of a society where the opinion and the political and informational institutions can be grossly manipulated by its rulers, as they were in German society in the time of Fascism? Where is the glory, the grandeur and the victory in invading and defeating one of the tiniest countries in the world, of no economic or strategic significance? Where is the heroism in fighting a handful of workers and other civilian cooperation personnel whose heroic resistance — in spite of the surprise elements, the shortage of ammunition, and their disadvantage in terms of terrain, arms and numbers — against the air, sea and land forces of the most powerful imperialist country in the world forced it to bring in the 82nd Airborne Division, when the last stronghold was being defended at dawn on October 19 by 400 Grenadian fighters? The United States did not achieve any victory at all — not political or military or moral. If anything, it was a pyrrhic military victory and a profound moral defeat, as we pointed out on another occasion.

The imperialist Government of the United States wanted to kill the symbol of the Grenadian revolution, but the symbol was already dead. The Grenadian revolutionaries themselves destroyed it with their spirit 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, the United States killed a corpse and brought the symbol back to life at the same time. Was it for this that it shall

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In our hemisphere, just a year and a half ago, a NATO power used sophisticated war means to shed Argentine blood in the Malvinas. The Reagan Administration supported that action. It did not even consider the Organization of American States or the so-called security pacts and agreements, but scornfully pushed them aside. Now basing itself on the alleged request of a phantasmagoric organization of micro-states in the Eastern Caribbean, it has invaded Grenada and shed Caribbean blood and Cuban blood. Nicaragua paid a price of over 40,000 lives for freedom, and nearly a thousand more sons of that noble people have been killed in the attacks made by mercenary bands organized, trained and equipped by the U.S. Government. In El Salvador, over 80,000 people have been murdered by a genocidal regime whose army is equipped, trained and directed by the United States. In Guatemala, more than 200,000 have died at the hands of the repressive system installed by the C.I.A. in 1954 when it overthrew the progressive Arbenz Government. How many have died in Chile since imperialism staged the overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende? How many have died in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia in the last 16 years?

What a high price our peoples have paid in blood, sacrifice, poverty and mourning for imperialist domination and the unjust social systems it has imposed on our nations.

Imperialism is bent on destroying symbols, because it knows the value of symbols, of examples and of ideas. It wanted to destroy them in Grenada and it wants to destroy them in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba. But symbols, examples and ideas cannot be destroyed. When their enemies think they have destroyed them, what they have actually done is made them multiply. In trying to wipe out the first Christians, the Roman Emperors spread Christianity throughout the world. Likewise, all attempts to destroy our ideas will only multiply them.

Grenada has already multiplied the Salvadoran, Nicaragua and Cuban revolutionaries' patriotic convictions and fighting spirit. It has been proven that the best U.S. troops can be fought and that they are not feared. The imperialists must not ignore the fact that they will encounter fierce resistance wherever they attack a revolutionary people. Let us hope that their pyrrhic victory in Grenada and their air of triumph don't go to their heads, leading them to commit serious, irreparable errors. They will not find in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba the particular circumstance of revolutionaries divided among themselves and divorced from the people that they found in tiny Grenada.

In more than three years of heroic struggle, the Salvadoran revolutionaries have become experienced, fearless and invincible fighters. There are thousands of them who know the land inch by inch, veterans of dozens of victorious combats who are accustomed to fighting and winning when their odds are one to ten against elite troops, trained, armed and advised by the United States. Their unity is more solid and indestructible than ever.

In Nicaragua the imperialists would have to confront a deeply patriotic and revolutionary people that is united, organized, armed and ready to fight and that can never be subjugated.

With regard to Cuba, if in Grenada the imperialists had to bring in an elite division to fight against a handful of isolated men struggling in a small stronghold, lacking fortification, a thousand miles from their homeland, how many divisions would they need against millions of combatants fighting on their own soil alongside their own people?

Our country — as we have already said on other occasions — might be wiped off the face of the earth, but it will never be conquered and subjugated. In the present conditions of our continent, a U.S. war against a Latin American people would raise the morale of all the peoples of Latin America and turn their feelings against the aggressors. A bottomless abyss would be opened between peoples that, because they are in the same hemisphere, are called upon to live in peace, friendship and mutual respect and cooperate with one another.

The experiences of Grenada will be examined in detail to extract the utmost benefit from them for use in case of another attack against a country where there are Cuban cooperation personnel or on our own Motherland.

The Cubans that were captured and made virtually hostages had an unforgettable experience of what a country occupied by invading troops is like. The physical and psychological treatment given the cooperation personnel who were taken prisoners was insulting and vexatious, and promises of all kinds were made to each of them to try to get them to go to the United States. But they were not able to break their steel-like firmness. Not a single one deserted his homeland. In our country there was no manipulation of the news, nothing was hidden from the people. All reports concerning the invasion that were in

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Does it feel such contem- that contempt really so gre- for breakfast on November- declared before the press? If, unfortunately, all thi- be — the invasion of Gren- ness of the realities and dan-

Mr. O'Neill, Speaker of- said that it was sinful that- formed and ignorant abou- who doesn't even read th- the United States. If we co- has powerful sophisticated- nuclear warfare and that t- can declare war without co- sinful but truly dramatic an-

An air of triumph reign- tion. The echoes of the last- died away and already th- Salvador, Nicaragua and ev- In the Middle East, the- acts of interference and mi- gressive countries and na- continue unabated.

In Europe, the first of- missiles are already being- U.S.S.R. and other socialis- of nuclear weapons that c- matter of minutes. Not ju- mankind is threatened. Th- nada may toll tomorrow for-

The most prestigious a- doctors assure us that man- clear conflict. The destruct- weapons is a million times- phisticated bombs that wip- and Nagasaki in just a few- gan Administration's aggr- can lead to.

Meanwhile, the arms r- midst of the worst econo- nessed since the '30's. And, ment of the vast majority- to be solved, who can fee- that acts as precipitously, r- Government did in Grenad-

Reagan did not even bo- government as closely link- cally, and militarily as the- strange that in a poll taken- 90 percent of the British- posed to the United States- tive of using the Cruise m- there.

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As a matter of principle, at no time were efforts made to play down the seriousness of the situation or to minimize the magnitude of the dangers facing our country.

We are deeply grateful to the international committee of the Red Cross for its interest, dedication and efficient efforts to identify and evacuate the wounded, sick and other prisoners and the dead as quickly as possible. We are also grateful to the governments of Spain and Colombia for the efforts that initially they made in this regard.

In bidding farewell to our beloved brothers who died heroically in combat fulfilling with honor their patriotic and internationalist duties, and in expressing our deepest solidarity to their loved ones, we do not forget that there are Grenadian mothers and U.S. mothers who are crying for their sons who died in Grenada.

We send our condolences to the mothers and other relatives of the Grenadians who were killed and also to the mothers and other relatives of the U.S. soldiers who died, because they, who also suffer from the loss of close relatives, are not responsible for, but victims as well of their Government's warmongering, aggressive, irresponsible actions.

Every day, every hour, every minute — at work, at our study and combat positions — we will remember our comrades who died in Grenada.

The men whom we will bury this afternoon fought for us and for the world. They may seem to be corpses. Reagan wants to make corpses of all our people, men, women, elderly and children. He wants to make corpses out of all mankind. But the peoples shall struggle to preserve their independence and their lives; they will struggle to prevent the world from becoming a huge cemetery; they will struggle and pay the price necessary for mankind to survive. However, they are not corpses, but symbols. They did not even die in the land where they were born. There, far away from Cuba, where they were contributing with the noble sweat of their internationalist work in a country poorer and smaller than ours, they were also capable to shed their blood and offer their lives. But in that trench, they also knew they were defending their own people and their own homeland as well.

It is impossible to express the generosity of human beings and their willingness to make sacrifices in a more pure way. Their example will be multiplied, their ideas will be multiplied and they themselves will be multiplied in us. No power, no weapons, no force can ever prevail over the patriotism, internationalism, feelings of human brotherhood and Communist consciousness which they embody.

We shall be like them, in work and combat.

*Patria o Muerte.
Vencemos.*

THE CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIALIST REPUBLIC
CUBAN INTERESTS SECTION

2630 18th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

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"The Conflicting Tendencies in the Caribbean Revolution"

An analysis of diverging political tendencies that have emerged in Trinidad and the Caribbean as the struggle intensifies—

BUKKA RENNIE

(27 year old member of the New Beginning Movement) Editor of the "New Beginning" newspaper. Author of the "History of the Working-class in the 20th Century Trinidad and Tobago" and "Revolution and Social Development—an address to the unemployed"—BUKKA

A VIEW:

The moment one sets out to write or speak about Revolution and the practice of revolution, a most fundamental problem arises. How best to treat a topic that has been bastardized and distorted so much and so often by both reactionaries and progressive in their quest to establish a position and defend it at all costs? And how is the speaker or writer to know that he/she may not be about in fact to do the very same thing? What are the safeguards? The solution to the problem lies in a process that is threefold in nature:

1. The student of revolution must understand that his/her obligation and responsibility to all humanity is first and foremost to hold some position. A revolutionary is only such when he/she has a position that incorporates a philosophical view of the immediate environment and how it lies in relation to the world. That is to say the very least. Every position must be seen as a political line that (twins) subjective views with progressing objective conditions, demands and situations. One's thoughts, or better yet, trend of thinking must harmonize at all times with the objective laws of social development, that is external to or outside of one's mind, but which nevertheless explain the internal movement and development of all worldly phenomena, in this case, societies, due to the resolving of constantly arising inherent contradictions and conflict. This harmonization says that thoughts or theoretical positions are not to be placed within fixed or solid categories or frameworks, if they are to be pure and valid, but must move, change and transform to suit the internal movement and development of all matter and phenomena within the environment, to suit changing realities. Therefore it is in the testing of ideas and

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many eventually make the whole, the complete whole, and, in the course of this, revolutionaries are revolutionized. The struggle of tendencies is a revolution within the Caribbean revolution.

H INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CURRENTS

They say that the 18th and 19th Centuries were the ages of enlightenment and reason, but throughout these centuries the world remained pretty stereotyped, in fact, the political, social and economic structures, the inherent social relations, and the international division of labour, remained intact and hardened. The ages of enlightenment and reason only represented the final aging and maturing of international capitalism—by then it had pulled the entire world into one; its technology had developed beyond all dreams, and communication from the most backward outposts of the world to the very epicentres of international capitalism was being realized within the "blink of an eye". Constant scientific inventing, as an integral part of capitalist development, was a must as they sought better and more efficient ways to intensify and widen the scope of social production and to further facilitate business arrangements and transactions according to the dictates of the process of making one dollar grow into a million dollars. Whatever growth in the standard of living of the masses of the world that came as a result was purely incidental. But International Capitalism could not help "enlightening" itself without enlightening in the process large sections of the dehumanized and exploited masses the world over.

And so the 20th Century came to produce two events that catapulted the world into a new stage, as people moved to smash ancient social relations and thereby generated currents to begin the destruction of capitalism as a one-dimensional universal force. The first event took place in one of the most backward outposts of international capitalism where as much as 75% of the people could not read or write—the Russian Revolution of 1917. The second event took place and developed in the bowels and jaws of international capitalism itself, rascaland USA, the police of the world—the Black Power Movement of the 1960's. These two social events are to the 20th Century what the French and Haitian revolutions were to the 18th Century . . . no part of the modern world has escaped their effects, and to date they are still proving to be sources of genuine enlightenment to masses of people throughout the world in their struggle to envision a new humanity. At the same time, and quite unavoidably so, the distortions of these two events have been tremendous.

The Russian Revolution established first and foremost a philosophy and theory of organization, revolutionary organization, based on the Marxian interpretation of history and social phenomena. It equipped the world with a view and nature of organization based on the alliance of the advanced sectors of the potential revolutionary classes; workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, with which to overcome the totality of capitalism. It tells also about the

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 to Mages for next 50 yrs of Caribbean history
- thoughts against the objective situation that ascertains one's validity for a specific point in time, and only for that specific point in time.
3. The constant process of weighing one's ideas against the ideas of others, subjectivity against objectivity, of debating positions, of exposing and baring different tendencies, and resolving antagonistic contradictions one way or another, is essential and must not be stifled if truth is the desired end, and revolution is to be made. And no revolution has ever simply happened.

With this understanding, the attempt here, therefore, is to discuss the Caribbean Revolution in context of the different tendencies and ideas that are struggling for supremacy. The material basis of the different tendencies, their sources their universal and historical development are to be discussed throughout. *Such an analysis is of utmost importance at the moment for the course and nature of the next 50 years of Caribbean history will be determined by whichever of the tendencies that proves successful in gripping the masses of people, and triumphs as material and spiritual force.* What kind of men and women shall we be tomorrow is a question that will be answered most of all by the outcome of the struggle of revolutionary tendencies. Shall we see the universal trends and currents within our specific situation and social experiences, fully grasp and understand them, and be prepared to meet the rest of humanity at the crossroads to a new world? Shall we seek the freedom to inculcate all the modern scientific knowledge, industrial techniques, skills and wealth that is there before the whole wide world, and make this our common property too, particularly as to a great extent it was all derived off our exploited and dehumanized backs? Or shall we sink into barbarism, and a life of primitive ritual and social relations already negated by the revolutions of humankind some 200 years ago? Or, by far not the least worse, are we to become automated "cybernauts", mechanical slaves existing like zombies in the space age, gluttoned by the alienation of super-luxury, devoid of the use of imagination, the joy of living, but captivated by rehearsed, State-organized spontaneity and creativity?

The question is frightfully important if only it forces a few to recognize that at the moment the revolution is just as much a struggle against the capitalist system as it is a struggle between conflicting tendencies posed by the students of revolution dedicated to the making of the revolution. What is important is that we begin to view the revolution in such totality and act accordingly. Who can say whether it is in the actual process of the people overthrowing the Caribbean colonial capitalist system that one revolutionary tendency shall triumph above all others, or whether it is going to be as a result of the process of one tendency gaining predominance that the system shall be overthrown. Only time will tell. However what we do know is that the injection of ideology as a unifying factor of direction is always crucial to the success of revolution. There are always revolutions within the revolution, the

relationship between such an organization, the vanguard, led by the working-class, and the rest of the broad masses. The Chinese and Cuban revolutions that came after only developed this idea further with different variations arising out of their particular realities, but the essential basics of class struggle were the same whether the workers or the peasants were the actual leading class. In addition the Russian revolution re-affirmed the international nature of the class struggle precisely because at the point in time of its occurrence Imperialism as the last stage of capitalism was in fact the most fundamental development within the dialectical movement of capital, and the capitalists were involved in a World-War to divide up their spheres of influence and control. A new International Working Men's Association (the 3rd International) was established and revolutionaries throughout all the continents were affiliated directly to it as Russia became the centre of world revolution. And we must stress that the influence on the Caribbean was great; for example, in 1919 the vanguard organization in Trinidad and Tobago that succeeded in mobilizing the entire population was called the Trinidad Working Men's Association, and in the 1930's, Butler, the leader of the mass movement, was noted to say "If I come to power, Stalin will gladly send us money".

But after 1928 the Russian Revolution, despite its astonishing development in production and distribution of goods and services, academic education, science and technology, etc., degenerated through a number of qualitative changes from Bolshevism-Marxism-Leninism into Stalinism, a centralized State bureaucracy that runs an economy in which there are inherent and operative all the fundamental laws of capital development, accumulation and appropriation twined with the social relations between people and people typical of modern capitalism, though covered over by superficial revolutionary theory (ideology) that finds itself standing more and more in adversity to the objective movement and dictates of Russian capital to the extent that daily distortions of the theory become a necessity. The Stalinists control State, Party and People rigidly; their main interest being the maintenance of their bureaucratic position within Russia at all costs, at the expense of all others, and to develop the "new society" not only as they envisioned it to be fashioned but as they are forced to fashion it by the development of capital. In so doing the bureaucracy has hardened to suit the situation and stifle the new contradictions that arose. It is precisely out of such a context that the Russians could have called on the baby National Liberation Movements of the colonial world to direct propaganda attacks against the Japanese who had no colonies but to soften on the allies of Russia, i.e. England and France, who had colonies throughout the African and Asian continents. This coupled with the fact that the 3rd International, like the 2nd, failed to prevent workers fighting on behalf of capitalism led to Russia's fading away as the guiding light of World Revolution. Other factors such as the invasion of Hungary only intensified what had already begun to happen. Therefore when the National Liberation Movements of the 3rd World really mushroomed once again after 1945, there

was a marked alienation from Russia. Sure, they took help from Russia and will continue to do so but on the overall, Russian theoretical projections and suppositions, foreign policy, State organization (Kremlin) and economic interests became suspect. Worse yet when it was realized that every criticism of the Russian situation came to be viewed as anti-Sovietism just as the Jew Zionists label all criticisms as anti-Semitism.

Of course the Imperialist world forces realized this alienation and seized the opportunity to intensify their dirty propaganda to further the isolation of Russia and denounce per se socialist ideology. Cold War politics dominated the World. The reality is that growing contradictions within the "revolutionary socialist" camp gave scope to Imperialist propaganda.

World reaction to all this led eventually to 5 main established trends:

1. Russian distortion of Marxism-Leninism to give their position theoretical validity—their distortion skilfully based on holding Lenin's words to the letter, out of particular objective context, devoid of the philosophical framework that was instrumental at all times to Lenin's thoughts and action.

2. Attempts by elements throughout the developed and underdeveloped world to recapture the genuine philosophy and methodology of Marxism-Leninism. VARIATIONS HAVE evolved that are in no way fundamentally different to Stalinism but each accuse the other of revisionism".

3. Rejection of Marxism-Leninism altogether and its universality, resulting in attempts to find "own thing".

4. The two Super-Powers theory and with this the question of the non-alignment of the National Liberation Movements of the 3rd World to both USA and Russia. This theory is geared to widen the separation or alienation of the liberation movements from the Eastern "Socialist" bloc, moreover it has become the pet line of the Chinese Stalinists in their struggle with Russian Stalinists and vice-versa. On the other hand the local popular middle-class bourgeoisie that came to power in the countries that gained Independence after 1945 also claimed to be non-aligned but almost all of them were satellites of the USA.

5. In 1959 when Castro, Che and the 26th July Movement came to power in Cuba, Marxism-Leninism awoke, re-affirmation came that Imperialism could be defeated. Immediately the Cuban revolution became the guiding light to the world, precisely because there seemed to be an instinctive distaste for bureaucracy juxtaposed with an insatiable greed for direct democracy within the new Cuban experience. The Cubans appeared not to be afraid to admit that new contradictions had arisen within the revolution since power was seized, and the ways through which they hoped to resolve there

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Stalin
Khrushchev
Zhou Enlai
Lin Biao

1959-1962

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contradictions were boldly outlined. Not even 15 years had passed before Castro was heard to say "the Communist Party is usurping the role that rightfully belongs to the masses of people. this must be stopped at once." And Cuba, we must remember is a Caribbean island.

The Black Power Movement of the 1960's came on the scene and proceeded to cause all the 5 trends to snowball and intensify. Contradictions become antagonistic as a first stage to them being resolved. Herein lies one major historic significance of the Black Power Movement in the context of World Revolution. It caused the entire world to take another look at itself, to re-examine International Politics, and it exposed further invalidities in the revolutionary praxis of many. A tired African American woman, Rosa Parks, refused to sit at the back of the bus thereby defying the basis of social and production relations within Raceland USA where racism is institutionalized. Currents were set off, new dimensions were added, a first shot up into the air and Black Power rocked the world. The term Black Power and its essence came if only to highlight a reality heretofore ignored, overlooked, by international revolutionaries, Socialists, Communists, all the brands alike, even those who championed W. E. B. Du Bois but failed to understand that one of the central problems of the 20th Century politics is the problem of the colour line". The task before them all was to place the Black Power Movement within its correct socio-historic perspective and recognize it as an inherently revolutionary social phenomenon despite all its overt and superficial manifestations. Not to simply say that it is wrong. The movement came, it happened, hundreds of thousands moved; the task was to point out its causes, its emergence, its transformations and historical development, its contradictions and where it should be going based on its own internal dynamics and interaction with what was happening throughout the world. But the static distorted, incorrect Marxist-Leninist tendencies could not accommodate such analysis. As is typical of them, they took literally the slogans and symbols through which the masses of people in the situation best found expression, and replied negatively "the struggle is based on class not race", when in fact there is no reality in the USA outside of a unity of class and race issues but black people in the USA found it unnecessary to pose their struggle of the 60's in a particular context. It is such an understanding, and most crucially the exposition of it, that would have brought a linkage between the Black Power Movement and the Marxist-Leninist tendencies. Moreover such an understanding had to be placed within a programme of accepted practice. But this was not done, and instead we saw and still see the trivial international championing of individual black activists as a strategy towards gaining, in particular, Stalinist influence on the black masses, but to no avail. The Black Revolution exposed the emptiness of the Stalinist line and has proven to be a most significant factor in driving the World Student Movement, that erupted in the wake of the Black Power Movement, away from Stalinism.

The Black revolution within the USA began as a civil rights movement which was reformist in nature calling for racial integration and respect of human rights, it was not anti-capitalist in perspective. When this stage had spent itself, Black Nationalism or Black Power evolved which in its stated positions saw the struggle for human rights and dignity as synonymous with a struggle for political power. No one was going to fight any longer to sit down next to "white people", and this found expression in a kind of Black exclusiveness. How many remember that it was the clean shaven baby-face kid who marched with Martin Luther and Young White radicals that grew to be Stokely Carmichael. Political power for *all* Black people by any means necessary. That was as far as they could have gone given the situation. It was the negation of the Luther King days. The problem came when the movement was forced, by internal contradictions and by the inter-relation with revolutionary forces throughout the world, to take on new dimensions and negate the negation of the Luther King period. In other words when it was time to move beyond Black Nationalism and become revolutionary armed with a method and theoretical perspective to inject into the situation and take the people to the stage of seeing political power as a means to an end; the end being new economic and social relations, a new society free from all exploitation, Black or White. The point is that their very exclusiveness which led them to see themselves as a separate "colony" within the USA took them into relationship with the other colonies of the world: they arrived at an international outlook through their very so-called separateness brought on by the objective factor of racism and its ramifications, physiological and otherwise, within their immediate environment.

At this time it was inevitable that the situation would by necessity break up into splinters. There was a transcension to be made and not everybody was going to make it. Secondly, all who made it would not be necessarily moving in the same direction, on the contrary they moved onto several diversed routes issuing out of different points of departure.

Urban guerilla Some moved to urban guerilla tactics, like the Black Panthers and and RNA, the former supposedly Marxist-Leninist in approach, the latter a development on the Black Nationalist Line calling for 6 separate States for Black people to build a new society. The lack of strict attention to the realities of the situation, to the principles of revolution, and to the laws of social development led many heroic martyrs to their graves.

2. Some Black Nationalists failing or refusing to perceive the class nature of the struggle embraced Black Capitalism within the social fabrics of the USA.
3. Others recognizing the evils of capitalism and imperialism, and racism as an integral part of this, pursue the trend to find an ideology that is not originated by the "white man" and have been reviewing

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African history with the view to implant ancient African life styles and political and economic systems into small organized communities within capitalist America. They become cultural nationalists and see power in African dress, names, food etc., while the capitalist/imperialist monster continues to exist and exploit even them. At the same time the relationship between people and people, leadership and led, within these organized communities reek of the barbarism of capitalist contradictions and of ancient feudalism and paternalistic societies already negated by social development.

Others have seized the opportunity to use the historic and objective demand to internationalize the struggle as an escape from the American realities in a form of Pan-Africanism that says that the revolution on the continent is top priority and to attempt to make revolution within the USA is nonsensical. To these Pan-Africanism does not by definition have to mean anti-capitalism.

But, by far, the minority is involved in the process of building serious revolutionary organizations and see themselves as part of the world movement to adapt correct Marxism-Leninism as a scientific method with which to understand particular and universal realities. They support Pan-Africanism ardently, but see it as a struggle to unite Africa under a Socialist banner geared to the destruction of capitalism and imperialism.

The Black Power Movement established two main aspects:

1. That the ignoring of race within the reality of struggle is as dangerous and stultifying as the ignoring of class.
2. That the unemployed, do in fact have a revolutionary role to play especially due to the fact that they are no longer simply a shifting class used by the capitalists as a threat to the workers but have become a rapidly increasing permanent class with its own sub-culture and as such have undergone a lot of qualitative changes. Today they stand diametrically opposed to the capitalists in terms of interests as they come to realize that their status in life is being relegated by the fact that capitalism/imperialism is unable to generate enough capital to accommodate full employment. No need to mention that their sub-culture is by nature and definition an elementary anti-capitalist consciousness. . . . everyday they "go to meet the Man, and beat the system"—that is the hustle. This element has been leading the Black Power revolts which says a lot about the strengths and the weaknesses of the African-American revolution.

These are precisely the two factors that the Stalinists and others like them prove unable to grasp. They choose to ignore race, outside of lip-service, and persist to view the unemployed as hustlers on the backs of the working-class

despite that, throughout the world today, especially the 3rd World, the unemployed have time and time again assumed the role of vanguard class. But the Stalinists, devoid of dialectical materialism, the philosophy of Marx and Lenin, refrain from giving expression to this class, far less to work among this class. We can guess that it is because in Marx and Lenin's time the unemployed by nature were not what they are today and as such neither Marx nor Lenin, in their written documents left to posterity, bestowed upon this class any significant historic mission. No one can come to terms with the Black Power Movement for that matter World Revolution, without coming to terms with (1) the race question and (2) the reality of the hustler unemployed class as a potentially revolutionary formation of modern capital in the throes of the falling rate of profit. It is impossible to understand Caribbean reality unless these very two factors are placed in proper perspective. Okay we may have over-laboured the point, but it is important that we understand the world currents that have resulted from the Russian Revolution and its present experience, and from the Black Power Movement, since these very currents are the seed-bed of the conflicting tendencies within the Caribbean at the very moment.

CARIBBEAN IN THE 70's

THE MASS MOVEMENTS INTENSIFY

Today throughout the Caribbean Islands (Cuba—the exception) whether it is in reference to those islands that got "Independence" in the late 50's and early 60's or associate statehood, or yet those that are still colonial departments in one way or another, there are common factors fundamental to the existence of the whole people. The Caribbean society, under pressure from outdated brutal political-economic structures and inherent archaic social relations, and exploded by the constant revolts of the people against the chains of blatant human bondage, first fell apart totally around 1834. Everything collapsed; the fabrics of slavery could not longer hold so it had to go. The antagonistic relationship of "Mother Countries" attempting to hold back an entire Caribbean society in primitiveness while they themselves experienced enlightenment and material development precisely because of the exploitation of Caribbean slave labour, was over. When slave society broke down the economic masters of the world, after seeing the failure of the indentureship of Indians in two particular parts of the region, eventually reorganized the society within the realms of a new relationship or category called the Crown Colony System or simply colonialism in which the ex-slave and the indentured labourer were transformed fully into workers or wage-slaves thereby modernizing the social, economic and political strangulation. We then entered the 20th Century. From slave and indentured to wage worker was a fundamental change in production relations that had to be accompanied by overall develop-

70's

Caribbean Islands
Cuba except

Belgian
1834

ments in the political and social structures. But despite this the Caribbean masses never accepted the limitations, spiritual and otherwise, of colonialism and constantly battled for total freedom under the leadership of the most educated and advanced ones. The colonial master always made it appear that colonialism was a process to equip and prepare us for political freedom, a freedom that was divorced from economic freedom, divorced from the struggle of labour against the bondage of capital. The more "educated" we became along these set lines, the more room was opened for two or three more colonials within the State apparatus. And though we battled right up to the 50's and 60's all that we achieved were quantitative changes . . . more of this and more of that. More to sit in the Assembly in France, more political power, with Prime Minister and Governor with their own flags and horses. So while our middle-class Oxford-educated "citizens of substance" fought each other for seats to entrench themselves as our new immediate masters and we supported, our eyes were kept off the question of economics, the question of property and production relations, only out of which can come the fundamental qualitative change that we desire. From colonialism to present times the social structures just bent to accommodate more of us but kept the growing majority at the roots fixed on the spot as prey for capitalism/imperialism.

The fact that people here acquired political power and nothing changed has resulted in particular attention being paid to the question of the economy and its organization. In fact since the acquisition of political power or the semblance of it by the local overseer class, the economic situation has become progressively worse for the large masses of people. This principal contradiction within the Caribbean framework of neo-colonial capitalism has brought forth mass more intense than ever confrontations time and time again, confrontations that have taken on new dimensions in the 70's Jamaica--1968, 1969, 1970; Curacao (1969), Anguilla (1969), Antigua (1969, 1973), Guadeloupe (1971), Dominica (1973), St. Lucia (1973), Grenada (1973), Trinidad (1970-73), Guyana (1972, 1973), Surinam (1969, 1973); and so on. The nature of the Caribbean is such that everytime the mass movements erupt the question who is to have political and economic power is immediately posed as economic and property relations and all constituted authority are attacked openly. In Trinidad, in particular since 1970, the Westminster system, with its institutions of Party, Parliament and bourgeois "democratic" elections, have been negated to a great extent, if not totally, by the emergence of the 1970 People's Parliaments or new forms of politics, and by the fact that only 28% of the people bothered to vote in the 1971 elections as a culmination of the gradual fall away from bourgeois elections since 1961. Moreover in that very year, 1971, guerilla activities began to take shape in the context of a deepening Socialist consciousness. The point is that the entire Caribbean society as structured has ceased to function: the neo-colonial and colonial governments have lost all moral and political authority, the parties have become empty shells and are splitting up, the conflict between management and worker has gone beyond the rubrics of

unions as the unions themselves are being negated and attacked by the self-activity of the working-class; the Church has lost its influence; the teachers cannot teach, there is no communication between them and pupils; the once accepted authority of parents over children has been dashed to bits; the unemployed have matured and exist now only to attack the State and beat the system in many diversified ways. Of the State only the military arm functions. The only difference in the pattern throughout the Caribbean is dependent on the varied degrees of revolutionary development within the particular islands.

For the second time in the history of the Caribbean we are experiencing a total breakdown of all structures and social foundations. It is only when such a total breakdown of the social fabrics come, that production and property relations the very heart and core of society are forced to change. The Caribbean revolution is about to decide who will tell who what to do, when, how and why. And whereas the mass movements before were popular expressions that housed within all the different views and tendencies, a natural inherent weakness, now because of the intensification of the revolution and subsequent questions like the need for disciplined vanguard organizations, strategies for power etc., the different tendencies have been forced to emerge and conflict openly. This qualitative difference between the mass movements of the 70's and those gone before is a clear indication that the objective conditions are ripe, that the productive forces, the potentially revolutionary elements, and the masses of people, have outgrown the present structures and are ready to determine new social relations altogether, not simply to twist old forms to suit. The people have developed to the fullest capacity possible within the realm of neo-colonial capitalism, the Imperialist axis and its international division of labour. No attempt within these confines can better the situation, not even the Caribbeanization of capital.

It is only in this context that we can perceive the heightening conflict of different tendencies. Now, more than ever, the connections, conscious or unconscious, to the universal trends and currents become obvious.

BLACK/CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The advocates of this line adhere to the position that the struggle is basically one of Blacks versus Whites, Black culture versus White European culture. They are anti-imperialist primary because it means the total exploitation of Black nations by White nations and multi-national corporations, but at the same time there is not any clear-cut anti-capitalist expression within their framework though they attempt to stretch "Blackness" to be an ideology that incorporates what is termed "African Socialism or Communalism", a concept that is to be reached through a "return" to ancient African life-styles. Implicit in this position is the view that values have to be changed and subsequently structures will be changed and organizing large rallies in which people must be led to realize and organize "their Black action", the activity

is supposed to generate more and more the desired values as the basis out of which the change in society shall come. It is this approach that identifies them as utopian and demarcates them from scientific revolutionaries and socialists who see that it is a new environment, new political and economic structures, that is the essential prerequisite for the coming of a new humanity, and that it is not a matter of returning to anything but starting from exactly where we are at this moment in historical development. These advocates stretch "Black" to include Indo-West Indians who do not necessarily accept the stigma for they see it as an attempt to Africanize them, an attempt to negate their Indian-ness and as such they are repulsed to the extent that racial division and suspicion are intensified. The Indo West-Indians are quite justified in the position they hold since the Black Nationalist is totally pre-occupied with Africa, African culture, symbols and rituals which many are driven to consider as the tools of liberation, but, when no liberation comes, the tools are confused with their purpose, and strategy and objective become one and the same. To the Black Nationalists of Trinidad and Tobago all who do not hold their position is an enemy. They refuse all dialogue with other tendencies as dictated by the leadership that is structured along similar lines to the conventional parties.

CARIBBEAN STALINISM

The Stalinists maintain the claim vociferously that they are scientific Marxist-Leninists whose major task and objective is to defeat capitalism/imperialism and prove to the people that socialism is the superior socio-economic system. Their strategy is based on the monolithic vanguard "democratically centralized" party directing the struggle of the Caribbean people towards a new society. The Party must take power on behalf of the people and defend the revolution against the bourgeoisie, but there seems to be no view of direct workers' self-management and people's control within their perspective. All that one sees is Party management that can develop into almost anything. Today in the modern world any vanguard that sees itself thinking and acting for the masses of people can only evolve into a dictatorship, all the more brutal because of its required sophistication in context of the overnight development of the whole people.

The spontaneity of the unemployed is scolded heavily; in Jamaica, the main Stalinist ideologue maintains that the unemployed are nothing but exploiters and murderers of the workers, that they are people who sometime take certain action (e.g. the burning of warehouses and factories) against the State that results in further suffering to the working-class and deters the struggle. That is the danger in spontaneity, they say, and as such spontaneity must be controlled, possibly nipped in the bud so as to give way to directed mass education and action by the Party. In their attempt to move away from one extreme i.e. spontaneity they move to the opposite extreme which is as

dangerous and stultifying in terms of its results. But just as fundamental is the fact that there is inherent here a particular concept of education of the masses that leaves one to wonder about their claim to a scientific approach.

CARIBBEAN MARXISM *H. E. R. B.*

This tendency maintains that the Marxist method of historic interpretation must be applied to the Caribbean experience but the symbols and expression must be Caribbean in content and connotation. Also that the historic struggle of the Caribbean people expressed traditionally in the mass movements has always been geared towards making themselves economic and political masters of the region, and as the struggle developed, within the movement of capitalism, this view of being "masters" took on new dimensions. We who hold this tendency see the class struggle today for socialism as basically a struggle for workers' and people's self-management, a broader dimension to the concept of being "masters". The vanguard movement, organization party (call it what you may) we see as only an instrument, a strategy, towards the end of people's self-management; the acquiring of power by the vanguard and the defense against the bourgeoisie is only a stage towards self-management, a stage that prepares the broad masses for direct control, a stage that by its very nature and conception could never be an end in itself. We feel that this aspect of the struggle must be emphasized today precisely because of what we have learnt from the Caribbean experience and because of the new category and contradictions that have arisen in both Russia and China.

The vanguard then, prior to the seizure of power and after must maintain a particular relationship with the spontaneity, self-organization and initiative of the masses, i.e. the mass movement; in this relationship the vanguard moves from consciousness to action, while the masses move from action or self-activity to consciousness, and the two opposites develop through an interdependence and inter-connection. Here is a concept of the education process that involves the laws of social science. The gradual fading away of the vanguard we see as the first step in the withering away of the proletarian dictatorship State onto the stage of direct people's self-management whereby people control their nation via local assemblies, based where they live and work co-ordinated by a national body of delegates who, subject to immediate recall, may even be on a rotating basis is possible. The vanguard from the word go must reflect all this in its approach and structures.

These are the three (3) main tendencies that exist within the Caribbean. There are many groups that are in a state of flux, that are still in the process of moving away from Black Nationalism and are yet undecided as to which of the Marxist Leninist tendencies they shall adapt. However at the moment their loyalties still lie with the Black Nationalist line. On the other hand Maoist and Trotskyite tendencies which are simply different critical, subjective variations of Stalinism now seem to be arising but are not yet clearly distinct

on the Caribbean scene. This is the case particularly in Jamaica and the French and Dutch speaking islands. From all reports it seems as though on the overall the tendencies in the French speaking regions are very hostile to each other, whereas within the Dutch speaking territories they are not as hard and there seems to be room for working relationships, though on a Caribbean level they desire no relationship whatever with Black Nationalist organizations.

STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

The three tendencies, in their organized forms, find themselves conflicting most at the point of practice among the people, and especially in their attempts to influence other organized bodies whose political lines are still in flux and not yet hardened. It is precisely at this point of practice that the entire situation will be resolved one way or another, for whereas at the moment neither of the major tendencies seem to be clearly predominant, the nature of the practice of their organized forms and their development and assimilation with the people shall be the decisive factor. Nevertheless, within the objective realities there are factors that lend presently to the strengths and weaknesses of the different tendencies. Not surprisingly, we find that it is in the very factors that lend to present strengths that inherent weaknesses lie most squarely. That is the contradiction within the essence of all social phenomena. Herein stands the complexity of the situation and the difficulties with which the students and activists of not only the Caribbean revolution but all revolutions, are faced. Right plump in the middle of what seems to be your greatest strength is your great weakness militating against further development.

The Black Nationalists get strength from their openly apparent relation to the heavily world publicized Black Power Movement of the USA, yet the influence from African America has led them to a similar preference for racial exclusiveness taken out of the US context altogether. This exclusiveness stands adverse to the objective demand for Indian/African unity that traditionally has always been the bastion of working-class struggle in the Caribbean particularly in Guyana, Trinidad and Surinam. And though they may call for such a unity, their overall ideological framework drives the Indian masses to believe that it is simply a temporary strategy to get rid of the "whiteman" but after this, since the line is a race line, the question will arise as to which of the two indigenous races is to have political, economic and cultural power. On the other hand they just like their US counterparts hold the Marxist interpretation of the class nature of society to be a "whiteman" philosophy. But what is most philistine is that they do not study the philosophy and therefore cannot come to understand that Marxism is simply a method of analysis, a view of historical interpretation, that is applied to specific situations, and helps to put the very question of race in its required social perspective.

This "Black" line is very attractive to people who have just grasped an elementary consciousness of themselves in relation to the powers that be.

The most pronounced, open, visual and blatant difference between themselves and the Imperialists is the difference of race, therefore the Black nationalist analysis is the simplest, most emotional and least complex line within the context of struggle. Precisely because these people are at a stage of first level consciousness the emotive exuberance of this line mesmerises them. Historic hatred for a certain set of people is easily played upon and becomes a motivating factor in conjunction with ethnic symbols; it is a line that projects the most backward aspects of a people rather than their most modern and progressive characteristics as determined by life in the 20th Century Caribbean. The inclination at this stage to revel in super-militancy without in-depth study of one's situation in relation to the immediate environment and the world, that in fact is a painstaking task without emotion or romance, initially lends strength to this line. We see everyday the secondary high school students who are still immature politically falling helplessly for this line until practical activity, especially in linkage with the unemployed, brings on a deeper consciousness that forces them to ask questions that cannot be answered by the Black nationalist ideologues. Immediately the exodus away from this over-simplified narrow, limited line begins. But this cycle has been recurring since 1969 though the numbers involved in each consecutive turn-over are less as the socialist consciousness of the workers, farmers and unemployed develops and further entrenches itself.

Its great theoretical weakness lies exactly in its view and concept of African culture. Is this African culture, of which they speak, revolutionary or re-actionary culture? Is it culture that determines new political and economic relations and develops in conjunction with the struggle? Does it relate to present realities? Or is it the culture, based on bourgeois logic and concepts, which always separates the different aspects of man's life, that separates politics, art and economics from the day to day struggles of mankind to come to grips with the realities of his environment? The Black Nationalist concept of culture is the bourgeois concept that allows for the transferring of stagnant, dead rituals and forms from one era to another and from one place to another place. That is precisely the case. This is not surprising since the leadership of this tendency in the Caribbean comprises mainly elements of the young radical middle-class, educated in the grammar schools and universities, who have broken with their tradition but not necessarily with the logic of their tradition. They still contain within themselves a lot of the misconceptions with which they were moulded. Their so-called rejuvenation of African culture is nothing but an offshoot of that particular kind of logic that shows no continuity of development and coherence in the different stages over which mankind as a whole has moved. There is nothing within their view that incorporates all that Caribbean man has become in spite of, and because of, Imperialism.

There are two conclusions to be drawn (1) They view ancient African culture with bourgeois eyes, they see it totally devoid of its philosophy which presupposes that all art forms and aspects of life must be relevant to time and

place, that the moment the factors of "time" and "place" changed then new aspects of living were created and developed to suit, in other words there was at all times a harmony and unity of politics, economics, religion, art, etc., and any fundamental change in one brought a change in all the others. (2) Their talk about re-introducing African culture is an indication that, truthful to their bourgeois indoctrination, they accept the ridiculous position that Africans came to the Caribbean "stripped of their culture", naked and like a savage. True, we the Africans came without the external manifestations of our culture at that time but it is a truism that we came with ourselves, our bodies and minds, in fact the greatest representation of our culture. It follows then that what we have done and created here in the Caribbean, on the sugar plantation and since, is an indication of who we were and what we have become. That is our only starting point but bourgeois/capitalist education has diverted us from the path layed down by our ancestors in the struggle to be free and to be "masters", and away from what they have already created in conjunction with other races here in the quest to make a Caribbean people with a Caribbean reality. The Black Nationalist line philosophically negates such a thorough understanding of the Caribbean and as a result tends to fall flat particularly during critical moments.

Furthermore this political line is easily accommodated or slaughtered by the Caribbean States according to expediency. In Trinidad, the 1970's were ushered in with this line as the most dominant, ~~it advocates and organized~~ forms held total moral authority, it was truly the vanguard line of the masses. However all the demands made by the vanguard organization were in fact met or seemingly met by the State. After the 1970-rebellion and the Black advocates were all jailed, the social mobility of Africans sped up, banks were nationalized and "localized" there arose Black directors and managers throughout the society, Black small business skyrocketed as the State began to give away loans and organize cooperatives, Black faces appeared in the school picture books, and so on. But the capitalist mode of production and its social relations hardened, the concept of life, economics, politics, art etc., remained fixed. The relationship between the powerful and the powerless intensified despite whatever face change appeared. The 1970 Black Power upsurge did more for the blossoming, further crystallizing and expanding of the minority Black petit-bourgeois middle-class than for the exploited mass. The line became weaker, and its organized form found itself forced to engage more in cultural rituals rather than political activity with clearcut economic demands within the Trinidad and Tobago situation. The line had become politically and ideologically bankrupt.

But the 6th Pan-African Congress, sponsored by African-Americans with tremendous international publicity, helped to somewhat revive this tendency within the Caribbean. At a meeting in Guyana, the Caribbean Secretariat of the Congress, comprised of a number of Caribbean groups still in the State of ideological flux, openly identified with NJAC, the Black Nationalist Group

of Trinidad and Tobago. A resolution was passed declaring NJAC to be the most revolutionary organization in the Caribbean. The resolution was a deliberate attempt by the Congress organizers and adherents to champion the NJAC as opposed to the other tendencies that exist in organized forms throughout the region. Many, precisely because of their rank opportunism, found themselves forced to support such a resolution. The Caribbean oppressive regimes opened their doors to all the Black Nationalist advocates; they were allowed to travel and hold their meetings anywhere in the Caribbean. In Trinidad, the NJAC got full use of all governmental news media. The 6th Pan-African Congress became pivotal to the Black Nationalist Line. But when it became clear to the political activities on the African continent that the Caribbean contingent because of their anti-imperialist nature would be an embarrassment to the "Black skin-white mask" Caribbean regimes who promised the much needed concrete economic and technical assistance, the Caribbean contingent was debarred from Tanzania. It threw the Caribbean Black Nationalists in disarray, for a few days well they were unable to make a public statement. It was a lesson to them that it is not race solidarity but the question of power and the economics of development that matters and determines one's positions. Instead of reviewing their political line within the realities of the Caribbean and international politics, they weakly rationalized the debarment as a "great betrayal" resulting from an Imperialist conspiracy generated by the US State Department in conjunction with the Caribbean regimes. Nevertheless, what the rationale implied is that Nyerere and all the African guerrillas, based in Tanzania, had become Imperialist puppets since they were the hosts of the Congress. The Caribbean Secretariat had to say something to save themselves, even if it meant that their rationale would damn the very ones championed by their "Blackness" line. . . . The fiasco of the Pan-African Congress and the failure to engage in theoretical review after has served to expose further all the main invalidities of the Caribbean Black Nationalist tendency, nevertheless the Congress brought together a Secretariat of Black Nationalist groups which so far has seemed to stick together and may very well in future operate as a broad Caribbean Front.

CARIBBEAN STALINISM VERSUS REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

These two tendencies stand in direct opposition to the Black Nationalists but at the same time struggle against each other. At this point they are (no) hostile to each other but each day the conflict intensifies especially due to the international situation and events. With the further development of the "theory" of peaceful coexistence and détente between different social systems, the view has been pushed by the Russians that the ideological battle must now take on greater dimensions. First and foremost all forms of revisionism and what is termed "Anti-Sovietism" must be possibly neutralized, won over to the Moscow line or attacked. In the Caribbean heading the list of what the Stalinists

view as revisionism is the New Beginning tendency, since Maoism has not yet taken any firm foothold in the region. The New Beginning Movement's stated position is that the Russian economy is State Capitalist in character and that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has become a bureaucratized elitist party which in fact is the vanguard of a new class formation, it has become the very opposite of what it was originally. What the CPSU has become has its objective material base within the character and contradictions of the Russian economy and mode of production. The NBM position is based on the firm conviction that inherent in the Russian system of production is the dominant law of capitalist production, i.e. the theory of value. The capitalist law of value states that the value of all commodities is based on the amount of labour socially necessary to produce the commodities. NBM agrees with Raya Dunayevskaya that this law is expressed in 3 basic ways. (1) In the Constituted statute which says "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labour" (2) Following this is the fact that "wages" is still representative of the relation between capital and labour, and "money" is still the price expression of all value, exchange value, based on socially necessary labour. A worker is paid a certain amount that is determined by the society to be enough for his sustenance, for him to buy food, clothes and shelter and to reproduce, and prices are not fixed according to the use of the commodities. (3) There is a greater proportion of constant capital (machinery) to variable capital (labour) which is further revealed in the production of means of production at the expense of means of consumption. In all capitalist societies, the greater percentage of everything produced is for expanding production so as to be able to better compete on the world market. Russia has done the same since 1934 at the expense of its own masses. And in our view the 20th Congress of the CPSU did not change anything, it simply intensified the profit motive and appropriation of surplus value by the bureaucracy as the nucleus of the new class formation.

Wanting to prove to the world the advantages of their "socialism", the CPSU subjectively gave further scope and development to this objective law of capitalism, now dominant within the Russian economy; by policy the bureaucracy further encouraged (pulled) the material basis of the society to move more and more in line with its existence as class. Then the CPSU turns and points at the statistics of economic advancement as a measure of its correct "Marxist-Leninist line", as the capitalist do in their efforts to justify further positiveness in capitalism. But nothing is said about production and social relations and the struggle between labour and capital, the basis from which one starts to evaluate political economy. And as long as the method of production, appropriation and exchange is not brought into total harmony with the social and collective nature of the working-class then capitalism and its contradictions exist even if the State owns all the means of producing. State property or ownership does not in itself mean any fundamental departure from the contradictions and laws of capitalism. All that it may mean is that

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we have arrived at the final culmination of the natural tendency of capital to be concentrated more and more in fewer and fewer hands, that the means of production, distribution and exchange have grown beyond the managerial possibilities of individual competing blocs of capital. In this sense it is a development. However, this can happen by a natural process as well as by a revolutionary explosion. It is quite possibly that a society in the throes of revolution moving away from semi feudal/semi-capitalist existence can eventually become State Capitalist after failing to come to grips with certain forces within the objective situation that were barriers to the development of socialism. This to us has been the Russian experience. We disagree with those who hold the position that Stalinism is the degeneration of a workers' State, and that a political, *not social*, revolution is necessary to build back a healthy workers' State. Everything is itself and at the same time in the process of becoming something else. What has this degenerated workers' State become? As a phenomenon it will not remain fixed. The more it develops in its degenerate nature the more it must, according to the laws of development, take on qualitative changes. It is precisely because degeneration is a moral judgement and not a social category why these people call only for a political revolution against Stalinism, as though a political superstructure, in this case the bureaucracy, can exist in a vacuum, without a dialectical relation to an economic material base, the sub-structure. These people who hold to this are Trotskyites (4th International) and one remembers what Lenin had to say about Trotsky: Lenin said that Trotsky saw administration as the solution to all problems. Today the Trotskyites want a political revolution that will bring a better administration to build a healthy workers' State. This attitude of Trotsky, which at times destroys dialectical/materialist thinking, and which Lenin, on his death-bed criticized, may be the seed-bed of the 4th International's inability to see Stalinism as a new category. *Why stop here?*

171 Some may ask how does all this relate to the Caribbean situation? The NBM sees it essential because an understanding of the Russian experience, Chinese, Cuban etc., helps us to further grasp a number of things. *25* (1) The process of revolution; what it must mean today precisely when international monopoly capitalism has begun to move closer and closer to State Capitalism, and therefore such developments like "nationalization" and "localization" are fast becoming empty if not meaningless to the socialist revolution unless they refer to new social and property relations, people's self-management and control of politics and economics. *420* (2) The role of the vanguard in relation to the development of such self-management. The emergence of Stalinism has forced these questions to become crucial or paramount to the minimal and maximum programmes and revolutionary praxis of all political activists. *6000* Therefore it is not incidental that precisely in this area the conflict sharpens between the NBM tendency and the Caribbean Stalinists. The NBM's stress on new political, economic and social forms of people's self-management.

and the subjecting of the vanguard, after the seizure of power, to this end has provoked ideological attacks from the Stalinists.

They attack NBM for its "Anti-Sovietism", for its attempt to negate Russia and the CPSU as the guiding light of world revolution, for that matter to be more specific, Caribbean Revolution. They maintain that NBM has fallen for the "revisionism" of George Padmore and CLR James, and for the two super-powers theory as pushed by the Imperialists and Maoists so as to isolate Russia from the Third World sphere. In this way NBM is viewed as being guilty of refuting what they term the necessary unity of the 3 revolutionary streams i.e. the National Liberation Movements, the Eastern Socialist Camp, and the revolutionary proletariat within the advanced capitalist societies, for the destruction of Imperialism. But the NBM's criticisms of the Russian camp and the CPSU are based on the objective movement of capital within their economy, and how they have been forced as a result to maintain a particular kind of a relationship with the Russian masses and the rest of the world. The kind of relationship and the logic used to defend it that can be best described by the following words of Alexander LiLov of the Bulgarian Communist Party:

"With contacts expanding between the two worlds, and with the two ideologies clashing head on, the significance of mass education, especially of the youth, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, has redoubled. It is therefore urgent to work out the problems of international in the material and spiritual development of the socialist countries. The BCP holds that no patriot can be a real patriot unless he is a patriot of the entire socialist community, as well as of his own country, and unless he promotes its consolidation and growth by word and deed.

Persevering, uncompromising struggle against anti-Sovietism is decidedly a part of communist education. The BCP regards it as the crucial factor in strengthening the unity of the socialist community in the present conditions, as a national, as well as international, duty. Georgi Dimitrov's view that attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is a measure of the fidelity of every party to proletarian internationalism, a touchstone of the sincerity and honesty of every revolutionary, is known throughout the Communist movement. We hold that it is fully valid today. For the Bulgarian Communists, therefore, educating people in a spirit of sincere friendship and fraternity with the Soviet people, the USSR and the CPSU is the cornerstone of internationalist education and one of the principal directions of the joint ideological activity of the fraternal parties".
(World Marxist Review—May 1974, Vol. 17, No. 5)

It is a fine example of bourgeois formal logic. Anybody can read between the lines. The criteria for one's revolutionary consciousness has now come to be allegiance to Russia and fidelity to the CPSU. This has been accepted by Caribbean Stalinists organizations.

In addition, the NBM's position that the vanguard, after power is taken, must work towards its own abolishment or "fade-out", as its final and most revolutionary task, and as the beginning of the withering away of the

proletariat dictatorship State, and the evolving of total people's self-management whereby every "toiler becomes an administrator", is viewed by the Caribbean Stalinist as an unscientific and anti-Marxist-Leninist assertion. They believe that the role of the vanguard increases more and more after the seizure of power because the masses have to be guided all the time. According to the "Daily Review" (Vol. XX, No. 53 (1793) Novosti Press, June 4th 1974):

"The creation of a developed socialism and its further progress present new and ever greater demands to the Party as the guiding force of society, and presuppose its ever enhanced role and responsibilities."

It is clear that to them the Party must remain forever. They seem to ignore the historical fact that the Party is an instrument of the revolutionary class, it is a strategy, a means towards an end, an integral outgrowth of the question of State Power, and that the moment class cleavages are eradicated the Party can no longer serve any purpose other than become transformed into its opposite i.e. the weapon of an oppressing reactionary new class and a barrier to further political and social development. The question before us in the Caribbean today is who eventually is going to tell what to do, when and how. In 1974 and after do we need that kind of a vanguard Party that thinks on behalf of the masses, that is the consciousness of the masses, the head and imagination of the masses? That is a fundamental question.

The Stalinist Communist Parties direct the activities of all bodies of government and social organizations wherever they are in power. The people must accept whatever the Party decides, that is what Lilov means by "fidelity". For example the CPSU in Russia is further strengthening itself, they say, for the purpose of guiding the society to communism and guarding against capitalist intrigue and ideological attacks but at the same time tells us throughout the 3rd World about peaceful coexistence and détente, that suggests a minimizing of armed struggle between classes and hints at a gradual movement from capitalism to socialism as a world system simply by socialism proving its worth to the masses of the world as a superior system and the only one that is for peace. But since according to the CPSU peaceful coexistence in fact brings further capitalist intrigue then the blood of Allende is on their hands. What Allende tried to do within Chile, the CPSU has been pushing internationally. The position of peaceful coexistence and détente does two complementing things: (1) It justifies the continued existence of the CPSU, and its international influence from the point of view that the task of the Party has increased since closer contact of the "two" social systems, and (2) It serves to dampen class antagonism within the struggles for national liberation. The latter, in terms of world revolution, secures the former.

Following from this one can understand the indignance of the Caribbean Stalinists to NBM's position on the vanguard in relationship to the "withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat" since it "destroys" or contradicts the very basis projected for the existence and nature of the Stalinist Parties.

We shall let the CPSU, in 1974, 57 years after the seizure of power, speak on behalf of Caribbean Stalinism:

"An outstanding contribution to the ideological treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism has been made by the conclusion drawn by the CPSU . . . one of vast theoretical and political significance . . . that, by its dedicated efforts under the leadership of the Leninist Party, the Soviet People have built up a developed socialist society, which has an appropriate political superstructure: a State of the entire people into which the State of the proletarian dictatorship has developed, after performing its historic mission. The socialist State of the entire people, a State in which the working-class remains the guiding force, is carrying on the cause of the proletarian dictatorship, and is the organizing element in the accomplishment of the tasks of communist construction."

(Daily Review, Vol. XX, No. 53 (1793) Novosti Press, June 4th, 1974)

The proletarian dictatorship has performed its historic mission but the role and responsibilities of the Party continues to be "ever enhanced" since there is now a new stage in the revolutionary process towards Communism i.e. State of the Entire People, which is an "outstanding contribution to Marxism-Leninism". Nothing but further "theory", or distorting of reality, to defend the existence of the monolithic vanguard Communist Party. Proletarian dictatorship is just a name for CPSU dictatorship. And we ask, if this absurdity is true, that is, if the proletariat State has been transformed to a State of the entire people, then what has the Party become? Is the Party a social phenomenon beyond the laws of dialectical materialism?

The fact that NBM poses the need for a vanguard to suit our times, to suit the objective conditions of the Caribbean in the '70's, a vanguard that must reflect theoretically and structurally the urgent desire of the people to be no longer objects but subjects of history, to own and control and not be dominated by a one Party State forever, is viewed by the Stalinists as an "anarchosyndicalist" orientation. But any such category has its social-material base from which it arises. According to the historical materialist viewpoint, anarchosyndicalism (a 19th Century European experience) arises out of a heavily agrarian economic environment in which monopoly capitalism is yet to foster highly developed industrialization and the subsequent deep socialization process of a modern working-class. Where the petit-bourgeois tenacity to small property ownership and the failure or inability to "see" the objective necessity of collectivity or non-property relations is great. Where the connection between State or political control and the working-class social demands, or the role of State Power in social development, the State as a class instrument, is not yet clearly discernible. Therefore many people coming from their petit-bourgeois self-interests tend to distrust all forms of State or relationship to State, and view even the transitional working-class State in the process of history as serving no purpose except deterring an abstract freedom, i.e. their self-interests and property must not in any way be stifled by collectivization. A material base for Anarcho-Syndicalism is one in which the petit-bourgeois,

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small-owning class is most dominant, and the non-propertied, collectivized working-class extremely weak and minimal. Is this the case in the Caribbean? No, . . . we even started off on the slave plantation as slave-workers, non-propertied and highly socialized. We have never seen here any strong petit-bourgeois orientation that was predominant. Even the middle-class in general bases its existence more on social status, priveleges, and consumption capacity, rather than ownership of small capital. In any case the Imperialists leave behind very little capital for local ownership. Logically there is no basis for sticking a syndicalist stigma on the NBM. But the fact that this was brought up in the first place reflects the mentality of the Caribbean Stalinists; whereas the Black Nationalist use African words and symbols of ancient times, the Stalinists use archaic European slogans and categories taken out of context.

Because the NBM deliberately refrains from labelling itself a "Party", the Stalinists are further stimulated to say that we are "not for organization", hence we are anarchists. But the term "Party" has today a certain connotation, in the eyes and minds of the people, that is detrimental to reaching advanced revolutionary forces, and since the NBM wishes to negate this connotation, as well as the misconceptions and distortions of the nature, and static approach, of vanguard organizations, the term "Party" has been discarded, it is never used. Ironically for somewhat similar reasons, Lenin, in his day, dropped the label "Social-Democrats" and adopted "Communists", when "Social-Democrat" ceased to signify what it did originally.

At the moment there is no assessment of the situation that can determine what will happen in the future, as regards these two tendencies. In Trinidad and Tobago, they are not hostile to each other, and have more or less informally concluded not to engage anymore in ideological debates behind doors. All positions are to be stated openly to the public, for it is the only way that the debate can come to take root among the revolutionary classes and thereby lose its abstraction. And since everyone seems to be able to prove his position (theoretically) practice among the masses can be the only deciding factor.

However Caribbean Stalinists derive practical strength from connection to Moscow and the CP's on the international scene. Their advocates have gained much exposure in the World Conferences organized by their fraternal parties whose political experiences are quite extensive. Such exposure is important to the development of political leadership, in the sense of widening of scope, acquiring of certain techniques and methodology crucial to the setting up of programmes and carrying out organizational activity. Also available to the Caribbean Stalinists are the propaganda machinery, information, intelligence, funds etc., of their international affiliates. Nevertheless, theoretically, their weaknesses lie in this very tight connection to Moscow and the resulting influence. On the other hand, the NBM is not equipped with such international affiliates, but recognizes the importance of internationalizing the struggle, and as such have started from scratch to set up external affiliate groups especially

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Handwritten notes on the right margin, including the word "HSE" and some illegible scribbles.

among the exile Caribbean communities in the metropolises. As such we are weak in this aspect. There is no available literature elucidating the NBM's philosophy and ideology so the NBM activists are forced to write their own booklets, leaflets, books, etc., to be distributed in conjunction with the classical original works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Yet NBM gains its strength from its political line and philosophy that is deeply rooted in the socio-historic experience of the Caribbean people. Forced to certain logical conclusions as a result of their own personal experiences, the advanced revolutionary elements are naturally attracted to the NBM's tendency. In consciously attempting to negate Stalinism and Party dictatorship, our greatest weakness lie in the inclination to move to the opposite extreme—vulgar populism—that is in fact self-defeating. This vulgar populism is even reflected in our theory and practice at times and lends scope to Stalinist attacks. The struggle to negate vulgar populism is a constant one within the NBM, and is a struggle that can make or break the tendency altogether.

At the moment the three main conflicting tendencies face each other on the Caribbean front in the following organized forms each of which are yet to be concretised and tightened (1) Caribbean "Black Nationalist" Secretariat, (2) Stalinist Caribbean Anti-Imperialist Front (3) Pan-Caribbean Revolutionary International. (PAN-CARI). In the coming years we shall see.

And the reality of the world situation says that the unity of the 3 streams (1) the revolutionary proletariat within the advanced capitalist countries, (2) the Eastern Bloc with their inherent conflict between State capital and labour, people and Party, and (3) the National Liberation struggles of the 3rd World, will not come from wishful thinking. Neither the first or second streams will move significantly unless objectively forced to by the developing armed struggles of the 3rd stream. Vietnam is a case in point. Only when "Johnny" began to die, the almighty dollar began to fall, etc., and the Student movement took the cue, did the 2nd Stream begin to roll again with all its fervour and revolutionary consciousness. When the 3rd Stream arises to full prominence, it is only then that the boiling revolutions and struggle between labour and capital within the two other streams shall be released with new dimensions and momentum and with great world significance. Until such time Marxism-Leninism shall not see its totality and universal creativity. The Caribbean is very important in this context as part of the 3rd stream. We see that any analysis of Caribbean political tendencies is in fact analysis of international tendencies—it is impossible to separate the two. Likewise it will prove impossible to separate the outcome of the two. Such is the nature of the Caribbean.

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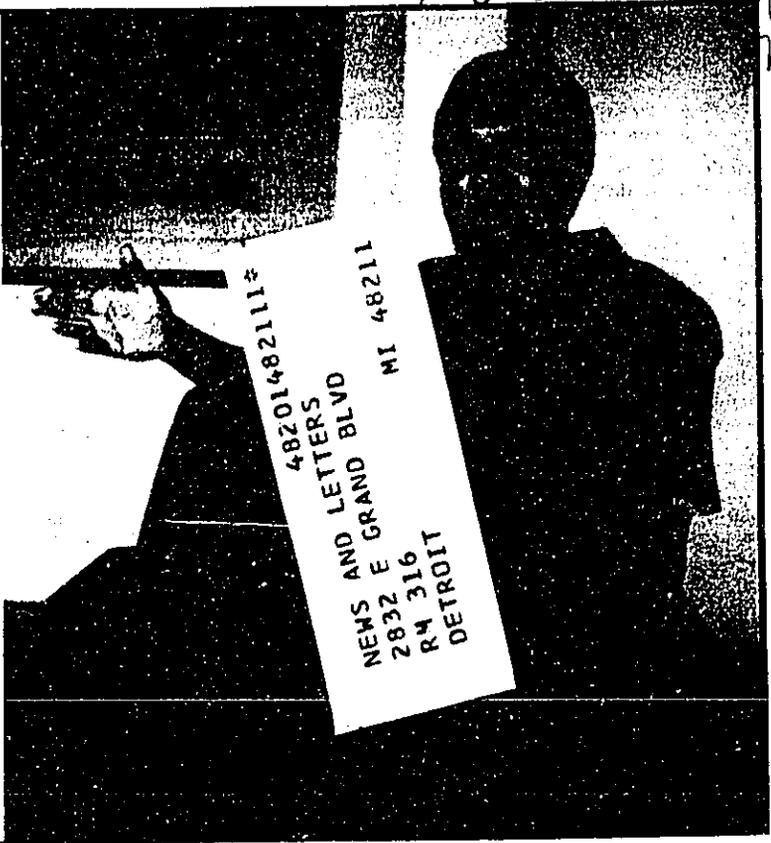
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**Exclusive Interview
With Prime Minister
Maurice Bishop:**

Class Struggle in Grenada, the Caribbean, and the U.S.



United States: What the Republican Party Convention Showed



On-the-Scene Report:

**Cubans Celebrate
July 26th,
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The Class Struggle in Grenada, the Caribbean, and the USA

[The following interview with Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was conducted July 15 by Andrew Pulley, presidential candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party; Steve Clark, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*; and Diane Wang, a steelworker and SWP member. The three U.S. socialists were in Grenada on a fact-finding and solidarity tour.]

Andrew Pulley. What can supporters of the Grenadian revolution, antiwar activists, and Black activists in the United States do regarding the U.S. government's war drive and slander against Grenada? How can we help combat that?

Maurice Bishop. I think there are a number of areas. Certainly the question of mobilizing the population, particularly the Blacks, the deprived minorities, progressive forces, the working class, around the importance of world peace and détente. There might be some concrete ways of getting that message across. Certainly, for example, using the Vietnam experience and what it has meant concretely for people—not only for those who died, but those who are now permanently crippled or those who have come back war heroes but still cannot find jobs.

Secondly, I think it is very important to try to organize around one or two key slogans that could dramatize and really focus in a very concrete and spectacular way on this war drive. What I'm getting at is this, for example.

Everybody knows, but most people cannot quite articulate, that the reasons for war, the reasons for any war-mongering right now, have to do essentially with the developing crisis in international capitalism. The economic problems in the United States even more so.

Witness the \$142 billion defense budget or whatever it is. Fifty million dollars cut back on school lunch programs. The retrenchment, the general cutback in social expenditures.

Yet at the same time, it is equally clear that while they are cutting back in those areas, they are stepping up on defense spending. And inciting the countries of NATO, for example, to do likewise.

'Let General Motors Fight'

Now it seems to us that it should be possible to get that message across in a concrete way. To point out that really what the war drive is all about is a means of the transnational corporations, the elite in America, to try to revive their super

profits, which have been falling so dramatically. And the best way always of doing that is by getting a war economy moving—step up spending in armaments, step up spending in the area of the military generally.

So the slogan, for example, that makes the point: "We don't want a war. General Motors wants a war. Let General Motors go and fight." I'm saying that it should be possible to step up that kind of message in a very concrete way so that people can understand.

Because I get a feeling—certainly the last time I was in America—last year at the United Nations—that this war-mongering was beginning to seep through to the population in general to some extent. I wasn't there long enough, I didn't speak to enough people or to an especially wide cross-section to be sure that what I'm saying is right. But certainly listening to the radio, watching the television shows, and just talking to people here and there, that impression came across very strongly.

I don't think there's any need for that to happen in the United States. I certainly feel that a carefully worked-out program aimed at getting the message across that war is *not* in the interests of the American masses, that it's really only a very tiny minority who wants this war, essentially for economic reasons. Therefore, if they want the war, let them go and fight the war. Why should we go and die for them? It's not helping us.

Third, I think precisely what your party and your newspaper have been doing, and we certainly appreciate it. Focusing on the actual reality in the region and the efforts being made by progressive and revolutionary countries to try to get a better life for their people. And doing it in as concrete a way as they can, in terms of focusing on the basic needs of the population—jobs, health, housing, food, clothing. The concrete attempts to bring these about and therefore the developing perception in the minds of the Caribbean masses that this really is a way to measure progress. 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.

Getting across the point, too, that there is absolutely no doubt that for all of us in the Caribbean who are trying to develop new paths and new processes, our concern is not with America. We have no axe to grind. All we want is to be able to live in peace. To have the opportunity to develop our own processes free from all forms of outside interference, from intimidation,



Diane Wang/IP-I

BISHOP: "The reasons for war . . . have to do essentially with the developing crisis in international capitalism."

from threats of invasion, from task forces and Solid Shields and whatnot. That's really all that the people of our region are asking—that it is our right to do as we wish in our own countries.

I think, as I said, that your party and your paper have certainly been making an important contribution there. And that, to us, is one very, very key area—continuing that work.

Grenada-U.S. Friendship

The fourth thing I can think of would be the question of Grenada-U.S. friendships, Cuba-U.S. friendships, Nicaragua-U.S. friendships—these societies, which exist in the case of the three particular countries I've named.

For Grenada, it's a fairly recent development, but it has begun to spread. It's gotten to the West Coast now. And I know there are plans for pushing it further along. The importance is getting, not necessarily progressive, but democratic forces in America to join organizations like that, so that they get an opportunity of learning at first hand what is really happening and give themselves the opportunity of being able to see the other side and being able to understand what the views of the people in these countries are. So that they would get a different point of view

and would not have to have to continue to be saturated by the official American propaganda.

Because, again, one of the things that struck me when I was in America—I hadn't been there in two or three years—was the extent to which the news is canned, the way it's focused. If that's really all people get exposed to—the stuff you see in the *New York Times*, what you see on all the different channels and on the radio—you really have no possibility of developing a different point of view. Because it's all just aimed at pushing their point of view.

And these are the same people who talk of the free press, the right to have independent views so that everybody gets to hear what's happening. I mean, I can't think of a more unfree press, a more unfree media than the American media.

Pulley. One big lie that they are perpetrating right now in the United States is that Grenada is an armed camp where every single person walks around with carbines and, therefore, if you fear for your safety, you should not go there as a tourist. The truth is that we see more people armed in a two-block area of Chicago, especially policemen, than I've seen here. Do you have anything to say about this line of propaganda?

The other line is that the new international airport that you are building here is simply a military base.

What do you have to say regarding more Black people and other Americans coming down here just to see for themselves what's happening here?

Bishop. On the first question, the question of everybody walking around with guns, the island being an armed camp, civil commotion, civil war, barricades, the rest of it. Obviously that is part of the whole attempt at propaganda destabilization.

We really have been having that from day one. Obviously the aim of that is to wreck the tourists coming here, in particular. To make tourists generally afraid to come to the country. And they are really pushing that very viciously over the past sixteen months.

Within the first few weeks, they were saying that we had cut down the forests in the middle of the island, in the Grand Etang region, and had missiles aimed at neighboring islands. Then there was another story saying that we had burrowed all the earth from under the island and established pontoons and a U-2 base so that the Soviets could attack. Another one said that there was a Soviet naval base on the offshore island of Carriacou.

Obviously that kind of propaganda cannot affect our people. The island is so small that in a quarter of a second everybody knows that it's a joke and a lie. But on people outside of the country, it can ob-

viously have an effect. And has had some impact.

It's the same with this new line about the island being an armed camp. That's just the latest round of propaganda destabilization. We've had a lot of it. They have of course been linking that to economic destabilization—attempts at wrecking the economy.

To go back to tourism again, there are two recent examples that you might find interesting. In February a hotel owner here, the owner of a hotel called the Calabash, received a letter from one of the travel agents in New York saying that the people who were booked to come down had cancelled out because the travel agency had been advised by the State Department that Grenada was off bounds. We pub-

All we want is to be free from all forms of outside interference . . .

lished that letter. The U.S. embassy, of course, denied it.

More recently still, someone did a survey for us in the Washington, D.C. area, and they discovered that of the twenty-five travel agencies *nineteen* advised against coming to Grenada, arguing that it was unsafe, the usual stuff.

So that economic destabilization has certainly continued.

As you know, they have been moving more and more now to the third leg of that system of destabilization, the violent destabilization, and more particularly to assassinations and straight terror. All of this is predictable.

'Come See For Yourself'

We would certainly see it as important for Black Americans to come down to Grenada, for the rest of Americans generally to come, members of the American working class, American working people in general to come to our country to see for themselves. We feel that in the final analysis that is the best proof. Don't wait and listen to the propaganda. Come down and see.

I just opened the Caricom [Caribbean Community] ministers of health conference a while back this morning. In talking to a few of the ministers right after the opening, they were all pointing out that they can't believe that they are in Grenada when they consider the propaganda that they were hearing on all of the radio stations, that they were reading in all of the national newspapers over the past few months.

One sister from Barbados was saying that two weeks ago she heard on the radio station in Barbados a report that said that the Cuban construction workers at the airport are all walking around in full jungle fatigues with AK-47's on their backs, and that government ministers are

likewise walking around that way. That children eight, nine, ten, years old walk around carrying guns in the streets. That children are going to school with guns in their hands. That there was a civil war going on in the country. That a barricade had been established in one part of the island near the airport, and people were saying they would not lift the barricade until all the Cubans were sent back home and all detainees released.

Of course, all of these are figments of the imagination. And this sister from Barbados was just so glad that she was able to come herself.

So one of our main slogans has been, "Come to see for yourself." We really think that's very important. The extent to which more and more people can have the opportunity to come down and judge for themselves. We feel that's one of the very best ways of countering these attempts at propaganda destabilization.

Steve Clark. What has been the response of the U.S. government to your government's request for extradition procedures for Eric Gairy?

Bishop. That has had a varied history. In the first few weeks and months before we even formally applied for the extradition, they were all giving the impression, the U.S. embassy people in Barbados, that it's a formality, a very simple matter and so forth. Then, of course, they told us that we should get down to the formal aspects of it—prepare the warrants, and the back-up witnesses, proofs, and whatnot. We did all of that.

By November, we got a written communication from them, saying that the papers were in order. No problem. Then by January they came back saying that they had discovered the papers were not in order. There is some more information they want.

In between all of that [U.S. Ambassador] Sally Shelton comes to Grenada last December, at our invitation, and her line was that America didn't want Gairy. So, we pointed out that, well then, we want Gairy. America doesn't want Gairy. Gairy is saying he is coming back tomorrow morning. So what's the problem. Let him come. [Laughs.]

Of course, she had no answer to that. Because obviously what was going on was just the usual hypocrisy.

More recently, in the last two or three months, they have come out publicly for the first time—not publicly, but privately to our ambassador—saying that they have lifted all surveillance on Gairy—something that they kept saying that they were doing to some extent within their limited resources and whatnot, and that, so far as they were concerned, the Gairy question was a dead letter.

So it has now come to the point where

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they have admitted openly that they are not going to bother with our request for extradition.

Carter Harbors Eric Gairy

Obviously, this is going to be one of the main stumbling blocks to having any kind of reasonable relations with the United States. Because it is not possible to accept that any country, and one that deems itself to be a friendly country, has the right to harbor fugitives from justice from our country—criminals, people who are using the territory of this other country to incite aggression against our country, to actively plan counterrevolution, to plan for mercenary invasion and all that sort of thing.

Therefore, that certainly is going to be one of the major stumbling blocks to the development of any reasonable relations.

Clark. Going back to a point you made earlier. One of the slogans that very quickly has developed into probably the most popular antidraft slogan is, "We won't fight for Exxon." This relates most directly to the war dangers in the Middle East rather than in the Caribbean. But it shows the beginning development among these activists, who are the backbone of the growing antidraft movement, of a consciousness of the cause of war. In the early stages of the Vietnam War, there were many antiwar activists who thought this was just simply a mistake on the part of the U.S. policymakers. It took quite a while into the war before the consciousness of the role of big business, the consciousness that the war was being fought for a specific reason in the interests of a tiny handful, began to develop. But that's there now right at the beginning of this new fight.

Bishop. That's fantastic.

Clark. We think that another very positive thing in terms of mobilizing solidarity not only with Grenada but with Nicaragua, El Salvador, and the Cuban revolution, and against the CIA destabilization efforts in Jamaica, is the fact that Grenada is the first revolution of this power and scope in an English-speaking country with a largely Black population. So it makes it much easier for at least that segment—which is a large and important segment of the American population—to identify with the revolutions in the Caribbean and Central America.

Example for U.S. Blacks

Bishop. I agree fully. I have absolutely no doubt that one of the major factors responsible for all of the aggression and hostility against the revolution in Grenada being shown by the United States government is precisely the fact that they recognize that being a small Black country, with a large Black population, and as you say English-speaking, that it becomes a lot

easier for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities in the United States to identify with our goals and our aspirations. And that must be a real problem for them. It must be.

Because what you have in America with the Black situation is already a situation of great oppression. And they have not been able to find any solutions by the usual methods of political prisoners and continued shootings of people, like happened in Miami recently. And to have added to that the example of a Grenada-type revolution must be a frightening thing for them—particularly since they see this place as being in their backyard. And they understand only too well that more and more Blacks are going to hear about

We always try to fully involve the masses in whatever we do . . .

Grenada, about what we are trying to do. Many of them are going to join any movement that is opposed to trying to turn back our revolution.

I think your point is a key one. Extremely important.

Pulley. I'm looking forward to being able to pick up Radio Free Grenada soon in Miami.

It will be a very powerful development when its beam is strengthened, especially for the English-speaking Caribbean, of course, but also for the average person in the United States, in order to help refute all the lies. The American people are already suspicious of anything the government says about anything. Their first thought is whether the government is lying.

The more people discover that just out-and-out lies are being told about Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba, the more the U.S. government will have a tremendous problem trying to get away with its war drive. As people in the Black movement become aware of what your government and country is up against, they will be outraged. Because they will see it as a racist injustice, just as they have seen with regard to Haitians, the Haitian immigrants.

It was largely pressure from the Black community that forced Carter to change, at least in words, his discriminatory double-standard toward Cuban and Haitian immigrants.

A similar consciousness can be developed with regard to this revolution, the more that Black leaders, activists, and others are aware of it.

Clark. What are some of the gains of the revolution over the past year and four months that you are most pleased with? And what are the biggest challenges that you see ahead in terms of social programs

and economic development and reconstruction?

Bishop. Answering that question is not the easiest thing, because people's perspectives on that really differ very dramatically.

If you went out into the countryside and you spoke to an elderly sister, her response to a question like that might be something like, "I feel free. I feel good. I feel like a Grenadian for the first time." Intangible things.

Community Mobilization

As for those of us in the party and government, our view is that the greatest single achievement, the thing that we are happiest about, is the community mobilization, community involvement, community participation. That has really impressed us most.

I can tell you, over and over again, month after month, we keep saying, "It can't continue." [Laughs.] And then month after month, you make a call and people still come out.

When the rains came in November last year, it did us tremendous damage, more than \$50 million¹ worth of damage to the economy, twenty-three inches in one month. Before those rains came, there were some weekends when we'd have 85 percent of the villages around Grenada involved in community efforts. That's an extraordinary development. I tell you that in other English-speaking Caribbean countries, I don't think they'd get 2 percent of villages to be involved. And I'm not saying this in a boastful way, I'm saying it in a factual way.

In January, we closed down the schools for two weeks so as to hold seminars for all the teachers to talk about the work-study approach, curriculum reform, and so on. And during those two weeks, we asked people to organize themselves to repair, repaint, refurbish all the schools, because they were in disastrous condition. And sixty-six primary schools got refurbished and repainted in that two-week period as a result of that drive, saving the country a tremendous amount of money. Really quite extraordinary.

We see it also in the area of the village health committees that are emerging as part of our drive to move toward a primary health system. Our aim is that doctors, nurses, paramedics, and technicians working as teams will go out into the country and bring medical attention to people where they live and where they need the attention.

The disproportion in the health budget is really quite staggering. In 1978, the last year of Gairy, 70 percent of the health budget was spent on the three hospitals in Grenada and Carriacou. Those three hospi-

1. One East Caribbean dollar is equivalent to US\$1.00.—IP/1

tals, in turn, attended to about 25 percent of the sick. But under Gairy only 30 percent of the health budget was spent in trying to keep together the thirty-five health centers and medical clinics around the country where the people actually went for attention.

If you understand the situation in this country in terms of poverty, in terms of the high cost of transportation, in terms of the inaccessibility of many of these health centers and medical clinics, then you can see the problem. People are sick, but they really cannot move. Even if they manage to go once, they cannot return two days later and so forth.

So we see the primary health system as being key. And getting the masses involved in that through village health committees, where they do a number of things. One, involve themselves in public health education. Two, deal with overhangings, deal with unblocking drains, which is one of the main problems with mosquitos outdoors, which means yellow fever and so on.

Third, monitoring the *quality* of health care they receive. Because doctors, naturally, came out of the system of 350 years of colonial oppression and thirty years of Gairy's misrule and neocolonialism. Their education system was preparing a tiny elite and one that was not dedicated to service but to dollar bills and to migrating as fast as they could. And even when they stayed here, they either moved into private practice altogether or insisted on their right, while being paid out of taxpayers' money, to practice privately at the same time, using hospital facilities to do so.

Now that kind of doctor is not going to join up as part of any medical team of nurses, paramedics, and technicians. So it's a real problem getting that struggle, that program going. We have been able to make some limited impact, but we have a long way to go. But we're sure it can be developed because of the community involvement and a new sense of oneness and unity in the country.

Some Concrete Benefits

The other way I think we can look at the question you asked is to try to identify a little more concretely and specifically some of the actual benefits that have come to the people. More jobs, for example, 2,500 in the first year. That has made a very small dent really in the overall unemployment rate of 50 percent, which we inherited. But obviously it has made a difference. It has helped, reduced it to about 35 percent.

Secondly, in the area of education. Before the revolution, the last year of Gairy, three students went away on university scholarships in 1978. One of the three was Gairy's daughter. After the revolution, in the first six months, 109 scholarships, 109 people are able to go abroad to study.

We've been able to reduce secondary school fees from \$37 a term to \$12 a term.



"The thing that we are happiest about is the community mobilization." Above, January 1980 demonstration headed by leaders of New Jewel Movement.

Next year, we intend to make it entirely free.

We have been able to increase greatly the number of scholarships in the secondary schools so that more children can get in.

We have started a breakfast and lunch feeding program in the schools so that those children who are too poor or are unable to return home for lunch will be able to keep themselves together—while your government is cutting it out.

In the area of health likewise. We inherited a situation where there were eighteen doctors working in the government service—virtually all of them concentrated in the hospitals, one or two moving around in the clinics, but mostly doing a few hours every week, once a week for a few hours.

And in the first six months again, we were able to get seventeen new doctors to come to Grenada. In other words virtually the same figure as we had before were added to the system. And that has made

an enormous difference in the quality and quantity of health care available.

As you know, twelve of these seventeen doctors and dentists came from Cuba on loan to us and that, of course, has been an extremely important contribution, one of many they have made to the revolution.

So you have jobs, you have education, you have health. You also have the question of struggling with the infrastructure. Pipe-borne water has been greatly increased with the opening of the new Mardigras water project, and several others are about to be completed. That should ensure water for the whole of St. George's. There are pipes in some parts of St. George's that have not seen water for four and five years—not days or weeks, but literally four and five years, just rusted up.

We've been struggling with new feeder roads, opening the forests, for example, to get timber. Right now Grenada supplies something like 4 percent of our overall timber needs locally, when there's a lot of

forest land just going idle. Without doing any great amount, just cutting a feeder road, not even paving it, just enough for a vehicle to get in using four-wheel drive. buying a sawmill for \$20,000, that's all. And doing this now, we expect that in five years, we will be able to supply 90 percent of our timber needs.

There's a lot of little, relatively small things that overall have made quite an impact. These are some of the achievements.

Dependent Economy

In terms of the challenges. In a situation like ours, given our inheritance and dependent economy, we have an economy that was accustomed to looking outward for solutions never inwards toward our own needs and problems. We have a country that was misruled for so many years under colonialism and today continues to be exploited by imperialism. The inheritance, the legacy of not just waste and corruption, but of the lack of physical amenities, is really quite frightening. Three hundred and fifty years of British colonialism, for example, gave us one public secondary school. That's all they could build in 350 years! The other eleven were built by the churches.

When you come into that sort of situation, you obviously have to set yourself goals and targets for the revolution.

As you know, this year in Grenada is the year of education and production. And the two main things involved would be the CPE [Centre for Popular Education] and the land reform program.

The land reform commission has been established and is laying the basis for eventual agrarian reform. At this point we are mainly trying to identify the idle lands in the country, and to see how many of the idle hands are willing to work in cooperatives, so as to bring about that marriage.

Clark. And that also involves the development of a fishing industry?

Bishop. Right.

Clark. What are some of the main political features of the Grenadian revolution?

Three Pillars *OK*

Bishop. I would say that there are three main pillars of the revolution.

First, the organization and mobilization of the masses. That is very key. To always try to fully involve the masses in whatever we are trying to do, to keep them fully involved, to ensure that they understand what the problems are and where we are trying to go.

Secondly, the question of national security and defense—consolidation in those areas.

Thirdly, the question of building a sound national economy and bringing more benefits to the people, improving the quality of their lives.

Those to us are the three key pillars. And we believe that all three have to be worked on at the same time. We cannot afford to let any drop or lag behind.

In any revolutionary situation, in any progressive situation, the question of finding the right mix between the people of the country is key. The people without the guns, after all, is Allende, and we know what happened to Allende. The guns without the people, on the other hand, is Pinochet, and we know what will happen to Pinochet.

So it's a question of striking that balance, ensuring that our people understand the importance of being ready to defend our country from external attack, understand why it is that imperialism must attack us—why it is, therefore, that assassinations, terrorism, destabilization, mercenary invasions, must be a part of their agenda.

That's something that is not as easy as it sounds in our context. Generally speaking, the historical tradition of the English-speaking Caribbean has not been one of a great deal of state violence, or other forms of violence really against the people. It's much easier, I think, for people in Latin America, for example, to understand these realities.

Secondly, remembering the way we took power. While there was a long history of repression by the state, by Gairy, in the days leading up to the revolution, to some extent the people themselves were not really involved in receiving that violence on a personal level.

We don't have, in other words, a situation let's say of Nicaragua, where since 1935 people have been fighting with arms in hand from time to time to try to unseat the various Somozas.

Or a situation like Cuba. The Platt Amendment in 1902 and the constant struggle since then, year after year, the

We need to remain constantly alert, constantly vigilant . . .

years in the Sierra Maestra. You didn't have that kind of situation here.

The people's consciousness. In other words, did not come out of that objective situation that makes it fairly easy for them to understand what is possible at the hands of imperialism.

In addition, we didn't have the situation that the Cubans and Nicaraguans had, where there is a whole lot of land tied up in the latifundias in the hands of one or two big exploiters, that you can take and just hand over, making easier the objective basis of proceeding on the subjective level. That is not our situation.

You talk about a big landowner in Grenada, you're talking about somebody with seventy-five acres of land.

So we have had right from day one this

tremendous difficulty of getting across to our people, getting them to internalize in their bellies, the fact that we are going to be attacked, the fact that economic destabilization is going to continue, that the propaganda war will continue, that they are going to move eventually to assassinations and to mercenary invasions. The objective conditions for getting that message across were not there from before. People did not have that period of socialization, and therefore internalizing this was not the easiest thing.

To that extent, the recent [June 19] events, unfortunate as they are in terms of loss of life, have gone a long way towards helping to raise consciousness. Because people are now able to say, "Right. From day one the comrades were talking about that." They now see that on June 19, even while [the terrorists] moved to wipe out the entire leadership, they did it in such a way that it didn't matter that hundreds of innocent women and children could get wiped out at the same time.

That has made a qualitative difference in the people's perception of what imperialism, what counterrevolution really means.

From that point of view, it has been an extremely important experience. That certainly is one of the biggest challenges that we face, trying to get that across, trying to get our people to understand that we need to remain constantly alert, constantly vigilant. To understand that the threats are not there in theory, but are there in practice. We have to be ready and prepared to meet that.

You read about Allende, and you know that three months before September 11, 1973, was the last attempt on his life. So that last assassination attempt was a prelude to an actual coup. So we make the point that, in much the same way, an assassination attempt here can easily be a prelude to a mercenary invasion.

What imperialism is admitting now by moving to terror tactics and moving toward assassination attempts is that they have failed. Because all the attempts to build a popular base [for counterrevolution] have failed. Their attempts to push Winston Whyte and his so-called UPP, the United People's Party. The attempts to revive Herbert Blaize and his GNP [Grenada National Party], when the masses literally ran them off the streets; they didn't want to hear what they were saying.

The attempts to use the *Torchlight*, the local media, to try to assist them in their propaganda in much the same way as they used *El Mercurio* in Chile or the *Gleaner* in Jamaica.

The attempts to try to find a popular base, using elements in the country who are trying to exploit genuine objective grievances of the masses. In other words, conditions are bad. There is a lot of unem-

2. The *Torchlight* was a right-wing capitalist newspaper opposed to the revolution.

ployment. There is a lot of poverty. They get these people, therefore, to try to incite strikes, to try to whip up sections of the population around issues that are pressing issues, that we are concerned about, that we are trying to do something about. But making them at the same time feel that revolution is like instant coffee; you just throw it in a cup and it comes out presto. That you can negate 350 years of British colonialism and thirty years of imperialism and neocolonialism overnight.

A New Civilization

That is really what they have been trying to do, and they failed miserably. Even their attempts to isolate us in the region, that has been a massive failure, notwithstanding all the adverse propaganda against Grenada. While undoubtedly several governments are hostile—they didn't need propaganda to become hostile; they were hostile from day one—the masses in the Caribbean understand well what we're trying to do. They understand that this is a genuine process. That we are really trying to build a new process that may become a new civilization, that could have tremendous relevance as a model to their own lives.

And therefore they have not been put off, and imperialism has seen that. They have seen, too, that their attempts at economic sabotage have not bitten deep enough, partly because America is our number seven trading partner. We get virtually nothing from America in terms of our shops and stores. So they have had problems crippling us in that way.

The only option left was to move to the top of the pyramid. At the top, of course, is the terror, is the assassination, is the mercenary invasions. And I think that's one of the major challenges—getting our people to understand that. Certainly in the last four weeks, that message has gotten across a lot more quickly.

People now see the importance, for example, of joining the militia in larger numbers. The original figures relatively speaking were small; you were talking about the vanguard really in the militia. Now quite a few more thousand have joined up.

People now begin to get a deeper appreciation and understanding that really the PRA [People's Revolutionary Army] and the small militia that we had at first cannot seriously defend the country in a situation of all-out attack. That we can really only do that through a people's war, to be able to fight on that front. So that when the mercenaries are passing and they look at what appear to be innocent children and women bathing in a river, as they get going they get a bullet in their back. I think our masses are getting to understand that better now.

And a lot of that consciousness has certainly come as a result of recent events, and not just in Grenada. There are the assassinations of Archbishop [Oscar Ar-

nulfo] Romero in El Salvador and Walter Rodney in Guyana; the destruction of the Eventide, old people's home by fire in Jamaica on exactly the fourth anniversary of the similar destruction of Orange Lane in 1978; the recent attempt on [Prime Minister Michael] Manley's life and the coup d'état attempt over there. And then, of course, in Grenada, the June 19 bombing coming right after the April 26 plot.



Jerry Hunnicutt/IP-1

Recent attacks have highlighted importance of revolution being able to defend itself.

When you think of it, after just fifteen months, four plots—the October plot, the November plot, April 26 plot, and a few weeks later, June 19. And in each of the plots, what is central is wiping out the leadership. So I think we are beginning to get that clarity a bit more now, and that certainly has been a very important development from our point of view.

At this point, our feeling very strongly is that what is happening in Grenada is really part of a regional plan that imperial-

3. In May 1976, at a time of U.S.-backed destabilization efforts against the Jamaican regime, fifty armed men attacked a tenement section in central Kingston that was a stronghold of Michael Manley's People's National Party. They set fire to it, killing ten persons. Four years later, in May 1980, a similar fire was set at the Eventide nursing home in Kingston, killing 144 elderly women.

4. In late April 1980, Kennedy Budhial—an opponent of the revolution and a large-scale marijuana trader—was arrested along with several others for planning to overthrow the government on April 26. The plotters had several supporters at one army camp.

5. In late October and early November 1978, a number of counterrevolutionaries were arrested on charges of plotting to overthrow the government, including Winston Whitt, former head of the right-wing United People's Party; Rupert Jugal of the bourgeois Grenada National Party; and Willian De Ravinere, a former police corporal.

ism has devised for dealing with progressive forces and revolutionary processes in the region. It's more than regional, it's clearly worldwide—the attempts to roll back the Afghanistan revolution, the continued search for bases in that area, the question of Iran and the attempts to invade that country a few months ago, the military presence in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf area, the floating arsenal at Diego Garcia.

And in our own region, Carter's task force last year, Solid Shield '80 this year, artificial Cuban crisis in Peru, artificial crisis in Nicaragua over the two members of the junta who resigned, continuing destabilization attempts in Jamaica. The pattern is quite clear.

Cuba in the Vanguard

We feel that there are a series of concentric circles that imperialism has drawn up.

Into their first circle they have certainly put Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada as being the key countries to get at.

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. It's a massive problem there for them.

Grenada because of our powerful potential example for the English-speaking Caribbean countries, and indeed for the French- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries. So that's their first circle.

In the second circle we believe they have countries like Jamaica, Guyana, St. Lucia, Surinam, El Salvador. Countries where either there have been positive developments on the anti-imperialist front, or where there have been important attempts at building new structures for the people and bringing new benefits, or where there are important progressive forces in opposition or in power who are determined to bring about these changes.

Or where, as in the case of El Salvador, there is an ongoing national liberation struggle that clearly will not be settled in any reformist way. All attempts at reformism in El Salvador must fail.

Their third circle, therefore, will be aimed largely at all progressive forces, individually and collectively, whether in or out of office. That would explain, for example, the Rodney slaying or the Archbishop Romero slaying. They understand the potential that the left-progressive forces in the region have, and they are determined to crush that potential, using assassinations.

So it's an extremely dangerous period for us in this region.

Artificial: Cuba Crisis

Clark. The U.S. propaganda around the Cuban emigrants has backfired on Carter, especially following the opening of the port of Mariel, the massive anti-imperialist marches in Cuba, and the racist treatment

of the Cubans in the United States. What was the impact here in the Caribbean?

Bishop. Was it in the *Militant* that I saw the Fidel interview with Lee Lockwood from way back in 1965? Did you repeat that in the paper? [See April 18, 1980, *Militant*.] That I found to be an extremely important interview, particularly as it was fifteen years old, in tracing the history of this whole emigration question.

It was really quite succinct, the way Fidel put it. Pointing out that from the word go it was an artificial crisis being created. That people, of course, when they were able to leave freely were leaving freely, nobody was blocking them. It became more convenient eventually for the Americans to force them to escape and then treat them as heroes, so that they can get propaganda out of it.

In South Africa, there are millions of Blacks being kept as hostages. Yet they are making so much fuss about fifty-three American hostages . . .

It was really quite an important article, coming at the time it did, especially as it was done such a long time ago.

That propaganda has really done damage; there's no question about it, in the English Caribbean. Given that there's all this talk about "boat people running from Communism" and so forth. I think a lot of the Caribbean masses have had difficulty in comprehending what is really happening and putting it in a full context.

Because what's the reality? If any of those islands had America's doors opened tomorrow morning, there would be six people left on the island. That's the reality. But they make this song and dance.

The imperialist-controlled media have the resources, they have the skills, everything else. We find that there has been a marked improvement in imperialist propaganda throughout 1980 on virtually every issue. First of all, the speed with which they respond and the amount of ammunition they throw into it has been quite extraordinary.

Consider Afghanistan, in December of last year. Just think of the speed with which propaganda built up and therefore how difficult it was to combat and counter it.

But really on every issue. Within seconds of the bomb attack here in Queen's Park, the United States embassy in Bridgetown [Barbados] was already sending reports out. Interestingly, their first reports were saying that members of the leadership had been killed. Very interesting. We want to know how did they know that?

Or take Iran, the question of these fifty-three hostages. Again, the speed they

moved on that question, and the amount of support they were able to muster, made it difficult for people to put it in a full context in terms of the twenty-seven years of oppression under the shah, armed by American guns, and the very deep feelings of indignation as a result of all that by the people of Iran. The feeling that if America is harboring this man, then what is required?

But even more fundamentally, the fact that you have a situation like in South Africa, where there are millions of Blacks being kept as hostages. Yet here they are making so much fuss about fifty-three hostages. Millions of African hostages, imprisoned in a system of apartheid. That's not important. You never hear talk of sanctions about that, but they want sanctions for fifty-three.

It's difficult, because they come over with this powerful emotive line. They put it in the context of the need for international security of all embassies. And it leads many democratic, even some progressive countries to take a firm position against—without ever putting it in any kind of context.

Pulley. One thing that has hurt the imperialists in their drive against Iran has been the attitudes of a good number of the parents of some hostages. Many have come out against the U.S. raid, against the sanctions. A majority favor what Carter is doing, but it's certainly a large number who are vocal and are opposed to it.

They're having a rough time. They've been forced to back away from what was the case at the time of the raid in April, when it looked like imminent war. Everything blew up in their face.

Bishop. The OPEC countries came out with a very strong statement in the last two days. Really good news. I think it was the day before yesterday. Threatening an oil boycott.

Clark: Fidel had urged that in his May Day speech.

Bishop: That's right. That was a first-class speech. It really came over powerfully. What was important to me about that whole trip was the very, very close feelings between the Cuban people and their leader. That was extraordinary. It took Fidel about ten minutes before he could open his mouth. Everytime he tried to say something, the people just kept going again. I really found that extraordinary, because you're talking about a million and a quarter people or whatever it was.

And at the end, their tremendous discipline was another eye opener. Whole waves of people moved to the left while others stood still, moved to the right while others stood still. Then the front rows moved out by a few hundred thousand, the back rows by a few hundred thousand.

Whole waves of people, left and right, left and right, no pushing. And in ten or fifteen minutes, that square was empty. An extraordinary manifestation of discipline.

Diane Wang. Even the *New York Times* had to comment on that. They wrote with a great deal of consternation about that rally. They had to admit not only the enthusiasm, but the discipline.

Bishop. Yes, it was so striking. You would have had to write your article on the plane before you got there really—which they do sometimes.

Clark. The lies on Afghanistan are often particularly outlandish because it is so geographically remote. The media at one point recently were reporting that an army of 20,000 guerrillas—they always call them "Muslim freedom fighters," failing to point out that there are Muslims on both sides—were surrounding Kabul. But then a few days later, if you turned to the bottom of a remote page, you noticed a little item saying the story turned out not to be true.

One of the things we try to do with the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* is simply to counteract the barrage of lies, just to keep reminding people that the capitalist press will stoop to outright deception. Lenin said that they often tell the truth in the little things so that they can lie in the big ones.

Bishop. On the Afghanistan question, we have been pointing out here in Grenada that what we are really concerned with there was the April 1978 revolution and so much the December 1979 events. And in the intervening eighteen months, what was happening—in terms of the attempts at destabilization, the armed attacks from Pakistan and elsewhere, the plans of imperialism. And that what requires solidarity and support, therefore, is the right of the

We have nothing at all against the people of America. Our quarrel is with the system of imperialism . . .

people of Afghanistan to build their revolution. And people can relate to that over here, because they see it happening to us too. They know we can have a similar type problem.

Clark. One last question. What would you like to say to working people in the United States? To the Black community in the United States? What message would you like us to take back?

Bishop. First of all, we would like to stress something that imperialism has been trying to use as a means of dividing

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and ruling—and that is that we have absolutely no quarrel with the American people. We have nothing at all against the people of America as a people.

Our quarrel is with the system of imperialism. Our quarrel, therefore, is with the American establishment and all its various manifestations—whether it's through the presidency or National Security Council or the State Department or the CIA or the powerful business lobby or the powerful media or whatever. That is who our quarrel is with. And particularly insofar as that establishment seeks to support by violence the right of their transnational corporations to continue to exploit and rape our resources. That is what our quarrel is with.

After all, more Americans come to our country every year than the entire population of Grenada—140,000 came by ship last year, and I'm not talking about those who came for stay-overs.

So that is not our quarrel and we want to make that clear. Because imperialism has been doing its best to try to sow all sorts of confusion in that area.

Likewise, when you come to the question of the Blacks and other oppressed minorities in America, obviously we have a particularly close feeling, given our own cultural background and our own history. There is a very close sense of cultural identity, which the people of Grenada automatically feel for American Blacks and which we have no doubt is reciprocated by the American Black community.

Because our own struggle is internationalist, 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.

Since the revolution, we have continued in that vein. We were the first country in the Western Hemisphere to recognize the Polisario Front; the second country in the world to recognize the provisional junta in Nicaragua on May 23 last year, fully three weeks before they finally won their victory; our open and consistent support to the P.I.O. for Puerto Rican independence, and so forth. That is our position.

And therefore we see 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. And therefore we're willing to support any of the struggles around the world. And we feel that on that basis, the progressive forces and democratic forces in America ought to give their support to our revolution also.

We certainly place a great deal of importance on the activity, the potential, and the possibilities for the American working-class movement. Both in terms of mobilizing and organizing to stop any draft movement, and 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.

And thirdly, in terms of the great possibilities for expressing solidarity with the revolutionary struggles around the world. Something they have done before and can do again. For example, mobilizing and organizing themselves to refuse to load ships heading for particular areas.

So, our basic message would be to get across this sense: That what we are struggling against is the system of imperialism. That we have the greatest respect for the

people of America. That we feel a particularly close affinity to American Blacks and other oppressed minorities, to the working-class movement in America, toward progressive forces in America. That we certainly are willing to extend our solidarity with them in their struggles, and we cer-

We place a great importance on the activity, potential, and possibilities for the American working-class movement . . .

tainly would hope that they would extend their own solidarity to us in our struggle.

Finally, our message would be: We would love to see them. We believe that it is very important that instead of reading the propaganda that is being circulated in America, they should come out to Grenada, come out to Cuba, come out to Nicaragua, and see for themselves. So that they can understand what is happening and as a result be in a better position to appreciate what is going on in this part of the world.

Let me add just one final thing. That is to say that we ~~without intending to be disrespectful, would very strongly recommend to the Black movement in America~~ the importance of developing the firmest and closest links with the white working-class movement and the white progressive movement. Our feeling certainly is that in order to win that struggle inside of America, it's extremely important that all progressive forces get together and wage a consistent fight against the real enemy. ~~Don't spend time fighting each other debating trivialities.~~ That's something I think is important and that I would like to get across in the message. □



Clark, Bishop, and Pulley during interview

Diane Wang/IP-1

August 4, 1980

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Editorial Views

Views expressed in articles are those of individual authors and not necessarily those of the Editorial Collective

For RD

Journal of African Marxists

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Journal des Marxistes Africains

Illustrations by Hilda Bernstein and C Tony
The excellent translation of Samir Amin's article in Issue 3 was by Ian Birchell
Main articles have French and Portuguese summaries

sectarianism and isolation from the masses. The world crisis throws up more clearly than before who the enemies of the people are. But it also shows up the inadequacies of the Left opposition.

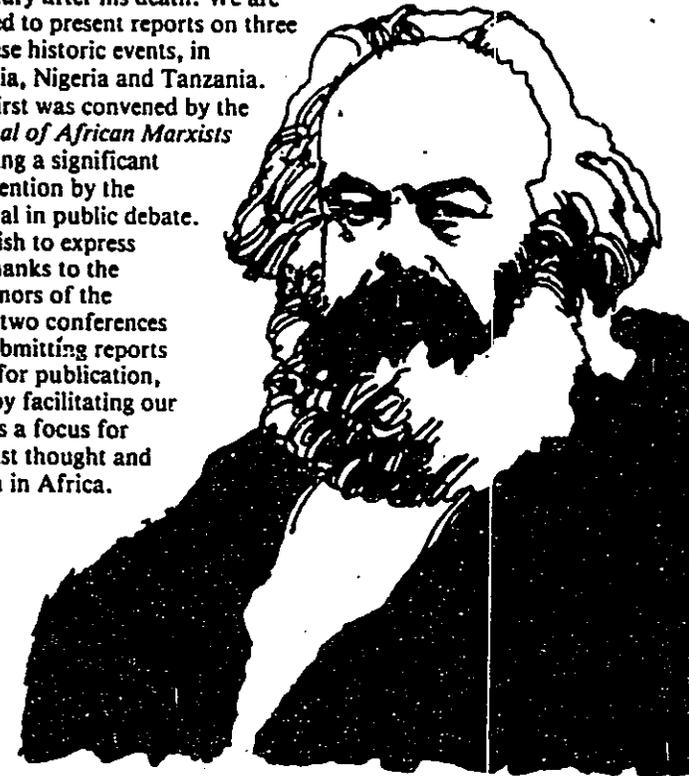
The centenary of the death of Marx provided an excellent opportunity to demonstrate that Marxists in Africa were becoming more conscious of the need to overcome the obscurantism of bourgeois social science and combine the tools of analysis with a commitment to concrete social action. We are proud to give space to the findings of these conferences and hope they will induce others to give greater attention to the political imperatives of genuine socialism in Africa.

Our Policy

1. To provide a forum for the exposition of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Africa;
2. To encourage thorough-going analysis of the problems of development from a Marxist-Leninist perspective;
3. To discuss the various 'Socialisms' in Africa and subject them to scientific and constructive criticism;
4. To facilitate the emergence of a systematic and coherent Marxist-Leninist *body of thought* illuminating conditions in Africa;
5. To serve as an instrument for the creation of Marxist-Leninist discussion groups which shall develop alternative policies for Africa based on scientific socialism;
6. To highlight the gains of scientific socialism where socialist policies have been adopted in Africa;
7. To support the peoples' struggles against imperialism and for scientific socialism.

Marx and Africa: Centenary Conferences

Several major conferences were held in Africa to commemorate the impact of Karl Marx in Africa a century after his death. We are pleased to present reports on three of these historic events, in Zambia, Nigeria and Tanzania. The first was convened by the *Journal of African Marxists* marking a significant intervention by the Journal in public debate. We wish to express our thanks to the convenors of the other two conferences for submitting reports to us for publication, thereby facilitating our role as a focus for Marxist thought and action in Africa.



Marx and Africa: Centenary Conferences 5

1 Marx and Africa: Zambia

Sipula Kabanje, Lusaka, Zambia

Seminar on the relevance of Marxism-Leninism in Southern Africa. Zambia 22 January 1983

The seminar which was convened in Lusaka on 22 January 1983 revealed the sharp on-going ideological struggle in Zambia. The ideological struggle is of course a manifestation of the class struggle. The seminar which was sponsored by the *Journal of African Marxists* and attended by over 200 participants surveyed the politics and economics of imperialism in the contemporary period with special reference to the Southern African countries.

Our interest in this brief lies in the diametrically opposed views and conclusions arrived at by the country's two dailies – the *Times of Zambia* (formerly a Lonhro paper) and the *Zambia Daily Mail*, a long time Government newspaper.

On 25 January 1983 the *Times of Zambia* pointed out in its editorial that:

The question being asked by many loyal Party members after the week-end's Marxist-Leninist seminar in Lusaka is 'where is Zambia heading to?'

The editorial wondered whether it was correct for the Party to allow the formation of small but vocal groups within itself to divert it from its chosen path to lead and govern Zambia through the philosophy of

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Humanism. In fact out of that seminar the newspaper saw 'Big Brother' knocking again at Zambia's door through devious political polemics. In Marxist and gladiatorial journalism the editorial concluded:

UNIP should strongly resist the dangerous divisionist trends within itself now trying to pop-up their ugly heads. If not nipped in the bud these trends will lead the nation into confusion and anarchy through futile ideological battles.

The next day on 26 January the newspaper reverted to the well known strategy of all anti-communists – the religious bogey. The comment read in part,

What more do the people of Zambia want than this – the freedom to worship freely to their supposed gods, or the freedom to pronounce from their ivory towers against a system which makes them climb slowly but profitably in status and monetary terms to what they are today? Let us be frank. Zambia has its own ideology. This is the belief and practice of Humanism. No other ideology, external or home-brewed should be allowed to staunch the philosophy of Humanism.

On the same day the *Zambia Daily Mail* editorial took an opposite view and gladly welcomed the deliberations of the seminar seeing it as part of political education in Zambia. It pointed out that,

The seminar was so important that the clergy who have opposed the teaching of scientific socialism in schools attended. It is, therefore, difficult to understand that a progressive Party like UNIP can be asked to denounce Marxism – an ideology which is an ally of Humanism. There are no basic differences between Marxism and Humanism apart from Humanism's belief in religion.

Zambia has declared war on capitalism but a war is won with the help of allies and the war against capitalism is not different. Zambia can, therefore, not win this war if it declares another on Marxism or on scientific socialism. . . .

The paper continued 'the Party should not discourage people who propound the virtues of socialism. If the Party can give a platform to members who preach about the advantages of the capitalist system why should it deny the socialists the same platform?'

In conclusion the paper urged that 'revolutionary UNIP must accept the young revolutionaries who are now encouraging it to go forward and end the exploitation of man by man. The battle will never be won without them.'

Same event, same date, different conclusions. Why? Precisely because Zambia is a society like many others divided within itself. It is a class society with a split consciousness. The outlook on politics and economics can never

Marx and Africa: Zambia 7

be identical given the polarity of classes. The opposing conclusions give room for optimism – that Zambia, once a centre of fierce anti-colonial struggle, a country so dear to the hearts of national liberation movements, is now seriously involved in the struggle of the contemporary period: *capitalism or socialism?* The answer will be resolved by the class struggle. Which ideology will win is not difficult to see, for President Kaunda has made it possible for *Scientific Socialism* to be taught in Zambian schools. Unlike the *Times of Zambia*, President Kaunda, the true freedom fighter, the humanist and oak of peace, does not see any basic contradiction between his Humanism and scientific socialism.

So in a way the main task of the Zambian Marxists is to link in *practice* the rational kernel of Zambian Humanism and the dialectics of scientific socialism. In so doing they should take Old Marx at his word:

The philosophers have interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.



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2. Marx and Africa: Nigeria

Saidu Adamu,
Conference Coordinator
For the Steering Committee

Communiqué and report of the Centenary Conference; Marx and Africa: A Hundred Years After, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria

The Conference was held from 14 to 19 March 1983 and was attended by over 1,000 participants composed mainly of scholars, trade unionists, students and revolutionary activists from various parts of Nigeria and the world. Sixty eight papers were presented and discussed over 18 sessions. The conference was opened by the Vice Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University, Professor Ango Abdulahi. There were also solidarity messages from the Nigerian Labour Congress, National Association of Nigerian Students and Women in Nigeria.

The justification of the conference was clearly spelt out. In the first place, we have no doubt whatsoever in our minds that Karl Marx, who lived and died in Europe between 1818 and 1883, is the most controversial individual in modern world history. His *philosophical world outlook and Scientific Methodology* for the study of society, have made a great impact over the past hundred years. In the second place, the great social transformations of this century, beginning with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, which Karl Marx had predicted, indicate to us very clearly that there is nothing immutable and unchangeable about the inhuman, degrading and backward conditions in which most of our peoples live, across the length and breadth of our vast continent.

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It is in this context, that a group of colleagues from various units in our University, found it urgent and necessary to organise this Conference. We have been motivated neither by dogma nor by a desire to celebrate the centenary of the death of an individual who did not even live in our Continent. *We are celebrating the Centenary of a powerful, rigorous and scientifically testable methodology and body of theories, founded by Karl Marx.*

The plenary sessions started appropriately with an examination of *Marxist methodology*, the universal applicability of which was clearly demonstrated. It was clearly reiterated that Marxism is not another theology but a science, albeit a science for revolution. It was emphasised however that Marxism must be used creatively rather than dogmatically. The session not only examined the general methodology of Marxism but also focused on its use in the analysis of politics, economics, history and the working class.

The session on *Political Thought* examined the close affinity between the struggle for social emancipation of the African and Third World masses with Marxism. Diversionsary philosophical approaches and so-called alternatives were analysed and exposed. The fact that in the contemporary era, the Third World has remained the key to the world proletarian revolution was highlighted. The dangers of various counter revolutionary forms of 'Marxism' were also shown up.

The sessions on *Politics, Ideology and Law* critically evaluated how the 'Opium of Africinity' has emerged as an apologia for neo-colonialism. The various attempts to return to the so-called 'African' ideology like Negritude and Authenticity were exposed as attempts by African ruling classes, in league with imperialism, to hoodwink and deceive people. The session also traced the development of a capitalist superstructure of *Ideology and Law* using the mass media and instruments of state power. The conclusion that emerged was that revolutionary scholarship based on an organic link between the theory and practice of Marxism was the only way to arouse the consciousness of the masses in the struggle against capitalism.

The session on *Science and Technology* demonstrated that these areas of knowledge and activity are proper domains for Marxist studies. The ways in which developments in science and technology are linked to the interests of ruling classes were highlighted. The dual character of scientific and technological developments were pointed out for they could be used either for emancipation or for exploitation and repression. Taylorism was exposed as an important way in which developments in computer technology continuously intensify human exploitation, alienation and misery. The fact that under capitalism technological developments like the *Silicon Chip* causing unemployment while increasing the control and oppression of the working classes by the bourgeoisie were also demonstrated. Finally, the revolutionary character of Darwinism and its

close affinity to Marxism was shown to be a further proof of the scientificity of Marxism.

The sessions on *Development and Underdevelopment* focused on discerning the character of contemporary capitalism, especially in relation to the Third World. The distorted and dependent character of capitalism in the Third World was accepted as a basic fact. The predatory character of capitalism in the periphery demonstrated in the way the ruling classes in Africa engage in primitive accumulation was highlighted. In fact, one delegate said 'capitalism is highway robbery'. The point was however made that imperialism has a tendency to expand and hence develop as well as underdevelop the forces of production. Although there was no agreement on whether imperialism develops forces of production in the Third World, it was stressed that capitalism is rapidly developing contradictory class forces, and the struggle between them will determine revolutionary possibilities. The tasks of Marxists in leading the oppressed classes were therefore highlighted.

The sessions on *Culture and Literature* stressed that this area, like others is not ideologically neutral. The notion of art for its own sake, was rejected. In fact it was pointed out that conservative, reformist and revolutionary trends could be identified in African literature. These trends were demonstrated to be part of the class struggle as artists work to produce ideology which buttresses the interests of various classes in society. The need for the development of a revolutionary art to help liberate the oppressed masses was stressed.

The sessions on *Africa and the World System* traced the history of the incorporation and integration of Africa into the world capitalist system. The relationship between this integration and capital accumulation was highlighted, especially within the context of the increasing expropriation of the labour and resources of the African people. The role of imperialism and local ruling classes in maintaining an extremely repressive state apparatus was highlighted. The necessity for the African people to be mobilised to free Africa from the imperialist grip therefore emerges as a logical outcome.

The session on *The Woman Question* focussed on the way in which patriarchal and sexist prejudices are being increasingly propagated in Africa. The need to combat such prejudices was accepted as an integral part of revolutionary struggle. The root of the prejudices was however traced to the development of both class and sex oppression and exploitation. Women have come to suffer therefore a double oppression in society - class and sex. This it was stressed justifies the struggle for the liberation of women as part of the struggle for social justice.

The session on *Race, Ethnicity and the National Question* examined the forms racism has assumed in South Africa and problems of ethnicity which in Nigeria even led to a civil war. The necessity to fight racism and ethnicity was stressed as a crucial task of revolutionaries, especially as

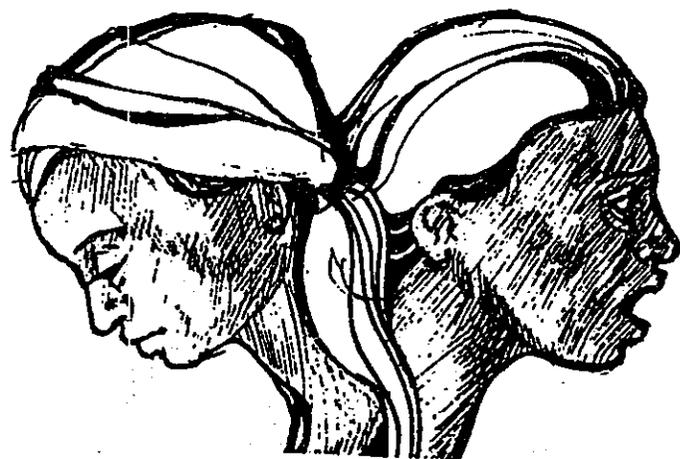
these problems lead to dehumanisation and balkanisation. The session stressed that with the strength of imperialism today, secession and other forms of balkanisation could only weaken the resistance of the African people to imperialist onslaught.

The session on *Proletarian Internationalism* stressed that the solidarity of all oppressed and exploited workers of the world must be promoted in the fight against world monopoly capital. In so doing, Marxists must promote revolutionary struggle in their own country and actively support the struggles of other countries by words and deeds.

The sessions on *Classes and Class Struggles* began with a general evaluation of class formations in a number of African countries. The links between the pursuit of the interest of the oppressed classes and the struggle for socialism were established. More specific analysis of this struggle was made within the context of Nigeria and the activities of the Peoples Redemption Party. The contributions as well as the limitations of the PRP were highlighted. It was suggested that ideological stands in the country must be analysed within the context of their contribution towards the emancipation of the oppressed and exploited masses. *The session however noted that left unity could be promoted in spite of the existence of sharp differences.*

In view of the monumental success in clarifying issues as outlined above, the conference resolved as follows:

National Conferences on Marxism are important in the context of the long standing struggle to demonstrate the validity of Marxism as a tool for emancipating exploited and oppressed people. Such Conferences should therefore be regularised in order that the Nigerian people might be posed a revolutionary alternative.



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3 *Marx and Africa: Tanzania*

H. Othman and I.G. Shivji

Symposium on Marxism in Africa. University of Dar es Salaam, 9-10 March 1983

The convenors sent us the following notes: 'We enclose some newspaper clippings on the Symposium on Marxism in Africa which was organised in Dar es Salaam under the auspices of the Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam. The symposium was attended by 150 persons and some 20 papers were presented.'

As these press reports demonstrate, for African intellectuals Marxism is neither a museum piece to be resurrected occasionally nor an intellectual fascination to be toyed with in academia. For the committed African intellectual, Marxism is a Science to understand our society, its domination, exploitation, and oppression, by forces of imperialism and neocolonialism. It is the ideology of the proletariat to liberate and emancipate the working masses of the continent.

We reprint some of the press reports from the *Daily News* of the 10 and 11 March 1983.

'Marxism is important' by Mkumbwa Ally
Daily News 10 March 1983

Developing countries have been urged to apply Marxist theory in the struggle against economic problems and imperialist domination.

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Party National Executive Committee (NEC) Secretariat, Ndugu Seif Shariff Hamad, said yesterday that marxism was an essential tool for scientific analysis of social problems.

Opening a two-day symposium on Marxism in Africa at the Dar es Salaam University Main Campus, Ndugu Hamad observed that poor countries, especially in Africa secluded themselves from the Marxist theory and practical experience of socialist states.

He attributed this to post-independence 'hijacking' of the revolution by elites 'whose majority are agents of external bourgeoisie'.

'Some of them, at times top leaders, have inherent hatred of Marxism and communism. They can tolerate to some extent, the mention of socialism, but due to unfounded fears they have an unquenchable hatred against the word *Marxism*', he explained.

Ndugu Hamad said this denied the countries a scientific tool of analysis and pointer to correct solutions to development problems, the result of which was failure to disengage from imperialist exploitation.

He explained that conditions obtaining in Africa were similar to those existing in China and Korea, for example, where socialism was built on the basis of Marxist theory.

He said Africa could learn from the experiences of the socialist countries which should in turn provide moral and material support to countries aspiring to build socialism.

He said although the details of socialist transformation may vary from country to country, the principles were universal in essence.

Referring to Tanzania, Ndugu Hamad said the country should use the rich experiences of socialist countries in building a society based on equality.

'For socialism is socialism. And if any two countries succeed in building socialism they will have, of necessity, similar qualities... the difference is only in approach and methods (but) principles will definitely be the same in essence', he pointed out.

Ndugu Hamad said Marxism had proved empirically to be a useful tool in the building of socialism and in influencing the political, social and economic development of many countries.

The symposium organised by the Dar es Salaam University's Institute for Development Studies drew participants from local institutions and universities in Uganda, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Dons argue on Marxist theory by Staff Reporter
Daily News 10 March 1983

Participants in a two-day symposium on 'Marxism in Africa' which opened at the University of Dar es Salaam yesterday have accused African Governments of suppressing Marxist thought and practice.

The symposium also claimed that the predominant one-party systems

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in African countries restricted people's democracy and checked meaningful organised change.

Some of the regimes practically annihilated Marxists to curtail any attempt to organise mass movements, the participants said.

They discussed eight papers presented yesterday.

In his paper on *Some Considerations on Contemporary Africa and the African Marxists*, Dr Mahmoud Mamdani of the University of Makerere called for broad democracy under one-party systems to ensure freedom of organisation and expression.

'Democracy is the central demand of every revolutionary movement today,' he said.

Other participants called for the establishment of multi-party systems in Africa, saying that this would enable marxists to form their own platform to communicate with the masses.

One participant said democracy was essential for socialist development. He added that multi-party systems existed in many socialist countries.

Ndugu Abdulrahman Babu who is lecturing at Ambers College in the USA told the symposium that the time had come for African Marxists to assert their leadership and abolish the 'petit-bourgeois one-party dictatorship' and establish democratic rights.

In a paper, *The role of the African Revolutionary Militant* read on his behalf by Dr Jacques Depelchin from Mozambique, Ndugu Babu said the petit-bourgeois dictatorships had led African countries into neocolonialism.

'Because of their narrow world outlook, the outlook of petty commodity producer, these leaders understood only colonialism but not imperialism,' he claimed.

Ndugu Salim Msoma said in his paper *Marxist Political Thought in the context of Africa* that African leaders dissented from Marxism because they had an idealistic view of the world.

A senior lecturer of the Institute of Development Management, Ndugu S. Muller-Maige told the symposium that Tanzania should embark on scientific socialism to effect creation of developed socialist structures and relations.

In a paper - *Colonial Capital in Africa* on the political economy of underdevelopment, Ndugu Muller-Maige said although Ujamaa had managed to check extensive capitalist development, it used ways which also checked any progressive development.

Marxism is indispensable - Malima by Staff Reporter
Daily News 13 March 1983

Marxism is an indispensable instrument by which the oppressed can successfully assert their power over the oppressors, the Minister of State for Planning and Economic Affairs, Professor Kighoma Malima, had said.

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Ndugu Malima said at the close of a two-day symposium on 'Marxism in Africa' that Marxist ideology has had a profound impact on mankind over the last century, despite 'the vicious, disparaging and often sarcastic propaganda onslaught by capitalism and imperialism'.

'In the course of time, more and more countries have had political power seized by groups and parties which have drawn more than intellectual inspiration from Marxism', he pointed out.

He said Marxism was 'a formidable ally' of socialist struggles, adding that those attempting to build socialist, just and egalitarian societies could only fail to take into account such lessons at 'their own peril'.

'Just like Socialism is part of history's inexorable course, so is Marxism to Socialism. . . . Whether one likes it or not, only Socialism has conquered hunger, turned slaves into men and brought enormous material benefits to workers and peasants in an extremely short time', he said.

He said the problems often associated with Socialism by capitalist apologists were the result of its successes.

Ndugu Malima cautioned, however, that creation of a socialist order would not come as plain sailing. 'Those who embark on this route have to accept the fact that their age-old predators will try every trick to sidetrack them from their cherished objective', he said.

The symposium organised by the Dar es Salaam University's Institute of Development Studies (IDS) was attended by participants from local academic institutions and universities in Uganda, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Some 17 papers on the historical aspects of Marxism and the position of the ideology in Africa were discussed.

Dr Jacques Depelchin of Eduardo Mondlane University told the symposium that the Mozambican ruling Party FRELIMO, had launched a programme to transfer power to the people, Peter Masebu of Shihata reports.

He said the Fourth Frelimo Congress to be held next month would lay strategies to ensure that the people, who were the producers, were also the source of power.

Be With The Masses Mkumbwa Ally and Patrick Mwanukuzi
Daily News 3 March 1983

African Marxists have been challenged to identify themselves with the masses and press for political reforms which should facilitate organisation of proletarian struggle.

Professor Issa Shivji of the University of Dar es Salaam told the two-day symposium on Marxism in Africa which ended at the University's Main Campus yesterday that Marxism was yet to attain organised form in the continent.

Marxists opted for state positions in the false hope that they would change things from above, he pointed out, adding that people's initiative was heavily suppressed as a result.

In his presentation on '*Reform and revolution*', Professor Shivji said reforms should be demanded from below to prepare conditions for the widening of the horizon of the working people.

He told the symposium that bourgeois democracy was historically obsolete but that it was not irrelevant to the proletarian struggle on the political plane.

Democratic struggles were essential in asserting hegemony of the proletariat, he explained, but stressed that the democratic reforms must not compromise the ideological and theoretical direction of Marxism.

'We need the freedom to organise . . . we must recapture the organisational process. At present everything is coming from the top', he said.

One participant cautioned, however, that the participation of Marxists in bourgeois parliament, for example, would divorce them from the revolutionary course and that they would become part of the reactionary elements 'to be swept away by the revolution'.

Another participant argued that demands for popular democracy were petit-bourgeois demands. 'We need more objective demands such as for sugar, education, health and so on', he said.

Meanwhile, an agrarian revolution and a closer worker-peasant alliance has been singled out as pre-requisites for meaningful socialist revolution in Africa.

Ndugu George Makusi and Ibrahim Shao of the University's Institute of Development Studies (IDS) told the symposium that the preconditions would be achieved through appropriate policies aimed at liberating workers and peasants from capitalist exploitation.

In a paper '*Theoretical Reflection on Marxism and Worker-Peasant Alliance in Africa*', the authors said the policies must focus on co-operative, collectivisation and small-scale production.

Lack of such organisation at the household level and small-scale industry would perpetuate inefficiency and under-productivity in the rural and urban sectors, they said.

The participants meanwhile called for continuous debate on how to strengthen the working class in Africa to establish a vanguard party which would spearhead class struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination.

They said the working class constituted a small percentage of the population (five per cent of total population) in most African countries) but that it was a potentially versatile instrument in socialist construction.

The participants stressed that there existed a working class in Africa, adding that claims to the contrary were 'a form of mystification of the objective reality in Africa'.