

How revisionist retreat from Leninism played into US imperialist hands for subverting the Grenada Revolution and pillorying the NJM majority

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1. October 27, 1983
(Bulletin 212)

The invasion of the Caribbean island by Reagan's stormtroopers to unseat its socialist system is the most brutal and cynical step towards US imperialism's worldwide military diktat.

A propaganda barrage of Goebbels-sized lies and disinformation, eagerly spread by the capitalist press (the BBC, ITV, Fleet Street lie machine), exactly duplicated the tactics of Hitler fascism in its 'crusade against communism' in the 1930s and 40s on behalf of the capitalist system.

German imperialism then used "German national interests" as its excuse for invasions, just as Reagan is doing. And that warmongering holocaust against "the Bolshevik menace" was really to rescue slump-ridden capitalism from spontaneous socialist overthrow everywhere caused by mass unemployment, just like now. And Hitler set up puppet regimes, as Reagan does.

The Labour Party and the 'free' press allowed Thatcher and Howe to get away with a monstrous deception in their excuse for US imperialism's criminal putsch, pretending that Washington merely had "different views about how best to protect its citizens on Grenada".

But no adult on the planet has any real doubt that the West's purpose



US fascist aggression on Grenada

in this foul US assault on Grenada, and the rest of NATO's despicable silent collusion in the crime, - is to wipe out the socialist regime there.

Already the toll of butchery is infinitely greater than was involved in Grenada's quickly-resolved internal problems of the last fortnight, and far greater than anything which could conceivably have arisen from those troubles.

But the bloodshed of the hugely-popular Grenadian socialist revolution is the ACTUAL PURPOSE of the US intervention.

Reagan is lying through his teeth expressing "concern about potential victims of left-wing thugs running Grenada".

In the four years of the Grenadian socialist revolution, less than two dozen people have been killed.

In the same four years in El Salvador, Washington has been SUPPORTING and ARMING the fascist regime there which has killed more than 50,000 victims.

Equally lies is the nonsense from the bankrupt Uncle Tom reactionary bourgeois regimes in the Caribbean, who lent their names to this fascist invasion, - that Grenada was "economically and politically destabilising the region".

On the contrary, Grenada's planned economic development and mass socialist enthusiasm was a revelation in a previously hopeless and backward area. It was the way Grenada was showing up reactionary capitalism in the region that provoked imperialism's savagely destructive retaliation.

As for 'political interference and disruption', the facts speak for themselves. It is Grenada which has been blitzkrieged in outrageous violation of all human and internat-

The ILWP was the first to tell the truth about Grenada, told it immediately, and told it best, - and is still telling it.

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ional rights. Its people are now being shot to pieces by the biggest military-imperialist power in history. Barbaric slaughter continues.

Grenada, on the other hand, has not a single act of interference against its neighbours to its name. All it has done is act as an example of socialist progress for the region, building an international tourist airport, for example, which was the envy of all. But that socialist progress was too much for US imperialist economic interests in the region, controlling backward near-slave plantations and mineral rights. After lying about "military purposes" for the new unfinished Grenada airport, US imperialism used the new runways for just that, landing thousands of assault troops in giant transporters to butcher the young socialist republic.

The hypocrisy of Britain's capitalist Parliament has plumbed new depths. Just over a year ago, it pompously sent off a lethal battle fleet to slaughter Argentinians for daring to re-possess their Malvinas Islands from British colonial occupation. Amid an orgy of chauvinistic Union Jack waving, the non-existent "rights" of the tiny handful of British colonial subjects were declared to be "paramount", - all 1,850 of them.

On Grenada live 115,000 fully independent British Commonwealth subjects whose nominal head of state remains the Queen. It is their sovereign territory, a member of the United Nations with infinitely greater and more clearcut rights than ever the joke population of the Falklands were declared to have. But not a single word was uttered by the Tory Government, the Labour Opposition, or the British capitalist Parliament about the rights of the Grenada islanders, let alone any moves to do anything to defend them.

The cynical humbug of "the world's greatest democracy", - US imperialism,

- is even more vicious.

Reagan pretends that the minor leadership upheaval last week in Grenada was justification for military invasion and occupation "to restore law and order".

The armed intervention has reduced Grenada to destructive chaos where none existed before. And the USA not only rushes to support coup governments elsewhere, it has organised scores of them itself, most recently in Guatemala where Reagan's ambassador actually took part in the overthrow of Rios Montt;-and most notoriously and bloodily before than in installing the Pinochet fascist reign of terror in Chile, the Shah's bloodthirsty regime in Iran, Mobutu's tyranny in Zaire, - and an endless list of tyrant dictatorships in Central and southern America for nearly a century of domineering.

On top of that, the leadership upheavals in Grenada were only an excuse anyway. Plans to overthrow Grenada's socialist system were first drawn up more than a year ago. And a full-scale rehearsal, attended by the same reactionary capitalist regimes which are sharing responsibility for the invasion, was held in June at an island off Puerto Rico, another US imperialist colony.

Even as this latest imperialist aggression was getting underway over the weekend, Reagan was loudmouthing it about "evil terrorism", "intolerable thuggery", and "undemocratic violence which must be resisted", etc, etc, in connection with Lebanon. But once again, it is US imperialism itself which launched the Lebanon intervention,-currently by four NATO aggressors, previously by the Zionist-imperialist occupiers, and 20 years ago by the US marines once more.

And only last week, it was CIA-trained and financed fascist mercenaries who destroyed Nicaragua's main Pacific coast port, furthering its aim to restore by armed coup the former Somoza fascist regime, (deposed by revolutionary struggle after being installed and propped up for 50 years by Washington.)

Reagan himself is the world's No 1 terrorist and armed thug. And Thatcher and the British capitalist Parliament are his chief accomplices.

And what vicious cowardly fascism for such giant imperialist forces to pick on tiny socialist Grenada, no bigger than the Isle of Wight, as the latest savage step towards a worldwide military diktat against mankind's socialist aspirations.

But the world imperialist bourgeoisie are playing with fire.....

The forces for turning the tables

on capitalist reaction are mounting all the time,-inevitably so due to the insoluble slump and economic crisis, and the unconcealable example of successful socialist planning in Cuba, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, in spite of the barbaric destruction of socialist Grenada.

Once the momentum of US imperialist invasions has petered out, the scene will be set for a turning of the tables on a grand scale, helping revolutionaries to return to the remaining tottering capitalist tyrannies to overthrow them. The reactionary monsters who locally approved the butchery of independent socialist Grenada will get their come-uppance before much longer, in one way or another.

The perpetrators, US imperialism, will get its desserts in the longer term with the worldwide triumph of the socialist revolution.

2. November 3, 1983 (Bulletin 213)

The new international Nazism is systematically rounding up the Grenadan communist movement which brought the island its first-ever literacy, full-employment, skilled training, & expanding economic plans and prospects, and democratic control over the workplace and the community. World imperialism cannot stand such brilliant socialist examples being set "in its own back yard" of monopoly-capitalist control, such as the Caribbean/Central American area.

Cuba has been invaded once, and subjected to vicious blockade and harassment, with several assassination plots against Castro by the CIA. The elected socialist-leaning government of Arbenz was overthrown by the CIA in Guatemala in 1954. In 1965 a progressive regime was butchered by a US Marines invasion in Dominican Republic. In 1973 in Chile, the CIA installed the Pinochet fascist dictatorship to replace by bloodshed the elected socialist-leaning government of Allende. Since 1982, the Pentagon and the CIA have been financing and organising fascist-mercenary counter-revolutionary subversion against the Sandinista socialist government in Nicaragua. Now comes the slaughter of Grenada's socialist experiment by a fullscale 15,000-strong air, naval and land-forces invasion by rabid US-militarist-imperialist circles with the silent collusion of the rest of NATO.

This criminal butchery and repression, in defiance of international law and an emergency UN resolution denouncing it, is inflicted by

"the world's greatest democracy" in league with "the mother of Parliaments" which at Westminster refused to do anything to stop this NAZI blitzkrieg, and is now so eager to benefit from it by helping shore up the old Grenadan bourgeoisie back in power again, with all the comforting links to old-style capitalist rule in the rich Caribbean area.

Rabid nationalist-militarism ("our American interests were threatened") and warmongering bullying are the hallmark of fascism, last unleashed by capitalism on a mass scale in the 1930s to save the system from the massive incurable economic slump which was undermining it then with revolutionary socialist movements everywhere. The even more massive, - and even less soluble,-economic slump of the capitalist system in the 1980s has made the new Cold War and the return to fascist aggression by imperialism's strongest power necessary, doing the job German, Japanese, and Italian imperialism performed in the 1930s.

But the dominant world monopoly-capitalist powers are all in this warmongering drive together,- in the Lebanon, Chad, the Falklands, El Salvador, Irak-Iran, or subverting the frontiers of socialist regimes as in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Nicaragua, etc.

The imperialist rival groupings act in varying combinations in different special-interest areas, always on the look out to cut each others throats businesswise, as well as the physical throats of the revolutionary socialist and national liberation struggles.

But the essential plan is to back each other up in the general drift to warmongering aggression. Hence Thatcher's main point remains that the broad 'alliance' with US imperialism is the bedrock of British capitalist foreign policy. And the cowardly Labourite reformists (Second Eleven for capitalism's management in this country) would not dare challenge this fundamental.

The splits in the Washington-London axis are nonetheless interesting. They reveal the chasms of doubt undermining the bourgeoisie about the terrifying dangers of the whole warmongering enterprise and the cut-throat sudden-death phase of the capitalist crisis. One false move and a revolutionary floodtide could be unleashed which would sweep their entire international finance-capital class away. After World War I, one sixth of the planet was lost forever to capitalism. After World War II, another third went over irr-

to go to socialism. In the long slow-burning World War III which began with the Cold War as soon as WWII was over, imperialism's disasters, failures and crimes have lost a further large number of territories to the socialist revolution. If imperialism plays its cards wrong, all will be lost, is the fear. The Reaganite fascist hardliners answer: 'All is being slowly lost anyway.'

But the Grenada blitzkrieg is a hopeless perspective. A 15,000 task-force was needed to halt socialism on tiny Grenada. At that rate, half a million men would be needed to invade relatively tiny Nicaragua successfully - with enormous losses to the USA, - worse than Vietnam. To halt Cuban socialism, 1½ million invasion force would be needed, - an impossibility even for the USA. And to halt socialist progress in the Soviet Union, an invasion force of 45 million would not be enough. And they would still get beaten. The world socialist revolution is here to stay. Its growth is relentless, - in spite of the foul international fascist-imperialist conspiracy to crush Grenada. Build the ILWP.

3. November 3, 1983 (Bulletin 213)

The capitalist press (the CIA/BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) has been working overtime to put forward ludicrous lying 'excuses' for imperialism's Nazi blitzkrieg on tiny socialist Grenada, and to cover up the slaughter and savage repression going on there every minute of the US invasion.

There have been hundreds of repeated TV and press references to the allegedly "huge mysterious airport" built by Cuba. But the statement from the British multinational firm Plessey which has a major contract and several score of its employees there too, has been virtually ignored.

Also builders of military airport installations for NATO, Plessey declared that the absence of any parallel taxiway, radar facilities, dispersed parking arrangements, bomb-proof underground fuel tanks, aircraft engineering shops, perimeter security, bomb shelters, defence missile sites or anti-aircraft artillery sites, and above all the absence of any fortifications at all on the crucial control tower complex, which Plessey built, made use of Point Salines for any combative military use totally unthinkable.

The 1,900-foot runway Plessey also helped to design was exactly suitable for the airport's purpose - to receive present-day wide-bodied tourist jets on direct international flights, - an essential for a thriving tourist industry. Comparable runways already exist in similar tourist islands, some smaller than Grenada, - including on Antigua, St Lucia, Barbados, and Jamaica. Any tourist wishing

to go to socialism till now has had to transfer to small feeder airlines from one of these bigger airports.

The greatest flood of lies is about an alleged "breakdown of public order on Grenada during the leadership upheavals". There was not the slightest breakdown in Grenada's daily routines for the entire population. The leadership upheaval affected a tiny group of New Jewel Movement top leaders only. No one else suffered anything.

The "fears" that the accomplished liar Sir Paul Scoon is now parroting on behalf of his US imperialist paymasters, supposedly voiced by "many" people calling for imperialist intervention, are nothing but the longstanding seditious whingeing of the deposed wealthy capitalist class of Grenada.

The mistake the revolutionary government made was not in squabbling violently but in generously allowing the deposed capitalist class to live on in Grenada unmolested, including the joke "Queen's representative Governor General", now treacherously repaying that leniency by handing Grenada over to fascist dictatorship.

These fadded joke bourgeois figures like Scoon and the deposed fascist idiot Sir Eric Gairy, likewise knighted by the Queen, are no joke at all in class war reality. Gairy butchered dozens before he was overthrown, including Maurice Bishop's own father. His belief in witchcraft and his annual speech at the United Nations demanding a world-wide investigation of UFOs (unidentified flying objects) were good for a laugh, but his concentration camps where hundreds languished in chains, including Bishop & most of the New Jewel Movement, were far from funny.

Scoon may also be a stooge for big business interests. But his threat on behalf of the US military dictatorship that all Grenadan militiamen must surrender by Friday or face the consequences (i.e. be shot) is grimly serious.

The demand for unconditional capitulation by the entire revolutionary movement, numbering thousands, to one man, Scoon, backed by a handful of Grenadan capitalist mobsters like Gairy plus the entire US imperialist armed forces - is the essence of capitalist dictatorship to be reimposed on Grenada, regardless of all the garbage talked about "democratic elections".

The entire revolutionary socialist movement is being systematically hunted down, shot or bound and gagged, and thrown into concentration camps for possible subsequent slaughter, (if Gairy gets back in, or the business groups which backed him,) or long incarceration.

The most degenerate hypocrisy of all being peddled non-stop by the 'free' press is the Goebbels-sized humbug about socialist Grenada's "security paranoia. Why did a small tourist island need an armed militia and military links with Cuba?"

The brutal massacre of socialist Grenada by a huge invasion force from the world's largest imperialist power proves to any but sick fascist minds that Grenada was not well-armed

enough, and did not have strong enough links with socialist Cuba.

The handful of tame petty bourgeois "typical Grenadians" shown on TV "welcoming the imperialist invasion" are the foulest deception. A collection of half-wits, religious freaks, and bourgeois crooks, these handfuls are swamped by the advanced elements on Grenada who totally supported the socialist revolution and still do. Sick degenerate traitors like Scoon and whoever follows him will be ousted by the socialist revolution again before much longer. The press fantasies about "Cuban" resistance, miraculously mushrooming from 750 to several thousand overnight, will soon be proved to be nonsense. It is revolutionary Grenada which is resisting, and will continue to resist, in one way or another, this barbaric throwback to deposed outdated capitalism at the point of US imperialist guns.

The murderous bloodbath being inflicted on tiny Grenada has been totally suppressed by the vicious US imperialist press censorship. But a tiny flavour of the reality is at last getting through, in spite of the military dictatorship.

"The arrogance with which the Americans are using this new-found asset (the progressive developments on Grenada) is somewhat alarming," one correspondent managed to get out.

"For several hours I watched cabs arriving from all parts of the island, fleeing from the destruction caused by the war. There were mothers with young children clinging to their breast, the old, the scared, and the infirm.

"These refugees seeking to depart in safety were left contemptuously in the heat of the day, without water or supplies, while the Americans completed their transfer of troops. For the military, the welfare of Grenadan refugees was subordinate to the Pentagon's redeployment plans. . . .

"At a small waterfront restaurant, three American soldiers brandishing automatic weapons marched in. They walked menacingly past our table, searched the kitchen and toilets, and ordered us into a jeep for an armed escort home. . . .

"It is easy to observe the island as one under occupation. The natives go through road blocks and car searches. . . .

"How did the country lose this benevolent revolution which has produced a 97% literate Third World nation without destroying the natural joyfulness and hospitality of the Caribbean? How is it that the Americans.. have effectively turned an island paradise into a military base?" (Guardian Nov 2).

An ITN interview (outside Grenada, of course) showed a teacher from the medical school where the "endangered" American students were resident, an Englishman named Bourne, admitting that the institute's principal had been asked to return from the USA (where he was on holiday) to fictitiously request US help from neighbouring Barbados in order to give the imperialist forces cause to invade.

A Panorama interview showed Sally Shel-

ton, America's former ambassador on Gren-
ada, admitting that huge CIA subversion and
destabilisation campaigns had been unleash-
ed inside Grenada by imperialist agents
right from the 1979 start of the socialist re-
volution, which she herself discussed secret-
ly as ambassador on Grenada.

But the overwhelming majority of 'free'
press coverage continues concealing the ca-
sualties and carnage, and pouring out utter
lies about "Cuban takeover" "military ter-
rorism against the region", "out-of-control
murderous chaos", etc, for which there is
not one single scrap of evidence, nor could
there be, nor will there be.

The blatant bias of the capitalist media is
scarcely credible, reeking of 1984 thought-
control over the 'free' world. The UN Secur-
ity Council votes 11 to 1 to condemn the
US invasion. But only the US's Goebbels-
sized lies and justification are reported, plus
the wretched UK abstention whimper. But
the views of the 11 nations' condemnation
is totally unreported. The corrupt mobster
Eugenia Charles is allowed to rant on for
minutes on end on all channels about non-
existent "invasion threats" to her crooked
regime. But no one from New Jewel is all-
owed to reply, exposing this nonsense. A be-
lated BBC TV admission that Bernard Coard,
Phyllis Coard, and other New Jewel minist-
ers have been brutalised in captivity by the
NAZI military occupation got just 10 seconds
on the 5.40 news yesterday.

Meantime the Labour Party quietly limits
itself to feeble unheard 'protests' at this fas-
cist barbarism by the 'major ally', while in
reality helping imperialism get on with pre-
paring a sanitized "Commonwealth security
presence" to police the results of US military
holocaust once the slaughter has gone far en-
ough to guarantee capitalism's reinstallation.

And the 'free' press dwells droolingly on
the ugly jingoist US public opinion 'support'
for Reagan's butchery, or even, in the ult-
imate depravity, expresses "understanding"
for the imperialist warmonger lashing out at
"somebody" after his "frustration" over the
Beirut barracks bombings.

This is the language of the NAZI death ch-
ambers, and fascist blitzkrieg - - unrestrained
arbitrary, rabid-nationalist, murderous, big po-
wer military aggression.

4. November 3, 1983 (Bulletin 213)

The anti-Leninist 'left' in Britain quickly
disowned the Grenadan socialist revolution
upon its leadership upheavals, thus assisting
imperialist intervention.

The IMG Trotskyite entrists into the Labour
Party are typical of these middle class 'revol-
utionaries'. Their 'Socialist Action' rag decl-
ared the New Jewel revolutionary movement
on Grenada 'untouchable' and 'beyond the
pale', virtually setting it up for the internat-
ional ostracism and extermination that the
'free' world has been itching to impose for
4 four years.

Immediately taking Maurice Bishop's side in
the internal New Jewel dispute (as the CIA al-
so laughably did after having tried four times
to assassinate Bishop since power was taken
in 1979), the IMG/Socialist League treacher-
ously regurgitate "some reports" that Bishop
had been "starved under arrest for six days",
had been "put against a wall and shot", and
that there had been "further killings of Bishop
supporters," implying some fascist bloodbath.

Armed with lavish funds, CIA disinformation
agents have been hard at work on Grenada for
four years, stirring up endless destabilising
rumours and hysteria. In the absence of any
firm evidence whatever of exactly how the le-
adership dispute unfolded on Grenada, or even
of any firm detailed knowledge of precisely
what issues split New Jewel, or step-by-step
how these differences escalated into organis-
ational factionalism, it is criminal light-
mindedness for supposed 'revolutionaries' to
help bourgeois propaganda pile murky suspic-
ion upon slanderous innuendo the way IMG/
Socialist Action did.

Playing right along with stock CIA anti-
communist propaganda prejudices, IMG was
writing before Reagan's blitzkrieg that the
anti-Bishop faction had staged a "putsch",
that Bernard Coard may in turn have been
"pushed aside by the army leader", that "the
shooting of revolutionary leaders is totally un-
acceptable", and that "despite the paraphern-
alia of alleged participatory democracy in
Grenada, in reality the revolution has been
led by a small group of leaders of the New
Jewel Movement. This movement has never
had a congress; it does not possess the structures
of internal democracy in which political dis-
putes can be settled".

This attitude is close to Reagan's "gang of
leftist thugs" slanders and reeks of the same
petty-bourgeois 'democracy' humbug. It is par-
ticularly outrageous hypocrisy coming from
the IMG whose middle class 'Marxist' oppor-
tunists have contentedly liquidated them-
selves into the Labour Party which was an
infamous imperialist toe-rag and riddled
with Mafia-level corruption and anti-
democratic bureaucratism even in Lenin's
day, and has deteriorated considerably
since then, (as a study of rightwing leader-
ship collusion with SDP renegades and TUC
barons to wreck Benn's deputy leadership
chances and then Labour's Foot-led gener-
al election chances would show, e.g.)

The New Jewel Movement actually made
a socialist revolution, overthrowing Gairy
fascism in a bitter murderous struggle to do
it. That could never have been achieved
without extraordinarily high levels of revol-
utionary consciousness, responsibility, sac-
rifice, and discipline, qualities inseparable
from a deep Leninist grasp of what Bolshev-
ik democracy is all about, - a preparedness
both to give and to support correct leader-
ship.

The IMG, on the other hand, has no ach-
ievements to its name except a long hist-
ory of sordid sectarian witch-hunts ag-
ainst its own 'dissidents', an appalling opp-

ortunist liquidation into the Labour Party,
and a philistine unwillingness and in-
capacity for even the remotest acquaintance
with Leninist revolutionary theory, typified
in their fawning support for the CIA-Vatican
counter-revolution in Poland behind Walesa,
-the apostle of peasant capitalism, anti-
communism, religious obscurantism, and
corruption.

After a lifetime's shallow anti-Sovietism
which makes even Thatcher seem broad-
minded, the IMG Trots and their American
co-thinkers have recently tried an adaptat-
ion to the obviously hugely successful and
internationally popular Cuban Revolution
despite its firm and principled Leninist pro-
Sovietism. What a nauseatingly hollow fra-
ud this belated 'conversion' was can now be
seen from the IMG's hysterical abuse against
the New Jewel Movement just because there
has been a tragic leadership split.

Sneeringly dismissing the Grenadan revol-
ution's organisation of local Soviet democr-
acy, (an infinitely more developed form
of civilisation than British Labour Party rac-
keteering and general election hustling, -)
the IMG capitalist-Parliament stooges jeer:
"Once a leadership starts to rely on the pro-
fessional army, rather than mass democracy,
and an armed people's militia, the road be-
comes open to Bonapartism and military
dictatorship...."

"These events will make it much more
difficult to build solidarity with the revol-
ution in the whole of the Caribbean and
Central America."

These treacherous opportunists (now trying
to build a 'left' sanitising cover for one of
warmongering imperialism's foulest protag-
onists, - the murderous British Labour Party
which postwar helped US imperialism launch
the nuclear Cold War and counter-revol-
utionary crusade against communism and the
national-liberation struggle in Greece, Mal-
aya, etc, - offered volunteer troops to Viet-
nam, - helped fascist South Korea in the Kor-
ean War, - sold Diego Garcia to the US Air
Force, - and reimposed British imperialist po-
lice-military dictatorship on the occupied
north of Ireland, - etc, etc, etc, etc, etc.) -
help push Grenada onto US imperialism's
c hopping block with this slanderous capitul-
atory hysteria.

Just like all the petty-bourgeois 'left',
punch-drunk from CIA anti-communist pou-
nding, the real confused horror of these mon-
strous 'Marxist' muddle-heads is for the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat. For Lenin it was
the essence of Marxism. For these cringing
IMG opportunists, it is the nightmare of ho-
stility from their middle class friends, fam-
ily, colleagues, and neighbours if the dic-
tatorship of the proletariat is so much as
mentioned.

It is the central theme of Lenin's greatest
and most prolific creativity (vols 24 to 33)
and the sole key to understanding the com-
plexities of the international class struggle
and the world socialist revolution since Len-
in. But these IMG philistines epitomise the

hostility to revolutionary theory of the Labour movement aristocracy, and cannot even bear contemplating the international balance of class forces from the vantage point of proletarian dictatorship versus counter-revolution, Lenin's understanding.

The IMG's hopelessly loose, slipshod, and pretentious bandying of terms like 'professional army', 'mass democracy', 'Bonapartism', and 'military dictatorship', without any attempt to prove or even describe what class characterisation they wish to attach to these categories, is criminally irresponsible and dangerously shallow-minded.

Their confused defeatist hysteria about the revolution in the entire Central American region is no less a cowardly ideological retreat from proletarian dictatorship merely because IMG/Socialist Action can now claim 'how right we were to warn of the increased dangers of imperialist intervention'.

Not even half-wits could have been unaware of the hugely increased dangers of US imperialist intervention after the Grenadan leadership dispute led to violent upheaval. But tragic as the split was, and even more tragically handled, the Grenadan comrades did fall out. And even if CIA subversion within New Jewel is proved, the last thing to do is turn one's back on the Grenadan revolutionary leadership in general, the way the intimidated Trotskyists have done in Britain, betraying the revolution, as Trotsky betrayed the Soviet Union.

Socialist Action's shallow ignorant petty bourgeois hysteria about "killings", "shootings as a policy", "military dictatorship", and "Bonapartism" etc, dovetailed perfectly with the 'free' world's Goebbels techniques of complete fabrications about "a total breakdown of law and order on Grenada with murderous lawlessness terrorising the island".

Nothing of the sort happened. All of the important revolutionary socialist developments which have transformed Grenada economically, politically, and socially, remained fully functioning. The progressive development of the island was continuing as usual. The casualties of the leadership upheaval were all borne by the New Jewel Movement itself. No one else suffered, not even the tiny handful of political prisoners, - bourgeois enemies of socialist progress.

What Socialist Action was really turning away from, stampeded by the slanderous propaganda in the 'free' press (the CIA/BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine), is the nature of class power itself, - the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fatal mistake of all these Trotskyist fake 'revolutionaries' is their ridiculous illusion that errors and crimes committed by proletarian dictatorship regimes can be best avoided by having no proletarian dictatorship at all.

But this treacherous anti-Marxist imbecility is exactly the idealist poison which leads the Labour Party to have always been an integral part of the murderous anti-communist Western alliance throughout its bloody history;

and leads the IMG/Socialist League to be a left cover for that continuing Labour Party imperialist role, loyally cooperating with a NATO fascist warmongering machine and a British capitalist Parliament which accepts the butchery of socialist Grenada, the subversion of Nicaragua, the Nazification of El Salvador, the fascist crushing of Chile, the maintenance of scores of other tyrannies like Pinochet's, - and so on.

Just 'protesting' for a 'change' in the system which is the jailer of mankind and the warmongering assassin of all socialist progress on the planet, is idiot pretension.

The IMG's hasty denunciation of the entire revolutionary process in Grenada (just because of a violent leadership upheaval) is their real class position, - petty bourgeois democrats totally hostile to the very notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Never mind that thousands of Grenadans are now being bound and gagged at gun point, with hundreds already butchered by the savage imperialist warmongering assault; and never mind that the real daily living existence of the entire population of Grenada of building socialism is now being systematically dismantled by the US military dictatorship; - the real horror for the Socialist Action is that the New Jewel Movement had too little formal bourgeois democracy.

"However valid the debate, and whoever was more correct, there is no justification whatever for the methods of army putsch. The effects can only be to demoralise the Grenadan masses," Socialist Action goes on, slanderously heaping up the worldwide bourgeois propaganda preparations for the US military blitzkrieg.

"The effects can only be to demoralise the Grenadan masses. Since the political debate had not been taken through any of the mass organisations, it appears very likely that the masses were at least confused about the issues. . . .

"The truth is that the revolution is now in grave danger. Popular confidence in the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government is bound to be shaken. The role of the army creates major dangers of a military dictatorship being imposed, or at least of the army developing autonomy from the political leadership."

It is self-evidently a pity that the Grenadan socialist revolutionary movement was not better developed, wiser, more talented, more experienced, etc, etc, etc, in a thousand different ways. Perfection in revolutionary leadership would indeed be desirable.

But it is by these empty pronouncements that Socialist Action gives the game away. The difficult reality of revolutionary socialist struggle within the obvious limitations of the Grenadan movement (or any other, including Lenin's own Bolshevik Party, - including while Lenin himself was alive) - is something these Labour Party stooges want to wash their hands of, immediately something goes wrong.

It is no use the IMG tacking onto the end of their anti-proletarian-dictatorship bleat the pious wish that "defence of the Grenadan revolution against any imperialist provocation, or any temptation to use these events to intervene, is now a number one task for all socialists".

The effective toleration of US imperialist slaughter of the Grenadan socialist revolution by the 'free' world is already cemented by the confused anti-Marxist drivel of this Socialist Action article, - as it has previously been built up in a thousand earlier articles hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR and the socialist camp.

The ideological hold on the Western workers of reformist, trade union, bourgeois consciousness is what enables warmongering 'free' world imperialism to continue to get away with its bloody crimes in Grenada, Nicaragua, Chile, Chad, and elsewhere. One line of Socialist Action calls for socialists to resist the imperialist diktat. But the whole article effectively continues prejudicing people against the clearcut Marxist understanding: - Either the dictatorship of the proletariat; or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; there is no third road.

The IMG pretends that New Jewel 'crimes' were responsible for the US imperialist invasion. But that is exactly the line of the CIA and the capitalist press, and it is nonsense.

The military blitzkrieg was coming anyway - long prepared by Washington, and even rehearsed at an island off Puerto Rico in front of Eugenia Charles, Edward Seaga, and the other capitalist Caribbean mobsters, - long before there was even any thought of Maurice Bishop being toppled in a leadership upheaval on Grenada.

Imperialism's drive to war and fascism is unavoidable, and inseparably linked to the incurable capitalist economic slump. The only answer to it is socialist revolutionary overthrow of every capitalist state, especially the so-called 'great democracies', whether governed at the time by Tory or Labour (which has never made any difference to British capitalism's participation in international imperialist diktat.)

And the only main guideline for successful socialist development to prevent imperialist counter-revolution is the strongest proletarian dictatorship possible.

Gestures of "nice restraint" towards the defeated international bourgeoisie, such as Salvador Allende repeatedly insisted upon, - (not arming the working class when they demanded it, not dismantling the capitalist state military and secret police hierarchy not even after the first failed June 1973 coup attempt, etc) - and such as the Grenadan revolution offered by leaving the bourgeois Sir Paul Scoon as Governor-General, - are only taken murderous advantage of by imperialist counter-revolution.

The inevitability of armed imperialist counter-revolution is a different question entirely, of course, from the success of warmongering intervention. That is prevented on 5

an overall world scale by the professional armed might of the Soviet state of proletarian dictatorship and the rest of the socialist camp. It is prevented in specific local circumstances by the widest possible involvement of the armed masses in a people's defence militia, and by a determined party of revolutionary leadership.

The 'mass democracy' is the aim of communism, not the way it can be achieved. A plebiscite at any time Lenin was in power would have seen the Bolshevik Party easily defeated, as the Constituent Assembly elections at the end of 1917 in fact did. But Marxist proletarian dictatorship needed only a majority of the advanced working class in the major industrial and political centres to work successfully, as Lenin demonstrated both in theory and practice.

Those who don't want such a transformation of history as has happened since 1917 don't want the world transformed to communism at all. For Reagan's guns will prevent it happening any other way. Allende yesterday; Grenada today; Nicaragua tomorrow; and a 'left' Labour Government next week. But the superior armed might and firmer proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp will finally smash the capitalist states' world warmongering course; and the international Leninist movement will overthrow them. Build the ILWP.

5. November 10, 1983 (Bulletin 214)

Reagan's blitzkrieg preparations against pro-socialist forces in the Lebanon confirm the ILWP Bulletin's analysis of imperialism's fascist warmongering.

International finance capital's ruling circles know that their 'free' world system is collapsing. Economic crisis is incurable. Poverty and mass unemployment are driving every Third World country towards revolution rapidly. Western society is sick with class exploitation, drink, drugs and crime. The socialist states, by comparison, set irresistible examples of educational, social, cultural, economic, and scientific progress, - particularly attractive in backward Central America and the Caribbean, for example, where Cuba's astonishing transformation into an advanced country in the past 25 years of socialist revolution is the envy and aspiration of the entire region.

New countries following the socialist camp's example have to be stopped quickly, in Washington's thinking, before the rot sets in irrevocably.

And brute force is the only weapon imperialism has left, exactly repeating capitalism's degenerate decline in the 1930s when the system's three most energetic powers - Japan, Germ-

any, and Italy - were encouraged to whip up rabid nationalist military aggression, - fascism, - to prevent the drift to socialist revolution everywhere (brought on by the incurable slump then.)

But in the repeat worldwide slump conditions of the 1980s, with a far more widespread revolutionary socialist movement affecting the entire capitalist system, - only US imperialism itself, - the most dominant power in world history, - is any longer capable of halting socialist advance by military-fascist aggression

The Soviet Union, and the socialist camp in general, is now far too widespread and well-developed for any of the lesser imperialist powers to stage their own maverick fascist divergence as a 'cover' for capitalism's warmongering solution to its problems, - as Germany, Japan and Italy did in the 1930s. These lesser powers will never again be in a position to match the USSR and the socialist camp either economically or militarily. The socialist system forges further ahead every day. The Zionists, South Africa, and other tinpot fascist gangsters can get away with minor blitzkrieg aggressions against neighbouring pro-socialist and national liberation forces all the time that the Soviet leadership is concerned to avoid giving Washington the excuse it is looking for to unleash a worldwide NAZI holocaust against the socialist camp.

But these aggressions are relative pinpricks on the international historical scale, and only survive because the US warmongering machine stands right behind them. And even then, these pinpricks cannot even resolve the local difficulties for capitalism successfully, - as Washington's preparations to blitz the Lebanon are now proving, (Begin's occupation having degenerated into a disastrous political and economic failure.)

So when US imperialism decided to annihilate the Grenadan socialist revolution with sickening brutality, as vicious as anything Hitler ever perpetrated, it was the capitalist system's last fascist card that was beginning to be played.

The assaults, - possibly against Syria next, Nicaragua, or El Salvador; - can certainly get even bloodier and nastier.

But with Grenada's invasion, the essence has been revealed of what hand imperialism has left to play.

The other counter-revolutionary methods will continue elsewhere, of course, - economic subversion, mercenary infiltration, political bribery, military invasion by stooge re-

gimes, destabilisation internally by agents provocateurs, etc, - as used against Cuba, Chile's Allende regime, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Poland, etc, etc, etc.

But despite the billions of dollars poured into all of these, the revolutionary socialist tide could still only finally be stemmed on Grenada by the "world's greatest democracy" slaughtering the place with naked fascist-military aggression.

The fast-deteriorating world balance of class forces (from capitalism's point of view) imposed this drastic solution on US imperialism; - which means that a new pattern for the future has unavoidably been set at once. The blitzkrieg preparations against Lebanon merely confirm this to the hilt.

But no sooner has this new path of imperialist counter-revolutionary degeneration been established than it also becomes immediately clear that the warmongering system is on a hiding to nothing.

For even the whole might of US imperialism itself, with all its firepower, is already insufficient to stop the socialist revolution. Indeed it has already twice been either defeated or held to a military stalemate in all-out war, - neutralised by the North Koreans and Chinese revolutionaries in the Korean War, and then comprehensively routed by the magnificent Indo-Chinese revolutionaries in the titanic Vietnam War.

Certainly there were historical and psychological differences then in that US imperialism was still pretending to be merely "assisting" its client puppet regimes in South Korea and South Vietnam from "invasion"; - and direct, all-out destruction attacks on the "enemy" were not the immediate or persistent pattern of the conflicts (though widely enough used later on by the USA to convince Washington it could not win by any means); nor were nuclear weapons of mass destruction used.

But nevertheless, these were all-out wars fought with the greatest financial, political, and military commitment and expertise that US imperialism could muster, determined to win at all costs. And US imperialism failed. All that the new openly fascist phase of warmongering degeneration by counter-revolutionary imperialism can add is extra deceit, treachery, surprise, and viciousness. But US capitalism's powers to wage war, relative to the socialist camp, have not improved at all since the 1950s and 1960s. Just the opposite. The capitalist system's historical position politically, socially, and economically can only have deterior-

ated decisively since then, relative to the world socialist system.

Proof of this is to be found in Washington's very need itself to resort to naked fascist aggression against tiny Grenada; and its equally berserk plans to wipe out pro-socialist forces in Lebanon and Syria; and then to crush the socialist revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Even better proof is found in the fact that this NAZI 'New Order', to be imposed on any tiny country daring to get rid of the capitalist system; will not even stop the socialist transformation even in these few states. The triumphant guerrilla-war struggles to liberate Nicaragua and El Salvador, as Cuba before them, will never be quenched now that independent socialist organisation has been achieved in such long drawn-out conflict. Even on tiny Grenada, resistance will break the fascist traitor Scoon's neck the moment Reagan's NAZI gangsters have moved on.

All specific battles in this revolutionary-socialist national-liberation struggle against imperialist domination are now transformed by the international balance of class forces, now overwhelmingly in favour of socialism on the planet.

These worldwide class struggle circumstances are an irresistible inspiration to revolutionary communists everywhere. International Leninist consciousness is an unstoppable historical force, based firmly on the unalterable conditions of capitalist economic, social and political collapse. The Leninist parties must multiply and triumph, - in every country ultimately.

It is an inkling of this which makes the West European bourgeoisie, -Thatcher included,- so nervously hesitant about Reagan's all-or-nothing fascist aggression.

Unlike the world-dominant US imperialist bourgeoisie, the West European capitalists do not risk losing 'everything', - because they do not have 'everything' to start with. They have long had to play embittered second fiddle to their US paymasters and military 'guardians'. Many of them see some kind of future, at least, in detente collaboration with the socialist camp; which might not be much more painful, nor as short-lived, as playing rocket sites and unemployment centres to US imperialism's warmongering slump is likely to prove.

Trade and detente with the socialist camp at least offers something. Trade war and nuclear holocaust with US imperialism offers nothing at all.

The best possible way, -the vital

need of the working class in Britain, - to drive even deeper wedges between US imperialism and the West European bourgeoisie, is to rapidly build the Leninist movement here, insisting on the socialist revolution as the only possible way out of capitalist crisis for this and every other country. The stronger in favour of the world socialist revolution the international balance of class forces seems to the bourgeoisie, the more will West Europe split off from Reagan's warmongering fascist crusade against communism, fearing it to be a hopelessly doomed and dangerous venture.

The Moscow-backed (shamefully) Communist parties are an embarrassing joke against Leninism with their class-collaborationist 'popular front' approaches to bourgeois parties all over West Europe (and beyond), to achieve detente by class harmony. This is treacherous idealist anti-Marxist nonsense. Detente can only be achieved, -to the extent that it can be achieved, - by the superior class strength of the international socialist revolution, - and the fear of some weaker sections of the bourgeoisie that even what little position they have left will be holocausted by Reagan's insane, hopeless warmongering crusade against communism.

The deliriously powerful and wealthy US imperialist ruling circles, on the other hand, -deranged by delusions of invincible might and omnipotence, -are unlikely to behave remotely rationally, faced as they are with the end of the richest and mightiest empire in all human history. Their aggressive fascist counter-revolutionary degeneracy can only be met by superior force. Sooner or later, Reagan's NAZI warmongering must be taken on and stopped in its tracks, the sooner the better. Only the international revolutionary communist movement will achieve this. Build the Leninist party.

6. November 10, 1983
(Bulletin 214)

The comrades in Havana have made a number of mistakes in assessing the events on Grenada prior to US imperialism's NAZI blitzkrieg, wrongly putting the blame on the New Jewel Movement leadership when prime minister Maurice Bishop was clearly chiefly responsible for the tragedy.

The self-justifying words of Bishop's own supporters, reading between the lines, now make it obvious that Bishop and his faction tried to impose a military putsch in defiance of the considered decision of the revolutionary party's central committee to replace him as leader by his deputy Bernard Coard.

Perpetually in a minority for more than a year on a whole variety of issues facing the Grenadan revolution, Bishop increasingly defied the party's decisions and tried to use his office as prime minister to impose his own line on the island anyway.

It was this strike-breaking factionalism, -reaching a head in the middle of October and immediately spilling over into outright counter-revolutionary intriguing with outsiders and enemies of the Grenadan revolution, -which finally forced the New Jewel leadership to reluctantly place Bishop under "amateurish house arrest" (even in the words of critics hostile to the NJM.)

Proof of the Bishop faction's guilt in illegally plotting with outside forces is irrefutably provided by their own words. Responsibility of the Bishop faction for the violence which tragically ended the struggle seems equally clear.

Bishop's arbitrary and adventurist determination to use his "popularity" (as the revolutionary government's figurehead) to challenge the undoubted authority of the revolutionary party's national leadership, made some kind of discipline inevitable; -first making Coard (instead of Bishop) the official leader of the New Jewel Movement; then suspending Bishop from the Central Committee; and finally placing Bishop under easy house arrest

If there was a mistake in this disciplining, it was that the NJM was not firm enough, that it far too leniently issued a fairly mild rebuke to their old comrade for what in fact was an extremely dangerous and provocative political course that Bishop was following.

It was a 15-hour meeting of the NJM's 13-man central committee on or about October 14 that finally decided to confine Bishop to his home after reaching a conclusion that Bishop himself was responsible for rumours being spread around the island that Bernard Coard was plotting to murder Bishop. At one stage, Coard and his wife Phyllis, herself a junior minister in the government, had resigned in protest at these rumours. That meeting also concluded that Bishop "lacked great depth in ideological clarity" and lacked the necessary Leninist qualities for leadership

The previous month, the Central Committee had reviewed Bishop's conduct over the past year, finding him guilty of "one-manism and weak chairmanship and leadership" and characterising Bishop's policies generally as "the easy-to-follow petty bourgeois route".

Bishop was provocatively and illegally freed from house arrest by a crowd of supporters. The myth is deliberately being fostered by the capitalist press (the CIA/BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) that this was a piece of purely harmless exhuberance by 'innocent islanders' without a care in the world who were then viciously and sinisterly fired upon by the 'mad Marxist ideologues'.

The reality is vastly different. The Bishop faction was taking ruthless advantage of the relaxed politics of revolutionary Grenada to set in motion a criminal betrayal of the NJM regime at the hands of international counter-

revolution. The Bishop faction's action were very far from a joke.

First, Bishop's press secretary, Don Rojas, on his own later admission, went to the international cable office "on Bishop's instructions" to prepare "appeals for international support" for Bishop against the revolutionary party leadership.

Unison Whiteman, Bishop's closest ally, at the head of the mob, explained to the press that night: "We feel that we have to disassociate ourselves from this government and that we have to explain to the people of the country and the world the serious situation and the refusal of the government to deal with it."

Observing this attempt at mob rule, NJM supporters told the press that Bishop was trying "to set up a one-man show". Major Leon Cornwall, Grenada's ambassador to Cuba, angrily told Bishop and the surging mob: "We will get you wherever you go", Rojas admits.

Where the mob did go is the most significant thing of all. Bishop, Whiteman, Rojas, and other factionalising minorityites, - including farmers leader Fitzroy Bain, labour chief Vincent Noel, education minister Jacqueline Creft (Bishop's mistress), housing minister Norris Bain, quartermaster to the army Osborn Alexander, and agriculture minister George Louison, - led the crowd straight to the Fort Rupert armoury, where the soldiers were believed to be sympathetic to Bishop. Their families and other supporters joined the coup leaders there.

On Osborn Alexander's admission, the guns were taken off the guards at Fort Rupert. He claims: "The soldiers on the fort were in full sympathy with the people. They were just there. They didn't do anything."

It is also admitted that "doctors and nurses were summoned from the nearby hospital", - allegedly to "look after Bishop" although there is no evidence whatever that he was ill.

Alexander admits that Bishop then rang round various senior army officers. Again no explanation is given. The reasonable assumption is that Bishop was hoping to stage a fullscale armed coup with forces friendly to him, and was preparing Fort Rupert as his headquarters, including medical personnel to deal with the casualties.

Louison admits that the revolutionary party central committee was still in full command of the situation, and called an emergency meeting at Fort Frederick headquarters to deal with the situation. "The rest of the central committee was under Bernard Coard's complete control", he admits further, trying to put a nasty slant on the clear-thinking, patient, and united majority.

Rojas also admitted that Coard was "the most developed left ideologue in the Grenada revolution, a brilliant man".

Who started the final shoot-out at Fort Rupert, or why, is still not definite from available evidence. But the revolutionary leadership's Military Revolutionary Council which assumed martial law powers to deal with the Bishop coup attempt, stated unequivocally that the Bishop mob was in the pro-

cess of seizing the Fort and handing out weapons to its faction. The Bishop faction make no attempt to hide the fact that they broke down the gates of Bishop's house to release him initially - from guards who refused to fire on them. And that they then disarmed the guards at Fort Rupert.

Bishop's state of mind is also a curiosity. Although not reported ill, and although resting at home unmolested for a week, his supporters admit that as he emerged from the house to meet them, he fell over. And Annie Bain, wife of the housing minister, offered this curious description of the scene she saw when she went to Fort Rupert to join the rest of the Bishop faction there. "I saw Maurice. And Norris was there, and a bottle of alcohol was up in his hand. . . . Unison Whiteman and my husband and Maurice were talking. What I did hear Unison say was that they were waiting on the PA system (loud-speakers) so that Maurice should address the crowd."

In addition to admitting that the Bishop faction was preparing to appeal "to the world" over the heads of the NJM leadership, Unison Whiteman also admits he confided in the East Caribbean's worst Uncle Tom just hours before their coup attempt, - Washington's chief stooge who let his island be used for the NAZI blitzkrieg invasion, Barbados prime minister Tom Adams. Rushing back from the United Nations on hearing of Bishop's house arrest, Whiteman was advised to "wait a while" by Adams, and offered political asylum.

Another dubious feature of Bishop's antics was his insistence on formal bourgeois elections on Grenada, rejected by the revolutionary leadership in favour of the vastly superior Soviet democracy in the peoples councils which ran everything on Grenada.

Capitalist press comments claim Bishop wanted elections merely to refute the CIA propaganda campaign against Grenada. But since Bishop's unilateral determination on this course, it must be suspected that he was interested (as prime minister and the most visible NJM leader) in getting a "popular" mandate to use factionally against the NJM majority.

The Observer reported from Grenada during the emergency, one of the few reporters on the island from the capitalist press: "In recent weeks, Bishop had been telling any Western journalists he encountered that nothing was more important to him than improving his ties with the Americans."

It also reported: "Coard had little time for fuddy-duddy relics like Sir Paul Scoon. Maurice Bishop with his wider vision, knew better. There was advantage in keeping a conventional figleaf in front of their political passions, and Sir Paul Scoon (governor general and Queen's representative) was it."

"What was more, Government House had a fine tennis court, and Scoon was a keen player. So was Bishop, who lived nearby. At weekends the Marxist prime minister and his carefully non-political Governor-General regularly played a couple of sets together.

Bishop often brought along his education minister Jacqueline Creft who lived with him."

Scoon is now administering the Quisling NAZI dictatorship on behalf of Reagan's fascist military invasion, which is continuing the butchery of scores more revolutionaries every week, with a possible death toll already approaching 1% of the Grenadan population, -(an equivalent of 2 million dead if applied, say, to the US population,)- a truly massive scale of slaughter. Scoon is about as "non-political" as Adolf Hitler.

The Cuban leadership's October 20 denunciation of the New Jewel Movement, a bad enough move in itself whatever had been understood about the row in Grenada, is a disastrous mistake in the light of the evidence.

Immediately taking Bishop's side without any attempt at establishing the rights and wrongs of the internal struggle or who started the violence, it declared: "No doctrine, no principle, no opinion calling itself revolutionary, and no internal split can justify such atrocious acts as the physical elimination of Bishop and the prominent group of honest and dignified leaders who died yesterday."

"Bishop was one of the political leaders most admired by our people for his talent, simplicity, sincerity, revolutionary honesty and his proved friendship with our country. He also had a great international reputation."

"We hope that the painful events which have occurred will make all the revolutionaries of Grenada and the world think very deeply and induce the concept that no crime whatsoever may be committed in the name of the Revolution and Freedom."

Dismay at the bloodshed is natural. Totally unjustified is the accusation, - without offering any evidence, - that the Coard faction started the violence. Certainly the Bishop faction obviously got the worst of the violent exchanges, with his street mob fleeing in panic from shooting inside Fort Rupert. But there is still no evidence at all who started firing first, or what were the aims of each faction in the immediate struggle. And the above evidence makes it overwhelmingly clear that in general terms, the Bishop faction was wholly in the wrong in its provocative and illegal behaviour in occupying Fort Rupert in the first place, and in all the other counter-revolutionary acts which accompanied this dangerous move.

Cuba's statement adds, concerning the pre-coup leadership struggle: "The situation remained in a state of deadlock for some days; sometimes it looked as though it could be resolved in an honest, intelligent and peaceful way." But who was guilty of the change of tone?

And then the Cuban statement adds amazingly: "It was clear that the people were behind Bishop and wanted his recall."

This is an astonishing capitulation to the values of bourgeois democracy.

In the first place, who was this "clear" to, and how was this instant view of the whole of Grenadan opinion so quickly estab-

lished? Secondly, which "people" were behind Bishop. Sir Paul Scoon, for example? Did the "people" on the revolutionary movement's central leadership not count? And if the street mob was the decisive factor in Havana's eyes, would the NJM majority putting a bigger mob onto the streets have been deemed more convincing? Since when have plebiscites been so highly regarded by the Leninist movement of revolutionary leadership?

On top of all this, the Cuban statement is clogged with other non-Leninist remarks about how "dignity and respect" prevented them discussing the Grenadan leadership's difficulties prior to the bust-up. This is nonsense. If political struggles affect the conduct and outcome of the world socialist revolution and the understanding of it by the international mass movement, then it is the absolute duty of any self-respecting Leninist to try to form an opinion about which conflicting line is correct, and to help fight for its triumph.

To take a different example, the movement in Chile is currently under appalling misunderstandings and repeating disastrous blunders concerning the role of Allende in the 1973 catastrophe. It would be criminal for international Leninists who can see the dangers of the movement's continued failure to expose the treacherous mistakes and illusions of Allendeism not to speak up, regardless of whether they are Chileans or not.

Similarly, if Bishop's tactics were as outrageously wrong and factional as they now seem, and if the Cuban comrades were in a position to find this out, it is hopelessly mistaken for them not to have done so.

What is worse, there seems to be an element of hypocrisy in this "dignity and respect" malarky because it certainly did not inhibit the Cubans from speaking out strongly condemning the NJM majority in this October 20 statement.

Worst of all, when Havana did finally speak out, it seems to have got its facts and political judgments hopelessly wrong.

Revolutionary parties of leadership make revolutions, winning the support of the masses to win the power, as Castro himself proved, and then guiding the masses to the construction of socialism and communism. Leninists should have supported the NJM leadership in the absence of any evidence that it had got things badly wrong, not the undisciplined illegally-behaving defeated faction.

And if Fidel Castro's real reason for not sending reinforcements to Grenada to meet the impending US NAZI blitzkrieg was because it was "impossible and unthinkable after the things that had happened", - as quoted in the capitalist press, - then Havana's mistakes over the Grenadan split were infinitely compounded.

It is fair to quote one last document captured from the New Jewel Movement headquarters by the CIA and released in Washington, - some unattributed notes dated Oct-

ober 21, two days after Bishop's attempted coup, which declared:

"It is clear that the Cuban leadership does not know of the dishonesty and lying of MB as well as his wickedness. The Cuban position creates an atmosphere for speedy imperialist intervention."

It would be reassuring and a great service to Leninism if the Cuban comrades would comment again on all these matters.

7. November 17, 1983
(Bulletin 215)

The essence of the international class struggle is its inevitable breaking out into violent conflict periodically. While always seeking to minimise the violence and maximise the political pressure, - consistent with actually achieving the overthrow of the ruling capitalist class, Marxism-Leninism is a totally revolutionary movement, willing to seize power, and to smash counter-revolution wherever possible, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The circumstances for such violent conflict are always created by the still-dominant world capitalist system, -the ruling-class international bourgeoisie.

Either it uses its power to impose incurable economic slump conditions via military dictatorship or fascist tyranny, -thus provoking communist revolution as the only way out of their suffering and misery for the proletarian masses, -as happened in Cuba and Nicaragua, for example, and as is now happening in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador as well as other Latin American countries. Or else it organises counter-revolution around deposed reactionary elements such as the rightwing civil war of intervention inflicted on Nicaragua now by the Somocista fascists and mercenaries; and on Afghanistan by the deposed tribal and feudal khans and mullahs plus their benighted followers; and on Poland by religious backwardness, anti-Soviet fascist-nationalism, and pro-Western fanaticism.

But whenever the endless class war pressures spill over into actual violence, the Trotskyist and CP-centrist 'lefts', -all formally committed to the world socialist revolution's side against international imperialism's anti-communist Cold War crusade, - almost invariably capitulate to bourgeois propaganda, and undermine any militant response to reactionary provocations.

This middle class treachery is characterised by a variety of opportunist features from anti-Soviet prejudice and Labourite Parliamentary careerism to bourgeois pacifism.

When Maurice Bishop staged his counter-revolutionary putsch against being voted out of his leading position in the New Jewel revolutionary movement leadership by the NJM central committee(after more than a year's unsuccessful efforts to correct his Menshevik weaknesses and rejection of majority decisions), nearly all the anti-Leninist 'left' in Britain from the IMG to the CP immediately

adopted a revisionist-compromise position supporting Bishop, capitulating to the pressure of bourgeois propaganda against the Coard faction. The fact that the Cuban leadership initially made similar mistakes can in no way soften the criticism (see Bulletin 214).

The New Communist Party (the most militant-sounding rightwing revisionists, pretending to be pro-Soviet but in reality completely reformist), typify this capitulation to Bishop's rightwing provocation behind a phony bourgeois 'horror of violence' declaring: "With a young revolutionary movement under intense US pressure, the immature attitudes that might otherwise have been overcome led to the irresponsible act of folly in the killing of Bishop and Whiteman, and the almost inevitable consequence of the US invasion," and quoting with approval Cuba's disastrous error of judgment which wrongly backed the Bishop faction against the Coard faction, wrongly blamed the Coard faction for the violence, and wallowed in hopelessly idealist-democratic illusions about the reality of class struggle in claiming: "No doctrine, principle, or proclaimed revolutionary position, and no internal split, could justify such brutal procedures as the physical elimination of Bishop and the outstanding group of honest and dignified leaders who were killed."

Bishop was tragically killed in mob violence which he, Bishop, started by having the gates stormed where he was under house arrest, and then by storming Fort Rupert, disarming the guards in both cases, simultaneously sending off international cables to get help from "world opinion" (an invitation for an invasion of Grenada), and ringing round selected army officers Bishop thought he could win over to his attempted coup.(See 214)

The Cuban statement slithers deceptively from an astonishing automatic assumption: that Bishop must be the innocent party in the NJM feuding, to a hypocritical bourgeois-idealist generalisation that "violence can never be justified", which has nothing in it but maximum petty-bourgeois prejudice.

Castro's latest reported remarks (if true) that the defeat of Bishop's attempted coup/ re seizure of political leadership had "destroyed the revolution", and that the US invasion had only "killed a corpse", show up a sad retreat from Leninism's understanding of the vital role played by the leading cadres of the revolutionary party. Revolutionary ideas and leadership, - however skilled the role of one or two individuals, - are useless unless a revolutionary party leadership of great strength, breadth, and depth, has been convinced and trained by years of experience to fight for those ideas among the masses. To contemptuously write off the majority of the New Jewel Movement leadership in this way, (many of them with just as good credentials as Bishop in struggling long for socialism on Grenada,) is the most amazing blinkered subjectivism and nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism, - especially in view of the year-long recorded struggle by the NJM leadership to get Bishop to correct his weaknesses and to quit arbitrarily and dangerously defying the majority

views of the revolution's central committee.

For the NCP to immediately fall in with Castro's blind spot on this matter reveals their weak middle-class inability to fully grasp Leninism, placing them in the same 'left' swamp with every revisionist tendency.

The Solidarnosc 'peaceful free trade union' fraud exposed the revisionist 'left' humbug from the Trots to the centrist-Stalinists even more decisively.

The latest comic 'phony war' between the McLennan majority and Costello minority wings of the Communist Party, where the 'Eurocommunist' majority claim they merely support "the right" for "free" and "independent" trade unions in East Europe rather than supporting Solidarnosc as such, while the "pro-Moscow" minority "merely" oppose martial law in Poland while also claiming not to support Solidarnosc, - coincides with a revealing admission in the Observer by Fleet Street's chief 'leftie' champion of Solidarnosc, Neal Ascherson, whose 'breathtaking' on-the-spot accounts of the "heroic revolutionary socialist" revolt by Walesa and company kept the pro-Solidarity lobby on the British 'left' keyed up for months in 1980-1981-1982.

These tame capitalist press 'lefts' were always careful on the one hand to conceal the rightwing reactionary class content of Walesa's movement, and on the other careful to deny there was any real intention to overthrow the Polish workers state.

Now the mask is off in Ascherson's careless review of a new book by TG Ash on Solidarnosc. "He is obviously very tempted to say," writes Ascherson, "that Solidarity should have gone ahead with the general strike and full-dress confrontation in March 1981, at a moment when the regime's repressive forces were not yet organised. This is what many Poles now believe. But Garton Ash wisely stops short of saying so. Although Solidarity in March was at the peak of its own unity and mass support, it was not politically prepared. The aim of supervising the existing regime still held."

So now we know. The real aim of Solidarity all along, out of the mouths of its own 'leftie' supporters in the West, was the overthrow of the Polish socialist state; - Exactly as the ILWP was saying right from the start of Solidarnosc in August 1980 in demanding the firmest reassertion of the Polish dictatorship of the proletariat to crush this counter-revolution as soon as possible.

Ascherson reveals more: "Confrontation really meant forcing the replacement of that regime by something else. It was only later that year, as the spreading economic catastrophe and a campaign of government provocation made Solidarity more desperate (and less united) that the union's leadership began to accept that it would have to act as an active political force."

The bourgeoisie was ousted from power in Poland in 1945-46 by the Red Army and the Polish communist movement. Only the working class can provide an alternative power base. Like every state on the planet, Poland

can only be either a bourgeois dictatorship or a proletarian dictatorship. Poland's socialist state structure and its endless conflicts with the capitalist peasantry and the anti-Marxist Catholic intelligentsia and deposed landed gentry and capitalists, - plus the fervent support for Walesa from the Pope to Reagan and Thatcher, plus the billions for Solidarity activities supplied by the Vatican and the CIA, - make it abundantly clear that Poland was (and is) a proletarian dictatorship, - and that Walesa and company would have overthrown it in a bloody counter-revolution if given half a chance, and re-established a dictatorship of bourgeois 'parliamentary democracy' capitalism in Poland.

Those who oppose martial law in Poland, just as those who are for the "rights" of Solidarity, are equally on the side of imperialist counter-revolution, and against the dictatorship of the proletariat, the moment that the fat is really in the fire, violence is breaking out, and "anti-violence" bourgeois propaganda is lashing the feeble 'lefts' of the British labour movement, - (humiliatingly forcing them to turn tail on their supposed "support" for the world socialist revolution at the very vital moment when it is most needed (to stem the CIA-imperialist interventionist bandwagon effect in the West).)

The same treacherous bottling out from forthright approval of strong action by the socialist camp's defenders was observable throughout the revisionist 'left' when the Soviet air defences correctly shot down the Korean spy plane, deliberately sent into the USSR's most sensitive region in the hope of a "Russians-shoot-down-passenger-plane" sensation to be exploited by the CIA-controlled 'free' press. Only the ILWP commended the Soviet action as being of benefit to the strengthening of the world socialist revolution. All the rest either denounced it or offered lame regrets, apologies, excuses etc, for the 'disaster'. The innocent deaths were certainly tragic. They always are. But the incident was no 'disaster', but a well-deserved and correctly firm rebuff to more imperialist provocations.

Behind all this nervousness about revolutionary violence lies the most appalling deceitfulness by the entire 'left' swamp outside the Leninist movement. They kid themselves that violence is 'unnecessary', that an insistence on 'democratic' progress can finally disarm the imperialist bourgeoisie and force through a 'peaceful' road to socialism. Or alternatively they accept in words that there must be a revolutionary overthrow of capitalist state violence and a firm dictatorship of the proletariat to put down counter-revolution and help spread the socialist camp until dominant world imperialist power is finally overwhelmed, - but in practice deny to the Soviet Union and the socialist camp any support at all for building powerful workers states precisely to withstand imperialist subversion, economic sabotage, and counter-revolutionary intrigue.

And in reality, the entire 'left' swamp

swallows buckets of counter-revolutionary violence, both actual and potential, without batting an eyelid.

Solidarnosc again provides unmistakable proof of this. To this day, these 'lefts' from the 'Militant' and WRP to the CP refuse to expose the warmongering-fascist nature of Solidarnosc with its desecration of Lenin statues and Soviet war memorials, its racist hatred of the Russians, its contempt for the anti-imperialist movement in the West, and its worship of Poland's pogrom-ridden Pilsudski-fascist past. The murderous putsch planned by Solidarnosc leaders against the Polish workers state and revealed in the Radom tape recordings are ignored (see ILWP Books volume 3), as is the significant emigration of most Solidarnosc refugees to fascist South Africa to join the white master race there.

Ascherson is again revealing, admitting that "popular Polish views (i. e. Solidarnosc's) of the outside world are frankly Thatcherite, - except that so many Poles now regard the invasion of Grenada as a victory in the struggle of light against darkness" - (i. e. they are to the right even of Thatcher).

The "Support Solidarity" spokesman in London, Roman Napets, who approved the US fascist-military wiping out of the Grenadan socialist revolution as being "the removal of a small clique which blocked the progress towards democracy", and regards people who shout "What about El Salvador" (to American imperialist's hypocrisy about the 'suppression of Solidarnosc') as a "lunatic fringe", confirms that it is anti-communism which is the essence of violence, not communist revolution.

In reality, however, the 'left' swamp is perfectly capable of working out itself that the world-dominating imperialist system and its bourgeois ideology cannot possibly continue without inevitably coming into violent conflict with the unavoidable progress of the world socialist revolution.

They turn a blind eye to the actual or potential counter-revolutionary violence of the Vatican-CIA-Solidarnosc attempt to overthrow the Polish workers state because they are intimidated by the bourgeois propaganda hullabaloo against proletarian dictatorship violence in support of that state.

This 'left' opportunist swamp despicably takes advantage of the mistakes, difficulties, and weaknesses of, say, the Polish workers state (or the 1978 Afghan revolution; or the majority NJM faction against Bishop in Grenada; or the propaganda clumsiness of the USSR over the Korean spy plane incident; etc, etc) to wash its hands of any responsibility for the world socialist revolution's struggle in those issues. Having never come anywhere near carrying out a socialist revolution of their own, nor with the remotest chance that they ever will, the 'left' swamp, in classic armchair-socialist style, feigns a belief only in 'perfect' transitions to socialism.

But their real concern is solely to avoid the lash of hostile criticism and ridicule

from bourgeois-manipulated public opinion in this country. The one thing all the Trots and centrist-Stalinists agree upon is that never will they put themselves in the firing line defending the Soviet Union and the socialist camp over issues like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, and Solidarnosc. Imperialist violence goes on year in and year out all round the world, staging counter-revolutions, fascist coups, and openly NAZI blitzkriegs, as in tiny socialist Grenada. The 'left' swamp protests noisily - but stays firmly within the 'free' world charade and has no intention of ever denouncing it and declaring allegiance to the one real world socialist revolution, - the Soviet-led socialist camp. But let there be the slightest brief policing skirmishes carried out by the dictatorship of the proletariat against counter-revolutionary dissidence and disruption, - which is all that the Solidarnosc, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia and Hungary incidents have amounted to, - and the 'left' swamp disowns any responsibility whatever for the world socialist revolution.

Their terror of the bourgeois propaganda backlash is now so great, - their cringing fear of making a really revolutionary challenge to their comfortable 'democratic' environment, - that they rush in screamingly to denounce "violence" the instant that the CIA propaganda machine distorts some rightwing move such as the Korean spy plane stunt, or the Maurice Bishop coup attempt, into a horror story against "communist evil".

The swamp of fake 'lefts' is rotten with anti-communism. They cannot take up a single issue, from Solidarnosc to the vicious rightwing censorship now operating in British capitalism's 'free' press, radio and television, - without treacherously backing off from the only real choice, - dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or dictatorship of the proletariat, - into a fantasy world of their own imagining where there is 'perfect democratic accountability' and 'perfect freedom for all opinions' in the dishonest and treacherous way that Benn and Loach, etc, put it over.

These 'parliamentary democracy' cretins are fooling themselves and the working class. And their only real achievement is to help the one reality (of bourgeois dictatorial power, hedged round with a few trimmings of 'democratic rights', etc,) - go on ruling unchallenged, - unchallenged except by the Leninist movement. Build the ILWP.

8. November 24, 1983
(Bulletin 216)

The Cuban comrades are now suggesting that the Coard-Austin majority faction in the leadership of the New Jewel revolutionary movement were fake ultra-lefts, - agents of US 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. Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, - the ones responsible for the genocide in Ka-

mpuchea, - the most loyal allies Yankee imperialism has in South-East Asia at present? In Cuba ever since the Grenadian crisis began, we have called Coard's group, - to give it a name, - the 'Pol Pot' group," Fidel Castro told the huge Havana funeral rally on November 14.

The most glaring of many inconsistencies about this line is to explain why US imperialism took the enormous gamble of staging an extremely costly (in political terms internationally) wrecking invasion against the Grenadan socialist revolution if they had just got their own internal wrecking agents installed? And having 'staged' an invasion to oust their own men, why has US imperialism then detained and brutalised its Coard-Austin 'agents'?. Even stranger, why has US imperialism unleashed a NAZI-psychological warfare campaign on the island with lurid posters everywhere vilifying Coard and Austin as "the evil communists who tried to kidnap Grenada" while allowing their supposed 'real enemy' Maurice Bishop to be turned into a bourgeois national hero?

Another curiosity is what does Havana know about the Coard-Austin political line? And if it does know something, why does it not discuss this political essence of the Grenadan problem, and expose what it thinks were the Leninist errors in this line?

The odd thing is that Havana has repeatedly insisted, with misplaced sanctimony, that it had never 'stooped so low' as to discuss Grenada's internal problems in the course of its frequent, and recent, meetings with Bishop. If true, this was a piece of non-Leninist nonsense. If not, it is pointless pretence.

Castro stressed again in his November 14 speech the "very close and affectionate links and the many friendly fraternal hours" spent with Bishop, including as recently as October 7, - but again stressing that "nothing was said about the internal dissensions".

Castro then admitted: "Coard's group never had such relations nor such intimacy and trust with us. Actually we did not even know that group existed."

But in that case, firstly, how does Castro know anything about Coard and Austin's 'Pol Pot plans'?

As already exhaustively analysed in Bulletin 214, the obvious beginnings of needless opportunist violence on Grenada (as little enough as there was of it in any case, - limited to one brief skirmish) - was entirely due to Bishop, and no one else. Bishop tried arbitrarily to use his power as the well-known prime-minister-figurehead to resist the properly arrived-at majority decisions of the revolutionary movement's leadership for a long period of time, finally necessitating his house arrest. And then the Bishop faction lawlessly raised a counter-revolutionary mob to storm the guards at Bishop's house where he was under easy-going 'arrest'. And that same Bishop mob, then with Bishop at its head, lawlessly stormed Fort Rupert, once again disarming the guards there. For staging this

Bonapartist putsch, the Bishop mob was put down. And there, all violence ceased; and Grenada was quickly back to normal after a few days martial law. Every eye-witness agrees that the country was back to normal immediately prior to the US imperialist invasion. Spreading this 'Pol Pot' rumour about Coard and Austin's political intentions merely plays into the hands of Washington's 'justification' propaganda, just as the anti-Leninist swamp in Britain has done (see Bulletins 213, 214, 215).

There is much more equally inflammatory (and totally unsubstantiated) language in Castro's speech against the Coard-Austin majority, (many with as long standing in the New Jewel Movement as Bishop,) - such as "hyenas... egged on by imperialism... using the dagger of divisionism... conspirators, tools of imperialism... the new government of Grenada was morally indefensible", etc.

Castro's only concrete charges are precisely the issues which the NJM majority insistently properly discussed with Bishop inside the central committee, urging him for over a year to heed their criticism. These matters demand discussion, not sneers.

"Allegedly (?) revolutionary arguments were used," Castro admits. "Invoking the purest principles of Marxism-Leninism and charging Bishop with practising a cult of personality and drawing away from the Leninist norms and methods of leadership."

To which Castro tries two equally unsatisfactory replies. First he baldly declares, despite the evidence of a year's constant complaints from the majority of the NJM leadership, mostly hardened revolutionaries of very long standing who had known Bishop intimately for nearly 20 years, - that "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."

Circumstantial evidence is all against Castro on this. Why would anyone truly 'modest and unselfish' never have mentioned in hours of 'intimate' discussions with the Cubans such an extremely serious matter of a lack of confidence in his leadership by the majority of the NJM central committee? Surely this smacks of someone who was arrogantly contemptuous of his party's feelings and opinions.

And why did these curiously close relations exist between Bishop and the Cubans, but the deputy leader of the NJM, and deputy prime-minister, Bernard Coard, and the majority of the NJM leadership were almost totally unknown in Havana? Did Bishop in fact really keep everything to himself, in a one-man leadership, as his comrades accused him of? If true (and Castro gives no evidence to the contrary), this reflects as badly on Castro as on Bishop. It was very short-sighted for Castro not to insist on getting to know the whole of the NJM leadership. Did they refuse, strangely, to become known? Castro does not say so, and it seems scarcely credible.

On smaller circumstantial points, which common language did Castro (Spanish-speaking) and Bishop (English-speaking) know sufficiently well for them to have talked long enough without interpreters to get to know each other so well; and what leadership work inside the Grenadan government and party did Castro observe so as to form a judgment about Bishop's relationships with his colleagues?

Castro's second reply to the NJM criticisms of Bishop is to charge the majority with being "a group of extremists drunk on political theory". This is an extraordinary allegation which casts far more doubt on Castro than it does on the NJM majority.

If Coard's majority had "extremist political theories", let us hear about them. And then let us hear those theories being subject to withering Leninist criticism (see Lenin volumes 1 to 45). The essence of Marxism-Leninism is to defeat revisionism by correct revolutionary theory. The mere jibe "extremists drunk on political theory" would indicate anti-Leninism on the part of the jiber.

What is required from the Cuban comrades, (who have had, and still have, incomparable facilities for presenting some more facts about Grenadan political differences,) is their views on Bishop and Coard's attitudes towards the NJM's continued membership of the Second (pro-imperialist) International; Grenada's alliance to the Commonwealth; the continuation of Sir Paul Scoon as Governor-General; relations to US imperialism and the IMF; the mixed economy; the question of parliamentary elections and opposition parties and the dictatorship of the proletariat; etc., etc.

Best of all would have been a Cuban contribution to these discussions before disagreements about them drove the NJM into factional conflict. But a contribution now would be better late than never. It is still important to learn some lessons from the different NJM attitudes to these questions, and from how and why it led to such violent factionalising. Lenin's Third International discussions with new young communist parties and their factional problems are a model for this kind of work. It is vitally necessary for the world revolutionary movement to return to a Leninist line and Leninist standards in revolutionary theory.

Castro and the Cuban Revolution have already rendered priceless service to overcoming centrist conservatism in the development of the world socialist revolution by Moncada and the capture of power in Cuba, arms in hand, and by the selfless support to the international movement, defying the most vicious US imperialist threats, pressures, subversion, and blockade.

But for overcoming the deadly divisive confusion-mongering by scores of revisionist groups within the oldest capitalist countries in order to spread the socialist revolution there to complete the vanquishing of world imperialism, far more Leninist thinking and understanding is required from Moscow, Havana and everywhere else than has yet been forthcoming with their confusions over Allendeism,

CP revisionism (rife in West Europe and Latin America, e.g.), popular frontism, etc, etc (see countless past Bulletins), of which the confusion over Grenadan issues is a continuation. It will certainly be impossible for the revolutionary party to grow in Britain, (e.g.), without such a Leninist development in revolutionary theory. And first responsibility for supplying it rests on the comrades struggling with the fight here. Build the ILWP.

9. December 1, 1983 (Bulletin 217)

Castro's mistake in approving Maurice Bishop's attempted mob-coup against the legitimate New Jewel Movement majority which had voted him out of the party's leadership, looks even worse in the light of some new internal NJM documents seized by the CIA (during the US imperialist blitzkrieg on Grenada) and selectively leaked out to chosen anti-communist journalists in Washington.

These reports, especially in view of their vicious bias against the majority NJM faction led by Bernard Coard, show that far from Coard and Austin being "imperialist agents" and "Pol Pot extremists drunk on theory" as accused by the Cuban comrades, the main faults and the main blame in Grenada's difficulties rested squarely with Bishop.

Bishop decided last June to try to mend his broken fences with the White House. He flew to Washington uninvited. He did not get to the President, but he did talk to several top American officials, including the then National Security Adviser, William Clark (Reagan's closest reactionary political ally). After Bishop got back to Grenada, his anti-imperialist rhetoric grew noticeably milder, goes the Sunday Telegraph's version of these NJM documents.

From now on, the captured records of his party's discussions tell a story which is no less dramatic for being couched, almost entirely, in Marxist gobbledegook as imperfectly digested by semi-educated Caribbean zealots, it continues.

The attack by the hard-liners on Bishop's leadership was mounted slowly but steadily. The first meeting of the NJM after his Washington foray lasted for 54 hours, spread over 6½ days between July 13 and 19, 1983. It reeks with self-criticism in the approved Marxist-Leninist fashion. What is recorded as the 'main feature' for debate can be read as an oblique reference to Bishop himself. The party is taken to task for its failure 'to transform itself ideologically and organisationally and to exercise firm leadership along a Leninist path.'

The ST records that by the August 26 meeting of the Central Committee: "the ominous charge of 'right opportunism' is levelled against part of the CC. For the first time Maurice Bishop is attacked by name, with 'the quality of his leadership' being called into question. A new system of joint control, sharing power between him and his estran-

ged deputy Bernard Coard, is proposed...." CC minutes for September 14-16 contain a clear dig at the dangers of his pragmatic American policy: they declare that the Grenadian people are 'getting their lines from the Voice of America' over the Korean plane incident. A vote was then taken on the joint leadership issue. It was approved by 9 for, 1 against, and 3 (including Bishop) abstaining.

It was apparently decided not to make the leadership discussions public because of the weakened ideological position the NJM had sunk to.

"By an equally clear majority," the Telegraph report puts it, "Grenada's Communist bosses decided against 'informing the masses'. The minutes add:

'The situation is that there is great dispiritiveness and dissatisfaction among the people... The state of the party is the lowest it has ever been... We all agree that the Army is in a state of rut and demoralisation, along with a serious ideological drift... Comrades are saying we are talking of imperialism too much when there are so much problems in the camps. Ministers are buying new arms when soldiers cannot get food to eat...'

Earlier at the August 26 CC meeting, before the leadership change had been agreed upon, some unattributed notes commented:

"A war of discontent with the work of the CC to the point where some members were questioning the leadership. Some Comrades called for the removal of some CC members; others for the change of the entire team... At present the revolution is facing its worst crisis ever and most serious danger in 4½ years. The mood of the masses is characterised at worst by open dissatisfaction and cynicism, and at best by serious demoralisation."

And the Telegraph's report says of that same August 26 meeting (at which Coard was not present in protest against rumours that he was planning Bishop's assassination (rumours spread by Bishop himself, a latter CC meeting decided)), - and where "Bishop, who called the meeting (an emergency session), seems to be still on top" that, according to formal minutes:

"Nonetheless, it was agreed that 'some conclusions of the CC are not correct', and even more ominously, that some Central Committee comrades were not functioning properly, having fallen into what is picturesquely described as 'a state of rut'. Everyone agrees that the party was going downhill and that 'the CC is facing a confidence crisis!'"

The Telegraph's summary, despite its bilious anti-Coard bias, then admits that the NJM majority trusted Bishop (who was preparing to send himself off on a trip to East Europe) to help implement the leadership changes, following the Sept 14 meeting.

But on October 12, a month after the leadership changes had been overwhelmingly agreed, Bishop returned home and informed his colleagues that (to quote a hand-written record of a joint Politburo/Central Commi-

tee meeting) he still 'wanted time to reflect' on the dual leadership issue. ♪

In other words, Bishop was contemptuously belittling the September 14 central committee 9 to 1 majority decision for a new joint party leadership.

The minutes of the October 12 CC meeting then record the following decisions:

♪ 1. Confine MB indefinitely (long applause); 2. Phones of MB cut off (applause); 3. Disarmed for his own safety (applause). The situation demands Bolshevik staunchness . . . Even though we are bordering on disintegration, it is not irreversible. . . We have to learn from other fraternal parties. . . ♪

The Telegraph's anti-Coard vitriol then admits: ♪ On October 19 a crowd of some 3,000 (?) Bishop supporters overran the guard outside his residence and freed him. Emboldened by this, they marched on Fort Rupert, General Austin's headquarters. They tried to storm it but were repulsed after a brief and bloody struggle. ♪

Once again (see Bulletins 213 - 216), convincing proof has been provided by the bitterest anti-communist haters of Bernard Coard and the Grenadan socialist revolution that it was Bishop's faction, in fact, which started the outrageous, unnecessary violence, trying an armed coup in order to frustrate an overwhelming majority ruling party decision about a change of leadership after a long period of dissatisfaction and criticism of errors in the previous Bishop leadership.

Unwittingly, the Telegraph's anti-communist muck-raking throws a new light on CIA lie-mongering against Coard as a "Marxist fanatic" by proving the alternative perspective on Bishop's differences with Coard. ♪ "Castro's Cuba," it claims "also seems to have provided riotous night life for the hot-blooded members of the New Jewel Movement. Among the captured papers is a formal letter. . . written by one Gemma Jones who had been disciplined by the party for an all-night sex orgy while passing through Havana. It caused her to miss her flight to Bulgaria the next morning. 'At no time was I told or given the impression' she writes defiantly 'that sisters were supposed to isolate themselves from the opposite sex'.

"Anyway, Gemma explains, it was a male comrade who was to blame, for 'he walked into the room where I was at the time and started undressing in my presence and told me, let's go to sleep.' She signs herself, appropriately, 'Yours in the Struggle'. ♪

One of the final tragic central committee documents noted on October 21 'Cuba's negative response to the issue', adding:

♪ The deep personal friendship between Fidel and Maurice has caused the Cuban leadership to take a personal and not a class approach to developments in Grenada. . . ♪

This charge has been proved overwhelmingly, on the evidence so far available (see also Bulletins 213-216), and is all the more poignant for being so diffidently expressed, especially in the light of the foul (and so far

totalitarian) accusations hurled later at Coard by Castro about "hyenas. . . extremists. . . enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadan revolution. . . conspirators. . . Pol Pot. . . genocide. . . morally indefensible" etc (Bulletin 216).

The big question marks on Grenada have nothing to do with the NJM majority but are entirely against Bishop's leadership and his later attempted coup to hang onto it. And the other big question mark is against Castro's sense of leadership. From hearing on October 12 "the surprising and unpleasant news" (of profound divisions in the Central Committee in Grenada, and later that day that Bishop had been removed from the leadership and placed under "house arrest") until news of Bishop's attempted coup on October 19 (which Castro studiously refuses to describe as such), Castro apparently took absolutely no initiatives whatever to try to mediate or offer advice in this alarming situation. His October 20 statement even tries justifying this ridiculous and amazing paralysed silence with the most ludicrous bourgeois propriety. ♪ "We didn't say a single word. . . We had thus remained true to our principle of respect for the internal affairs of sister parties and countries. "

For Leninists, especially such internationally authoritative ones as Castro, to not try to help out a fraternal party in bad confusion over Leninist programme and Bolshevik leadership principles, - is closer to daft lunacy than the piddling notion of 'respect'. (And Castro has shown precious little 'respect', or even the equally daft 'non-interference', in the affairs of the NJM leadership ever since the events of October 19.) Why did Castro at least not offer to fly to Grenada immediately to try to help resolve such an appalling crisis in the NJM leadership?

These considerations also put in a very bad light the reasons Castro gave on October 25 for refusing assistance to Grenada upon the US imperialist invasion, quoting his own message to Cubans on Grenada: "I understand and how bitter it is for you, as well as for us here, to risk compatriots in Grenada, after the gross mistakes the Grenadian Party has made, and the tragic developments to which they gave rise. . . It is not the new Grenadian Government we must think of now, but of Cuba, its honour, its people, its fighting morale. . . We must vigorously defend ourselves as if we were in Cuba, in our campsites, in our workplaces close by, - but only if we are directly attacked. I repeat: only if we are directly attacked. We would thus be defending ourselves, not the Government or its deeds. "

The October 21 NJM note adds: "It is clear that the Cuban leadership does not know of the dishonesty and lying of MB as well as the wickedness that he and his group did at Fort Rupert, including brutality and stripping female soldiers. " Earlier evidence quoted by the Bulletin implied drunkenness among the Bishop mob leadership.

Most poignantly of all, the NJM October

21 note ends by warning that Cuba's hostile position "creates an atmosphere for speedy imperialist intervention. " It came four days later.

In the interests of the further development of Leninism, a high-point of which is the revolutionaries' ability to face up to mistakes they make (as Lenin stressed in 'Left-Wing Communism'), the Cuban comrades should reply to the criticisms raised in the last five Bulletins.

10. January 5, 1984
(Bulletin 221)

Crucial in the Bolshevik record of winning the confidence of the masses by correctly explaining what was happening in the confusing revolutionary turmoil in Russia, - and also what was possible as well as what was likely to happen next, - was the party's willingness and determination to give leadership at every turn in every area on every issue. And to build a conscious leadership, it is utterly self-defeating to keep it a secret.

The simple test to discipline against mere self-delusion in struggling to renew Leninism is to get things right, and to constantly closely observe every other political movement to see how they are coping with reality.

The ILWP would like nothing better than for some largescale, well-established, star-studded, academically-erudite, organisationally-dynamic, theoretically-powerful party to sweep forward and carry out all the revolutionary programme, propaganda, and practical tasks the ILWP is battling to achieve. Throughout its entire existence, the party has pursued every possible avenue, nationally and internationally, seeking political clarifications, liaisons, polemics of any and every kind, towards agreements.

Only the more dynamic elements in the world socialist camp, and the current international revolutionary struggle most closely associated with that camp, have come remotely near demonstrating a consistent Leninist grasp of all world events on both sides of the international conflict of class forces, but even then have fallen well short of what is really required.

A natural tendency to sympathise with the socialist camp, and a healthy hesitancy to over-hastily criticise Moscow in view of the way that history has made a complete fool out of Trotskyism's pronouncement of doom for the Russian Revolution, are inapposite here.

In the contemporary propaganda-dominated, international class struggle, - it is quick, correct, and decisive leadership on current burning issues that is the relevant test. The masses battling imperialism need to know, and deserve to know, exactly what crap the CIA is trying to disrupt the world socialist revolution and national liberation struggle with the very moment it happens.

At that point, Moscow's achievement (of major world historic importance) of safegu-

arding the triumph of the 1917 Revolution is no substitute, for example, for their damaging tongue-tied silence on the issue of the New Jewel Movement split which US imperialism so ludicrously took such criminal, savage advantage of and which Havana made such a disastrous mess of explaining (see *Bulletins* 213 - 217).

The *Bulletin's* attempts to understand the Bishop-Coard differences and how the socialist camp should have reacted to the split may well prove deficient, but if Moscow is better informed (as it ought to be), it is doubly negligent of it to have said virtually nothing about this crucially important matter for revolutionary education in the national liberation struggle.

Either through Moscow's ignorance of what was really going on in Grenada, or through some misguided notion of what it is diplomatically advantageous to reveal, the international revolutionary movement was denied some priceless lessons on which class attitudes led to which mistakes and how they might have been avoided over the Grenada question.

At this point, it is relevant to add that such failings go back a very long way into the Soviet leadership's bureaucratic conservative period whose traces are still powerfully at work today, to such an extent that it is proper and necessary for the ILWP to consider, - as it has done, - the possibility that it is the sharp, daily, frontline, class-war inside the imperialist countries and their satellites that will force the renewal of Leninist standards of political analysis and leadership, at their highest level, - there rather than in Moscow.

The need to provide leadership in such confusing, class-disorienting issues as the NJM crisis, which hit the world revolutionary movement hard, is a matter of life and death for those fighting to survive under imperialist decay, - as in El Salvador, Nicaragua, etc. It should be just as important for Moscow and Havana to understand and explain correctly. But the reality is that they will probably survive anyway without maintaining an advanced Leninist grasp of every revolutionary issue, as has happened throughout the period of bureaucratic conservatism, frequently.

Another example demonstrates even more graphically the vital importance of the struggle to give correct leadership when living under the yoke of imperialism (compared to when uneasily, temporarily coexisting with it in a permanent state of armed truce,) - the renewed problem of Allendeism.

The key to Chile's 1973 tragedy was the failure of any significant group there to call for a decisive break with Allendeism, to declare "no support" for the 'Socialist Unity' coalition as the only way to break the influence of Allende's fatal compromise with the capitalist state.

From the bureaucratic-conservative Communist Party to the Trotskyite MIR, the catastrophic mistake the various groupings made in 1973 in stopping their criticism of Allende

short of demanding "no support" for the 'Socialist Unity' government (while nevertheless arming and organising to defeat the military) - is still being repeated by all of them in the 1983-84 renewal of revolutionary crisis. From the CP to the MIR, they are still sniffing round for a respectable way back to the fatal class-war confusion of popular-front politics, which so disarmed the working class in 1973 and made it a sitting target for Pinochet's fascism, and which could easily repeat its damaging disorientation in 1984 for a new setback.

The tragedy is that Moscow's lingering bureaucratic conservatism still leads it to confuse the diplomatic requirements of peaceful coexistence (with armed imperialism to make the launching of World War III as difficult as possible) with useless class collaborationism of the Allende popular front kind which only gives fascist warmongering circles around the CIA another victory on a plate thus increasing the drive-to-WWIII dangers.

The crucial 1917 lessons of Leninism of withdrawing the slogan 'all power to the Menshevik and SR-dominated Soviets' at the key moments of counter-revolutionary class collaboration (by these middle class 'Marxists' with military reaction,) - even combining "no support" for the Kerensky regime while mobilising to defeat the Kornilov August putsch, which would have overthrown Kerensky, - would appear to have been utterly forgotten.

The continuing traces of bureaucratic conservatism in Moscow go all the way to their deliberate prolongment of close collaboration with now openly counter-revolutionary CP groups in the West, - which must cause enormous confusion to the world's masses struggling to overthrow the 'democratic' international imperialist system (to which these CPs are now so committed with such fierce reactionary determination, outdoing the Tories in their hatred of revolutionary upheaval such as martial law in Poland and the IRA's national liberation war in Ireland.)

The revolutionary party is bound to erect an unbridgeable barrier between itself and these CP centrist-reformist groups, their left-Labour co-thinkers (Trot and non-Trot), and the incorrect and misleading sympathy Moscow continues to bestow on such groups. In the correct pursuit of peaceful-coexistence diplomacy, Moscow is obliged to maintain as friendly relations as possible with all political parties in the West, always seeking to disrupt and restrict anti-communist alliances as much as possible. But formally retaining 'comradely communist' links with such reactionary middle class gangs as the British CP, e.g., is a grotesque disservice to the international working class and to Leninist theory. The ILWP would itself betray Leninism if it stopped exposing or trying to correct this failing.

And it is only on this scientific Marxist basis of always telling the truth to the working class, - the sole final guarantee of succ-

essful revolutionary leadership, - that Leninism can ever proceed. When Moscow, in many of its formulations, presents the British CP as the British section of the international revolutionary communist movement, it just is not true. The CPGB represents no such thing. It is an entirely reformist and therefore ultimately reactionary petty-bourgeois clique and nothing else. Moscow's powerful role in leading the socialist camp in its brilliant economic and military defiance of imperialism's non-stop plans and subversive intrigues for nuclear destruction and world military conquest will still survive, despite these theoretical lapses in the more complex class-struggle questions within dying capitalism. But any would-be party of Leninist leadership in Britain or any capitalist country would not survive, and would not deserve to survive, if it repeated or covered up such mistakes.

The ILWP's independent role is made no less necessary by the appalling record of all the alternative groups to the CPGB's rotten opportunist reformism.

The entire spectrum of groupings from Trot and near-Trot to near-CP and CP fall into one or more of a number of overlapping sectarian positions which all amount to a retreat from a Leninist understanding of the real world.

Whether trying to sneak into the Labour Party to breathe life into a dying reformist corpse; or collapsing into pacifism or anarchism as opposed to a revolutionary fight to build the dictatorship of the proletariat; or utterly failing to correctly identify even the simplest outlines of the towering Cold War international class struggle between monopoly-capitalist imperialism on one side and the socialist camp and the world socialist revolution and national liberation struggles on the other side - (the overwhelmingly dominant reality of this epoch) -; - the politics of all these sects (though not necessarily every individual adherent) reveal a subjective crankiness which can never hope to lead anywhere, - except round and round in ever-decreasing circles because of being so out-of-touch with reality.

Take even the most plausible-seeming groups like the RCG, which has quietly dropped the barmier SWP-WRP hysteria about Moscow being secretly in league with Washington (to sell out the socialist revolution together,) - but only to slither into an equally barmy and unresolved fence-sitting which pretends that Washington's anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism is simply not the main issue; and tries to substitute piecemeal and single-issue questions, (usually of a propagandist nature like racialism or specific colonial freedom struggles,) - for the principal question of history: - the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world socialist camp versus the 'free' world.

To end up arguing, as the RCG do, that Ireland, for example, is "more important" than the whole issue of anti-Sovietism and anti-communism which has dominated the international class struggle and world politics

since 1917, is so barmy that it needs psycho-analysing rather than replying to.

The uncompleted Irish national liberation struggle remains a specific stumbling block for British imperialism in its dying days, - (and more widely for world imperialism because of the embarrassment caused to the 'free' world image by the vicious colonial repression,) - and the undying continuing symbol of reformist-imperialist backwardness of the British labour movement's bourgeois-idealist mentality. The national liberation struggle is also the possible source of a revolutionary socialist struggle which could have major significance for the whole of West Europe - (a perspective of international importance which the ILWP has consistently analysed but which the loud-sounding RCG empty kettle has not grasped, being so dominated by its own subjective defeatism, - the hallmark of the British middle class, - that it could see nothing in the huge sweep of events around the heroic and devastating (for imperialism) hunger strikes except a "defeat" for the IRA/Sinn Fein). (See ILWP Books vol 7).

But none of all this (and much more of significance in the Irish struggle, also alone chronicled by the ILWP Bulletin but not even seen by the subjective-myopic RCG) elevates Ireland's or any other national liberation struggle above the international conflict of class forces, dominated by the Cold War, of which these struggles are a part.

Anti-Sovietism is the issue, inevitably dominating (and fouling up) the politics of the entire planet, including the class struggle in Ireland, because the international historical balance of forces has made it so. It was imperialism's failure to defeat the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which became the watershed of human history, not Britain's inability to totally deny Ireland its freedom in 1921, which was a contributory but subsidiary part of that colossal triumph for the international working class that the Bolshevik Revolution's triumphant defeat of intervention represented. From that moment, the fate of imperialism was sealed for all time, in all countries, including all of Ireland ultimately.

Inevitably, the whole of subsequent human history has been dominated by imperialism's attempts to somehow, at any cost, undo that fateful mistake of allowing the 1917 Revolution to survive, and all the enormous consequences which then followed.

It is, of course, impossible to undo. And in another sense, it would never have been possible to have prevented 1917 with however much hindsight. For if the world's first socialist revolution and workers state had not finally triumphed there, then it would only have happened somewhere else at some other time. In general terms, the advance of the world socialist revolution is obviously unstoppable.

What the RCG and other sectarians refuse to accept, however, is the crucially dominant world-historic fact that it was the Soviet Union which became the inevitably overwhelmingly influential major anti-imper-

ialist force on the planet.

The imperialist system resorted to its desperate gamble of warmongering fascist-militarism (Germany, Japan, Italy, etc in the 1930s) principally to thwart the "Bolshevik menace" as crucial to routing the growing world socialist revolution and national liberation struggles brought on by the slump.

The USSR's crushing of that fascist menace was the principal factor in the dramatic change in the international balance of class forces following World War II which helped the national liberation struggle to so brilliantly smash colonialism in the aftermath.

But once again it was military-revolutionary triumphs closely associated with the Soviet socialist camp which really principally held armed world imperialism at bay in China, Korea, and Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, - routing US imperialism's best efforts, and creating an international climate which made any hope of the colonial West European powers holding the line in Algeria, Egypt, Indonesia, India, Aden, Cyprus, Gold Coast, Kenya, Mozambique, Congo, Angola, Zimbabwe, etc, etc, - an impossibility.

On a par with these seminal triumphs over imperialist military intervention in China, Korea, and Indo-China were the defeats for CIA-Vatican counter-revolutionary intrigue in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Afghanistan, - once again the major front line against imperialism principally manned by the Soviet socialist camp. The achievements of Cuba, Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique, SWAPO, etc against imperialist subversion come into the same epoch-making category, - and all, once again, principally associated with the Soviet socialist camp.

Not for nothing has the 'free' world transformed the whole of postwar world politics into one enormous hate campaign and warmongering preparation against the Soviet Union and the socialist camp (but not, incidentally, against Sinn Fein, - in case the RCG's daft comparison has been forgotten, - which is permitted a fair bit of public support in the USA and even a degree of official connivance at that public financial support).

And it is no accident that the 'free' world leader, US imperialism, has finally dropped its mask and launched a new era of open fascist-military blitzkrieg aggression against Grenada so closely associated with the Soviet socialist camp, - not against Sinn Fein.

For those who live in the real world, the perverted single-issue politics of the leadership of the RCG (not necessarily the membership) can only conceal raving anti-Soviet anti-communism of the most backward middle class sectarian kind.

The ostensibly more 'pro-Soviet' yet still 'revolutionary' (unlike the official CP) groups like the Sparts, the Leninist faction, the NCP, etc, are no alternative, either, to building the ILWP as the only Leninist leadership in sight.

For various reformist or Trotskyist reasons,

not a single one of this varied and rapidly-multiplying sector (getting onto the bandwagon) is enthusiastically for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the hands it is actually in, - those of the error-prone conservative bureaucracy, - in Poland, Moscow, or anywhere else. But that is the only basis on which nominal 'support' for the dictatorship of the proletariat amounts to anything more than misleading pretence.

Openly agitating against the socialist camp's leaderships for a raising of the standards of Leninist theory, as the ILWP consistently does, is one thing.

But with-holding real support from the proletarian dictatorships except where they can guarantee 100% scores continuously (i. e. never) as the sneaky little 'Leninist' group inside the CPGB does, - is something else entirely.

This cowardly fairweather-friend attitude ranging from the NCP's half-hearted reluctant-terrified 'acceptance' of the Soviet shooting down of the Korean 747 jet; and its damaging, treacherous denunciation of the Coard-Austin NJM leadership (blindly falling into Castro's error due to the NCP's spineless camp-following mentality); to the 'Leninist' group's dread that Solidarnosc can never be prevented from remaining an acute 'embarrassment' by the 'incompetent' Polish state leadership; to the Sparts' scurvy hypocritical concealment of the fact that they enthusiastically supported the reactionary ultra-right Solidarnosc counter-revolution for the first ten months of its rotten existence before pretending to become opposed to it in order to maintain political credibility, - (and in fact still barely conceal their degenerate and damaging delusion that Solidarnosc might yet turn itself into some brilliant new Leninist revolutionary leadership (the right-wing crook Walesa and the even more crooked Catholic mafia!!)) - - all of this is the most hopeless opportunism, servile to the most demoralised and incurable petty-bourgeois mentalities.

Departing from this mealy-mouthed posturing means far from simply endorsing everything Moscow does. Just the opposite. The ILWP remains an outspoken critic of failings within the socialist camp leadership, - as this article among a consistent stream of such articles demonstrates, - and will always be so.

But what is required is constant principled support for the socialist camp against the treacherous machinations of imperialism and against its lethal manipulation of anti-Soviet propaganda in the West.

If the Soviet Union is forced to shoot down a Korean 747, then denounce the imperialist intriguers immediately and explain to the working class how crucially important it is that the USSR should be always be ready, willing, and able to take the most decisive action against imperialism, - the essential basis for holding imperialism's more desperate, counter-revolutionary, fascist-militarist preparations at bay. Worry much more

about Moscow's slowness to take the propagandist offensive about the 747 issue than about the possibility of unnecessary and clumsy tactics in dealing with the incident in the first place. Changing tactical grasp and abilities in every locality in the vast socialist camp is the matter of slow development over decades. Giving instant warmhearted support on behalf of workers everywhere to the Moscow leadership for being alert to exactly what fascist-militarist plans imperialism is up to, and for being ready to give a solid rebuff to any and every adventure, is something that can be done immediately with far more important results.

Imposing martial law on Solidarnosc was a matter for instant rejoicing by communists everywhere, not something of 'acute embarrassment' (what a revelation of dyed-in-the-wood illusions in petty-bourgeois 'democracy' that notion contains). The only regret was that it took Warsaw so long to grasp what had to be done. The ILWP Bulletin had been urging this course of action for months previously. The move was a historic necessity in view of the prevailing balance of class war forces in Poland and internationally. At that moment in 1981, it was then not just pointless to stand around hand-wringing at how 'regrettable' it all was, - (as the various bureaucratic-conservative CP factions did in the West ('Leninist' faction, etc), - and how it was to be wished that the Polish workers state leadership had more revolutionary support among the masses so that martial law would not have been necessary for controlling the Solidarnosc counter-revolution.) All the tut-tutting and disowning of the Polish state move was nothing but downright backstabbing treachery to the Polish proletarian dictatorship and the possibilities for socialism in Poland (the only way a socialist state has ever, - and can ever, - be achieved, as Allende and tens of thousands of butchered Chilean workers, misled by the reformist illusions of CP bureaucratic conservatism, testify from the grave).

While never abandoning the open fight for far greater Leninist understanding among the Polish workers state leadership (and everywhere else throughout the international socialist revolutionary struggle), - at that critical moment it was vital to crush the Polish counter-revolution there and then, regardless of the temporary propaganda gain this gave to the 'free' world's anti-communist hysteria campaign. The CIA-Vatican counter-revolutionary agencies were working full blast to pretend that there existed, - (and to help create), - conditions of chaos and breakdown in Poland to 'justify' direct imperialist military intervention into Poland.

This 'justification' was used to cover US imperialism's destruction of socialist Grenada. It was used against Allende's Chile by the CIA-orchestrated Pinochet coup. Progressive regimes in Guatemala and Dominican Republic were crushed by US troops in 1954 and 1967 by the same fraud. The same trick was loosely planned for Hungary in 1956 but firm

Soviet action made impossible. Afghanistan is being similarly destabilised from without and within, but again Soviet action prevented imperialist intervention. Socialist Nicaragua will be the next target, with CIA mercenaries already creating 'chaos' inside the country to 'justify' US invasion.

It was vitally necessary for the interests of the whole of the working masses of the planet, and for the whole future of socialism which can only be based on the defeat of imperialism, - to halt the anti-socialist intrigues of Western-inspired Solidarnosc and to prevent imperialism going onto the offensive inside Eastern Europe. And there was no choice but to fully support the existing Polish workers state leadership, - with all its past and present failings, - in reasserting the dictatorship of the proletariat at that moment.

The fainthearted scattered remnants of CP bureaucratic conservatism from the NCP to the 'Leninist' faction and 'Straight Left', have completely misunderstood Lenin's peaceful coexistence strategy to fall helplessly into a Labour-tailing centrist (revolutionary in words but reformist in actual positions taken) version of democratic-reformist illusions.

They always end up servilely muting any criticism of Moscow just when they should not be muting it (exactly the same servile way they behave towards the established Labour Party bureaucracy, especially at election times, etc), as was seen in the NCP's lickspittle acceptance of Castro's outrageously incorrect assessment of the New Jewel Movement's leadership crisis; - but cravenly failing to give Moscow enthusiastic and outspoken support precisely when it is most needed, - as over the 747 incident, martial law in Poland, the intervention into Afghanistan, the overthrow of Dubcek's counter-revolution, and the suppression of the Hungary fascist-Catholic plans in 1956.

The absolute minimum demand of the broadest-possible struggle which all supposed 'socialists' should support is that which makes anti-communism the main enemy to be fought. Wherever a blind eye is turned to the foul tentacles of insidious anti-communist propaganda, - (imperialism's main weapon), - the pass is sold to all the forces of capitalist rightwing reaction. But the ILWP alone has correctly identified the fight against anti-Sovietism and anti-communism as the real front line in the battle against imperialism and for socialism.

11. February 9, 1984
(Bulletin 226)

A reformist British delegation to Grenada from Sheffield and Islington Labourite 'left' circles (Trots and Black nationalists), who all hate the Leninist proletarian dictatorship line which Bernard Coard seemed close to, are the latest unwitting proof of Maurice Bishop's guilt in the NJM leadership debacle.

Their report, full of the most sickening, patronising, welfare attitudes towards the US-destroyed Grenadan revolution, - admits

that the supposed "popular mass movement" to release from "house arrest" the "heart and soul of the revolution", Maurice Bishop, - was nothing of the sort.

Hitherto, the ILWP has described the self-appointed crowd (which released Bishop from the legal detention had had properly been placed under by the revolutionary leadership), as a "mob", and even a "drunken mob" from much eye-witness evidence (see Bulletins 213 to 217, and ILWP Books vol 6).

The Labourites innocently reveal that it was probably even more sinister than that, - a deliberate rightwing CIA plot.

"The motivations of business people, who were known to be hostile to Maurice Bishop's government and yet were identified on the demonstration to free him from house arrest," they report, "have still to be explained."

"A businessman in Grenville, for example, who has been circulating a petition arguing for 'associated statehood for Grenada' (i.e. with the USA) on the Puerto Rican model, was among those mobilising for the demonstration of October 19th," their report adds.

It was this self-appointed mob of a few hundred or so who disarmed the couple of guards at Bishop's house, cheered him (possibly drunk) all the way to Fort Rupert where more guards were disarmed, and then proceeded to prepare international telegrams calling for "outside intervention" in Grenada and to ring round army officers thought to be sympathetic to Bishop.

As the Bulletin's analyses have described all this, it amounted to a fullscale coup attempt by the deposed Maurice Bishop.

It was the clear instigation of lawless violence on Grenada. It led directly to the forming of hostile armed factions. Within a few minutes, it led indirectly to the spilling of blood as soldiers loyal to the New Jewel Movement majority central committee decisions arrived on the scene of the putsch.

The entire degenerate Trot and Eurocommunist CP 'left' in Britain has inevitably tried to smear Bernard Coard as "criminally responsible" for the violence on Grenada, and even for the US imperialist invasion (which in fact was already on the way anyway, regardless of the NJM leadership upheavals). Shamefully for the Cuban Revolution, Fidel Castro has lent his name to this reactionary reformist gibberish, inspired by fear and ignorance of Leninist theory on international proletarian dictatorship. Castro, let it be remembered, committed an equally-disastrous theoretical blunder by uncritically embracing Allendeism, totally failing to warn the Chilean working class not to trust Allende's fatal illusions in parliamentary democracy.

Now these same anti-Coard vilifiers have admitted from their own mouths that the so-called "popular demonstration" to "free the head of the revolution" (as they all described it at the time, including Castro), was in fact a very sinister rightwing stunt.

There can be no accident that this crucial "spontaneous" mob movement of "ord-

inary people" which appeared outside Bishop's house without any announcement or preparation should have contained right-wing businessmen with no possible connection to "ordinary working class supporters of Bishop's revolution".

It is painfully obvious that such counter-revolutionary types would only have been there, - and would only have been tolerated by these supposed "ordinary Bishop supporters", - if this mob was nothing of the sort but was solely a hired rightwing lumpen gang, being used as a front to start a counter-revolution, spark off violence, and use that as a pretext for "calling in" the US invasion which was already on its way.

The anti-revolutionary anti-Coard credentials of this Labourite delegation are impeccable. There can be no fear that they or their evidence have been tampered with by the ILWP or Bernard Coard.

The best advertisement of their reformist soppiness is their failure in 14 pages of report to once mention the fact that a Western imperialist counter-revolution has wiped out socialism on Grenada by brutal fascist-military invasion.

Not having even recorded the enormous historic significance of this blatant fascist counter-revolution carried out in broad daylight by the 'free' West, naturally these reformist supporters of the 'free' West cannot possibly see their way to making the only recommendation of any real use:- namely that the NJM revolutionary leadership should get state power back as rapidly as possible.

These Labourite coverer-ups for 'free' world counter-revolution refuse to even touch the subject with a barge-pole, let alone make a forthright recommendation for the re-establishment of proletarian dictatorship on Grenada.

What they recommend, half-heartedly, is aid projects to the co-ops, but with 'lefty' doubts about "Do we want to support small businesses which may not continue to be socialist in orientation? By giving financial support, will we unwittingly be propping up and lending legitimacy to the present administration?"

They resolve this agonising dilemma by declaring: "The Maurice Bishop Memorial Trust, if established, provides the best possibility for giving material support... which promotes projects or welfare programmes."

These Trot and reformist Black nationalist Labourites want to worry about looking after the poor and exploited in Sheffield and Islington first, never mind offering welfare aid to revolutionary Grenada.

All the Grenadans need is to get the might of Western NATO imperialism (loyally supported, (and invented), by the British Labour Party when in office), off their backs.

They were doing brilliantly with their own socialist REVOLUTION, infinitely further along the path of human achievement than these class-collaborators from Sheffield and Islington have ever dreamed of being.

What they need, above all, people in the West and everywhere else to say, as loudly

as possible, is that Bishop's anti-Leninist ignorance and opportunism (aided by the Trot and Eurocommunist anti-communism, and Castro's conservative anti-theoretical innocence) compromised the Grenadan revolution, and that the 'free' world destroyed it. And that Leninist proletarian dictatorship should put the socialist revolution back in power on Grenada again.

But these philistine British petty bourgeois are still covering up for all those who cover up for Allendeism. If Coard and the other 46 detained NJM leaders ever get out of Richmond Hill prison torture alive, there is a good chance that the Grenadan revolutionary leadership will add its voice for a deepening of Leninist understanding throughout the international socialist movement, including inside the socialist camp itself.

12. February 23, 1984
(Bulletin 228)

More confirmation of the ILWP's analysis of the deposed Grenadan leader's counter-revolutionary armed coup against the democratic majority of the New Jewel Movement revolutionary leadership has come in correspondence from a London worker whose boat docked there from December 29 to January 5 this year.

The correspondent left Britain at the time of the US invasion of Grenada last October. His voyage kept him out of regular contact with Britain, and he has no knowledge of the ILWP's revolutionary line against Bishop's betrayal (which is in sharp conflict with Castro's non-Leninist confusion on this subject, and the anti-Leninist CIA-inspired venom of the Trots, Eurocommunists, and NCP who all rushed to condemn the revolutionary majority of the NJM central committee, whitewashing Bishop's reactionary putsch carried out with the aid of rightwing businessmen hostile to the Grenadan revolution and deliberately timed to provide a cover for Reagan's invasion. See ILWP Books vol 6 and Bulletin 226).

After many discussions on the island "and from what I have managed to obtain from articles and minutes of meetings kept in the local library... it was the Maurice Bishop faction which were the 'split' from the NJM" not the other way about as the anti-Leninist 'lefts' have been chorusing in Britain, and elsewhere throughout the bourgeois West.

The minutes of a leadership meeting on September 14, 1983, reported that "the key problem was the leadership style of Maurice Bishop... He lacked the required level of organisational discipline, ideological depth, and character and ability to plan strategy and tactics."

Leon James, Selwyn Strachan, Leon Cornwall, and others said Bishop was avoiding responsibility for dealing with important issues and failed to give the required level of guidance; that he was inhibiting the party's ability to organise, and that as a result the party was moving from crisis to crisis, and

that crises were becoming an everyday occurrence.

Phyllis Coard said that Bishop "had been told of his limitations on many occasions but had failed to do anything about them". Strachan concluded that "Bishop, while brilliant (his charisma and confident style were generally praised), did not have the ability to push the revolution to its logical limits."

Bishop thanked the meeting for its frankness, saying: "In the past these issues have not been raised sharply enough, perhaps for diplomacy's sake, but this was not good."

In the face of an overwhelming feeling that he lacked the abilities needed to push the revolution forward, Bishop agreed that he had not provided adequate leadership. He explained that one of his problems was understanding how a central committee political bureau should function (presumably in relation to his duties as Prime Minister in the official island government).

Bishop admitted that his 'consensus' approach had blunted the class struggle. He also agreed that he had not maintained the same relationship with the NJM cadres as in the past. But he added that he had tried to achieve this, and that he had not been a fetter on the revolution, as charged.

The meeting agreed at the insistence of James Cornwall, Ewart Layne among others, that Bernard Coard be brought back into the Central Committee (he had resigned earlier) to provide more political theoretical understanding in a joint leadership with Bishop, who as popular figurehead would still have a huge leadership task to perform.

Bishop asked for more time to become clearer on what was involved in such a proposed change. He said that the criticisms reflected a lack of confidence in his leadership, and that he was therefore faced with a moral crisis, and he needed more time.

As the Bulletin has already fully documented, Bishop merely used his "more time" to continue blatantly using his office as Prime Minister to unilaterally repudiate NJM leadership decisions which were totally binding on him. Eventually, to end these dangerous provocations, Bishop was removed from office completely, and temporarily placed under easy-going 'house arrest', from which the rightwing businessmen-led mob released him to stage the armed putsch.

Subsequent documentary evidence amply shows that "it is simply not true that Hudson Auston took power in a military coup", the correspondent continues.

"Maurice Bishop and Unison Whiteman who had previously given assurances to the party to resolve the crisis peacefully, attacked the headquarters of the Ministry of Defence at Fort Rupert, disarmed the PRA soldiers (revolutionary army) and staff stationed there. This move can only be seen as counter-revolutionary, especially when Bishop states to the PRA staff that they are quite safe but he intends to form a new party and a new army.

"The NJM directed the motorised units of the reserve force to intervene. They were stationed high up on the hilltop Fort Frederick

overlooking s St George's.

"By the time that the Fort Frederick contingent of the PRA reached St Georges, four of their PRA comrades had been killed: - Cadet Conrad Mayers, WO2 Raphael Mason, Sgt Dorset Peters, and L/Cpl m Martin Simon. It was obvious that drastic action was necessary if the revolution was to be saved.

"A curfew was imposed by the PRA (led by the central committee of the NJM) which lasted until the US invasion. But during this time the non-peaceful split caused by Maurice Bishop and others had done its damage. Bishop had so much popular following that he had certainly been successful in turning people against the NJM committee and especially against the PRA."

As a result "by the time of the US invasion, the number of PRA soldiers had been significantly reduced. Also the reserve force, the people's militia had lost considerable strength." This was all as the result of the enormous confusion caused by Bishop's split and coup attempt.

As the Bulletin has already reported, Bishop's men, on the night of the coup attempt, succeeded in sending out international calls 'for assistance' to any who would intervene.

The US imperialist Nazi invasion force was ready and waiting for the call. Its fascist -military aggression took advantage of the desertions from the PRA and militia engineered by Bishop.

13. March 15, 1984 (Bulletin 231)

The latest bourgeois propaganda attempt to justify US imperialism's fascist invasion and crushing of the Grenadan socialist revolution on the grounds that 'murdering extremists' had 'usurped' power from the 'legitimate' Maurice Bishop regime, - in fact proves that exactly the opposite happened.

Observer correspondent O'Shaughnessy's book only confirms exactly the conclusion reached by the ILWP at the time (see October and November Bulletins and summary in ILWP Books vol 6), - that it was the sacked prime minister Bishop who illegally and provocatively (almost certainly with outside connivance) tried an armed putsch against the legitimate leadership of the revolutionary movement's (NJM) central committee majority, led by Bernard Coard, the deputy prime minister, Finance Minister, and acknowledged brains of the revolution.

O'Shaughnessy describes the CC meeting of September 14, 1983, which after criticism of Bishop's lack of leadership resolved that "the way forward was a marrying of the strengths of Comrade Bishop and Comrade Coard. . . . Coard should be given charge of the organisation of the party, and the chairmanship of the Organisation Committee"; the development and formation of party programme, strategy and tactics, and control of cadres; and chair the weekly meetings of the Political Bureau.

These are the key power positions in every workers state throughout the socialist camp.

"With nine of the CC's 15 members on Coard's side, Bishop had little alternative but to accept this division of powers," O'Shaughnessy begrudges. But then he adds a telltale admission. "But it was a conditional acceptance, and he had still not formally agreed when he flew off to Budapest" (on a state visit 12 days later).

Bishop's truculent determination to use his 'popularity' as the highly-visible prime ministerial figurehead to wreck the disciplined behaviour of the revolutionary leadership was already obvious to his dismayed colleagues. The row about Bishop's weak leadership qualities and indiscipline had been simmering for nearly a year. Not surprisingly, O'Shaughnessy next notes that "The bleak reception for the Prime Minister on his return was clear evidence that matters had worsened for him."

O'Shaughnessy then admits that on October 12, a security chief of the PRA (People's Revolutionary Army) Major Keith Roberts called his staff together "and told them that there was a crisis in the party. The Prime Minister, he said, was refusing to obey the instructions of the Central Committee. They like the rest of the armed forces in the service of Grenada, had to take their orders from the Central Committee alone and were to take no more orders from Bishop. They were to defend the working class as a whole and not the life of any individual leader."

Meetings of the politburo and the CC that same day sacked a Bishop henchman, George Louison, and instructed Bishop to make a radio broadcast denying rumours being spread that Bishop was to be assassinated. O'Shaughnessy fails to mention that the Bishop faction was responsible for spreading those disruptive rumours, a typical CIA trick. Nor does he say why Louison was dismissed. Bishop was placed under "house arrest" next morning. O'Shaughnessy fails to explain the impossible circumstances the minority Bishop faction was deliberately creating by operating a one-man revolt against the NJM majority leadership.

His next admission concerns "General of the Armed Forces Hudson Austin". "He had a continuous record of service to the New Jewel Movement. He had suffered his share of beatings in the brutal days of the island's first prime minister, the eccentric (to say the least) Sir Eric Gairy, and he had taken the chief role in the heroic events that brought Bishop to power in 1979. He had played a crucial part in building up the People's Revolutionary Army. Though he had become known as a Bishop supporter, he was now deciding to align himself with the majority in the Central Committee."

O'Shaughnessy avoids saying that Gairy, now restored to the island by the US imperialist invaders, is an out-and-out fascist monster, totally mad (he believes he is in communication with UFOs and made a speech on this to the United Nations), and murderously brutal, holding down the island through torture and concentration camps. He also incorrectly describes "Bishop" as having been brought to power in 1979 instead of the

New Jewel Movement revolution.

In addition, O'Shaughnessy slyly tries to imply that Austin was being deceitful or opportunist in accepting the authority of the NJM majority under Coard. Nothing of the sort. It is the obvious principled duty of any revolutionary socialist to abide by majority party decisions, or else to resign from the party publicly, and resign all public offices held because of party position, - and try to win the argument from below.

Interspersed with a flood of cheap lies and CIA-type scare-hysteria about Coard, O'Shaughnessy next admits that the demonstrations against Bishop's sacking were mostly by Catholic high-school children, - privileged kids of the reactionary bourgeoisie, - who were stunted up by their reactionary Catholic teachers and other religious denominations.

"Schoolchildren, encouraged perhaps by teachers, most of whom were firmly anti-Coard, paraded through St George's. Hearing this, schoolchildren at Hillsborough on Grenada's sister island Carriacou, turned out to protest. . . The sporadic protests by schoolchildren in various parts of the main island and on Carriacou grew in intensity. . . . Some were dancing and shouting slogans against Coard and calling "We want Maurice Bishop". Others were carrying rough placards reading "We don't want Communism". . . C for Coard, C for Communism".

O'Shaughnessy mentions these anti-communist privileged highschool kids out in Grenville, but fails to point out that Grenville is a bourgeois enclave from which one prominent businessman (see Bulletin 226), a beligerent counter-revolutionary, was in the "Free Bishop" mob which started the attempted rightwing coup, and who has since launched a petition for Grenada to become the 51st state of the USA. He also fails to point out that the anti-communist slogans obviously had nothing whatever to do with internal disputes within the communist NJM, but were obviously merely using the Bishop sacking as an excuse for a counter-revolutionary disturbance.

Even more deceitfully and treacherously, O'Shaughnessy makes no mention whatever of the well-known and well-documented non-stop attempts by the CIA ever since the 1979 communist revolution to provoke some internal disturbances inside Grenada in order to justify armed intervention from outside by the waiting US imperialist Rapid Deployment Forces. He also omits the crucial fact that the RDF was already mobilised and waiting just off Grenada as these reactionary highschool students demonstrations tried to deliberately create the impression of breakdown and disorder on Grenada around the Bishop dismissal. In other words, O'Shaughnessy consciously ignores the obvious implication that the High School reactionaries were acting in concert with the CIA, - and the further clear implication that Bishop himself eventually let himself be used too for the same reactionary purposes, out of his bitterness and indisciplined opportunist

ambition.

O'Shaughnessy's admissions go on: "The demonstration put the schoolchildren of the capital into a ferment. The chief hotbed of pro-Bishop sentiment was the Girls Anglican High School. Shortly after 9 a.m. on Wednesday (October 19) emissaries were going out from the High School to Presentation College and St Joseph's Convent high up on Cemetery Hill, behind the Catholic cathedral of St George's, and across the road to the capital's biggest school, the Grenada Boys Secondary School."

O'Shaughnessy describes, favourably, how this middle class religious reaction tried to impose mob rule and disorder on Grenada by creating a disturbance at Bishop's place of "house arrest". (The capitalist press does not show the same enthusiasm for mass miners demonstrations in Britain.)

He also retells an outright falsehood that Bishop was tied up in his house. Not true. Bishop was under easy "house arrest", and not imprisoned or confined in any way. This lie is possibly slipped in to try to explain away the extraordinary physical behaviour of Bishop at the head of the middle class mob which released him, consistent with him being completely drunk or high on dope.

"Bishop's eyes were deeply sunken," O'Shaughnessy relates. "The crisis had taken its toll of his faculties and powers of concentration. He staggered for a moment until he was caught and supported; he seemed to have lost the power of command and incisiveness that marked him out in earlier days... Bishop first opted for one of the trucks which looked like the most suitable vehicle for a triumphal descent on St George's. Then he changed his mind and decided to go in one of the waiting cars. Then he decided to go back to a lorry once again; finally settling for good on a car."

The putschists went straight to the main armoury in Fort Rupert.

"Wearily and confusedly he indicated that the first priority must be to get within the walls of the fort proper. The small PRA garrison was nonplussed... Seeing the crowds and seeing that some of the Bishop supporters were armed, the troops opted for the second course (not to start shooting), though one woman soldier had to be thrown to the ground before she would give up her AK 47. As the way lay open, Bishop moved across into the PRA operations room."

Why? O'Shaughnessy refuses consistently to spell out exactly what the rightwing Bishop mob is doing: - deliberately inflicting violent conflict on otherwise peaceful Grenada. And he lies that just one woman soldier was thrown to the ground. Four PRA men were butchered by the reactionary conspirators - - Cadet Conrad Mayers, WO2 Raphael Mason, Sgt Dorset Peters, and L/Cpl Martin Simon, - - in the initial steps towards seizing power.

O'Shaughnessy also deliberately conceals the fact that the Bishop plotters rang round all the military officers they thought might be persuaded to join the coup, and then, - most treacherously of all, - sent out international telex messages calling for "outside support" for the Bishop cause, - an open invitation for the bogus 'East Caribbean intervention' which was the guise for the RDF US imperialist-fascist blitzkrieg. Thus not only was Bishop's treacherous indiscipline responsible for the immediate coup-attempt bloodshed, but also for the far vaster massacres and butchery inflicted by the US imperialist air force, navy, marines, and paratroops, which caused a death toll of many hundreds.

Continuing the description of Bishop's indiscipline, murderous, and possibly drunken revolt, O'Shaughnessy continues: "The prime minister nodded absently. Grasping for coherence, Bishop told Thomas (an immigration officer henchman) to take a vehicle

and some men and collect the weapons kept at the immigration department on the Carriacou quay. Thomas dashed off, returning within quarter of an hour with automatic rifles and light machine guns. By that time the PRA chief of staff, who was Bishop's only supporter in the army command, had appeared, having broken out of the house arrest. Bishop told him to get to the fort's armouries and start giving out weapons to the crowd."

O'Shaughnessy continues describing the reactionary plotter as "prime minister" although he had properly and officially been sacked by the revolutionary NJM leadership from that post. He also writes about "Bishop's Grenada was around him", deliberately hiding the fact that just a tiny rightwing coup was raised, which was very quickly snuffed out by a PRA unit.

This capitalist press/CIA disinformation book avoids the obvious questions and conclusions about why it took only 10 minutes to rout this "popular mass movement" despite it having been well-armed by O'Shaughnessy's own admissions; and why Bishop had only one single supporter in the entire army command, and little more in the CC.

But sick CIA propaganda inventions about schoolboys being made to carry parcel bombs by the PRA (to blow themselves and the crowd up) cannot cover up the obvious facts.

Bishop was in a party minority who turned to the despised and overthrown rightwing counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie for a vicious armed provocation and stunt against the Grenadan socialist revolution, opening the door to the US imperialist-fascist invasion. These tragic facts are now beyond dispute. It puts Castro's hotheaded and shallow hysteria about the Coard NJM majority being 'Pol Pots, murderers, and betrayers of the revolution' in a very poor light. These remarks should be repudiated by the entire world revolutionary movement.

14. April 12, 1984 (Bulletin 235)

Evidence continues to accumulate about the treacherous role played by Maurice Bishop in stabbing the Grenada revolution in the back.

The Castro leadership, which has capitulated to the Washington propaganda hysteria against the Coard-Austin faction in the New Jewel Movement (whose "crimes" were alleged to have "justified" the US imperialist-fascist counter-revolution which wiped out the socialist system on Grenada), has just made one admission.

Although still not retracting its stupid and outrageous characterisation of Coard and Austin as "Pol Pot CIA agents for imperialism", Cuba's 'Granma' newspaper has in passing confirmed partially some of the criticism of Bishop which finally forced the NJM majority

to remove him as leader (and prime minister).

"The St George's Medical School was established in 1977 by Charles Modica and formed immediate and close ties with the government of Eric Gairy," it wrote.

"From 1979 on, there occurred a series of suspicious incidents involving the medical school, but the Bishop government, unwisely as it turned out, opted to allow the school to remain. This was perhaps a fatal mistake of the Bishop government; the school's presence gave perfect cover to intelligence officers (i.e. CIA) who had ample time to recruit their local collaborators.

"In an analysis published on November 23, 1983, the Washington Post stated that during a meeting with then National Security Adviser William Clark in June 1983, Bishop was informed that if he did

not tone down his anti-US rhetoric, Grenada could lose the school - and its foreign exchange earnings. So much for the private nature of the institution. And four months later, of course, the school became the excuse for the invasion."

The rightwing American magazine Time's reconstruction of the counter-revolution confirmed:

"According to a series of mostly handwritten minutes of the Central Committee meetings of Grenada's New Jewel Movement that took place after July, Bishop proposed that the party take a more moderate stance towards the West. The idea was rejected. Warned one unidentified participant: 'If the revolution is turned back now, it has regional and international implications.'"

Once again, the proof is plain. Bishop had been taking a much-criticised rightwing line throughout the whole course of the Gren-

-dan revolution, - and towards the end had made his notorious trip to Washington to prepare the way for even greater capitulations.

It was at this point, after his repeated refusals to accept the authority of the Central Committee majority which by now was consistently against his line, that the NJM leadership voted overwhelmingly to double Bishop as leader with Bernard Coard.

Bishop was put under easy-going "house arrest" solely to prevent him making trouble for the Grenadan revolutionary regime as an embittered but ousted leading figure on the island.

The NJM tragedy was that they did not take firmer action against Bishop in the first place, having deposed him legally.

Because of their illusions that Bishop would eventually accept responsibly the fact that the NJM

majority no longer wanted him as party leader (and therefore as prime-minister figurehead of the Grenadan revolution), Bishop was allowed to intrigue with his closest cronies and stage the rightwing mob violence which 'freed' him from house arrest, sent out calls for international intervention against Grenada (i. e. the US-run invasion), and seized the armoury at Fort Rupert, handing out the weapons ready for a complete -- and illegal -- seizure of power, backed by mostly rightwing high-school and business-community forces. (See ILWP Books vol 6).

Bishop's criminal negligence towards the suspicious American medical school, - allowing it to stay open to become a centre for CIA spies and the final "excuse" for Reagan's fascist invasion, - was on a par with another dangerous compromise, - also bitterly criticised by the NJM revolutionary majority, - in leaving the British imperialist governor Sir Paul Scoon in office.

"He will be no trouble," Bishop assured his doubting colleagues, - and regularly played tennis at the weekends at the Governor's luxurious residence. Coard's warnings were again arbitrarily over-ruled by the 'figurehead' Bishop. And Scoon it was, the 'harmless' British imperialist relic, who 'legitimised' Reagan's fascist counter-revolution.

But despite the now overwhelming evidence of the determined and principled revolutionary line throughout by the Coard-Austin majority NJM faction, - and despite the unanswerable proof that Bishop staged an illegal putsch (with rightwing reactionary help) against his legal removal as leader of the NJM, -- still the Cuban leadership is repeating its criminally stupid accusations against the NJM revolutionaries that they were really rightwing agents of the CIA, likening them to the fascist military stooges of Washington policy who took power in Chile (led by Pinochet.)

"In the case of Chile," writes Granma, "the country's military was used by US intelligence before and during the overthrow of Salvador Allende. In Grenada such backing may have been the expectation of at least some of the members of the Revolutionary Military Council which plotted the coup against Maurice Bishop, leading to his brutal death. Those collabor-

ators, however, were used and doublecrossed by the Reagan administration."

These outrageous idiocies are a disgrace to the world socialist revolutionary movement, and should be publicly condemned by all in order to try to bring the Castro leadership back to its senses immediately on this question.

The NJM revolutionary majority were all leftwing socialists of very long standing, having mostly fought all their lives against British and world imperialism and against the Gairy US-backed fascist dictatorship for the liberation of their country. They have not the remotest connection to professional fascist military careerists in bourgeois Chile. The hatred that has been whipped up against Bernard Coard, and is still being whipped up by the CIA psychological warfare invasion-occupation force on Grenada, - backed by the entire world capitalist press propaganda (and sadly by the Cuban leadership), - is unmistakable proof of Coard's revolutionary sincerity. The facts also show that he demonstrated far sounder judgment of correct revolutionary policy than Bishop.

These foul slanders against the Coard-Austin NJM majority are a tragic stain on Cuba's own heroic revolutionary record. All true friends of Cuba will tell them so immediately.

What is more, the suspicions are mounting continuously (see the above new evidence plus the facts amassed in ILWP Books vol 6 and subsequent articles in the ILWP Bulletin) that Bishop it was who had been contaminated with bourgeois-opportunist ideas to the point where he became the unwitting, or even the conscious, tool of counter-revolutionary treachery on Grenada.

The shameful above comparison (of the NJM correct majority) to Chilean military-fascism also incidentally perpetrates another of Castro's tragic political misjudgments, - his reformist-centrist support of the class-compromising Allende regime in Chile which opened the door to fascism in 1973 and which should have been refused support and approval by all Leninists. The military coups should have been opposed, - as Kornylov was by the Bolsheviks in August 1917. But no 'support' at all should have been given to the treacherous Allende hangman's regime, no more than the Bolshevi-

ks gave the remotest hint of 'support' for the Kerensky regime, (of Allende-type 'revolutionary' compromisers and class collaborators). Tragically, Moscow fell into the same idiotic trap as Cuba on the Allende question, hopelessly abandoning Leninism.

If Moscow has avoided falling into the same pitfall as Castro on the Grenada question and Bishop's class-collaborating vacillations, the most important thing would be for Moscow to declare this publicly, and help give some leadership to confused international proletarian opinion on this crucial revolutionary problem.

Without revolutionary theory, there can be no successful revolutionary practice. There are some vital lessons of Leninism to be learned from the Grenada tragedy (and the Allende farce). If Moscow by now knows better than it did before, it would be fatally compounding its earlier mistakes to keep silent now on correct revolutionary understanding just to spare the blushes of some badly mistaken judgments in Havana.

15. April 12, 1984
(Bulletin 235)

The latest stunning foreign policy disaster for Reagan over the mining of Nicaragua's ports throws new light on how enormous a blow against US imperialism was struck by the Indo-China communist revolution and national liberation struggle.

The heroic guerrilla war in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, led by the Vietnamese communist party, so shattered the American bourgeoisie's confidence by wiping the floor with the greatest expeditionary war forces ever assembled by US imperialism, - that neurotic paralysis and failure now rule Washington.

The potential for vicious fascist-military aggression by the USA still remains great, and the danger of American imperialist interference, backed by huge money-power and fire-power must never be underestimated, - as the Grenadan revolution has just bitterly learned, and as the Chilean centrist chaos under Allende learned before that, overthrown by a CIA-fascist plot.

Washington's enormous and comical relief at not bungling the subjugation of the tiny nascent Grenadan socialist revolution (ev-

ery participant was covered in medals, including the filing clerks in the Pentagon) shows how raw America's nerves now are in attempting their role of world gendarme (which is vital if capitalist exploitation is to survive anywhere on the planet.)

Even then, despite the massive overkill of the US fascist-invasion force (and the puniness of the opposition of a few hundred Cuban airport construction workers plus handfuls of Grenadans soldiers and militia who had not been disoriented by Maurice Bishop's treacherous armed putsch and revolt against the legitimate New Jewel Movement majority leadership), - Grenada was nearly yet another disaster for the USA.

A State Department official told Time magazine: "Grenada came too close to our worst-case scenario. The top brass can see how hard it would be to do on a bigger scale."

Which reveals what a further massive mistake the Castro leadership made (on top of its criminal slanders against the Coard-Austin NJM majority - see ILWP Books vol 6 and numerous past Bulletins, and story P 11), - in not seizing the opportunity to deliver a further massive blow to world imperialism by letting the legitimate Coard-Austin government have some military support against the invasion when it was requested; and further in foolishly ordering its own construction workers only to fire on the fascist invaders if fired upon first.

It betrays crass illusions and a total misunderstanding of Lenin's tactics of peaceful coexistence with imperialism to make the implicit assumption (in that Castro order) that the fascist invaders might possibly not fire on the Cubans, (thus allowing Castro to stay out of a fight he did not see as Cuba's because of his incorrect and sectarian attitude to the Coard-Austin majority faction).

They were inevitably brutally attacked, - and nearly 100 of them were butchered. But they caused the fascist invaders huge problems, - and could have caused them far more problems, - possibly serious problems, - if they had been allowed to shoot up the paratroops and helicopters as they first tried landing near the Point Salines airport, instead of letting the invaders get dug in, and loaded, and killing Cubans before beginning the fight

back. And if some military assistance had been sent to Grenada, the island's own forces could have been completely organised, and a hugely damaging battle, - possibly a fatal one, - could have been inflicted on the invaders.

Castro and the Cuban revolution would thereby have inflicted a third towering blow against US & world imperialism following the revolutionary overthrow of Batista, the routing of the CIA invaders at the Bay of Pigs, and the general thorn in Washington's side these triumphant revolutionary examples have continually meant, - particularly in Latin America.

As it is, the invincibility of Cuba, the Bay of Pigs, and the spirited resistance at Point Salines have been part of a continuity helping to remind US imperialism (as the State Department quote reveals) of the devastating shock to the cocky capitalist system that a material defeat always represents.

Although the bourgeoisie lives by bullshit, it is essentially pragmatic. All the Reagan hot air and bluster in the world will not wipe away the trauma of the thrashing which the might of US imperialism received in the jungles of Vietnam.

For ever afterwards, henceforth, the ghost of that unprecedented defeat will haunt the American ruling class (and the rest of the international imperialist bourgeoisie) every time a new conflict emerges, - and especially where a spirited fight is put up and there is the danger of another shameful Western setback.

The Grenada fascist-invasion atrocity was just small enough to be got away with among the hypocritical cowards of the "free" world bourgeoisie. But Nicaragua looks like becoming a much messier and more dangerous affair. International bourgeois opinion has quickly decided that it has become squeamish again.

The crystal clear lesson is: the more the imperialists are kicked (blasted out of the Lebanon, for instance), the more quickly they decide that perhaps there is something in peaceful coexistence after all. Provocations forcing imperialism to fight unnecessarily must obviously be avoided. But by not giving a firm rebuff to clear imperialist aggression whenever it occurs, only greater da-

nger of conflict is created. The vital basis for Lenin's peaceful coexistence tactic was to be prepared to fight imperialism with everything, immediately it became necessary and practicable, to deter its aggressiveness.

16. May 31, 1984
(Bulletin 242)

The excuses all 57 varieties of Trotskyism and Eurocommunism offer for refusing to unite behind the world socialist camp in critical support, - all boil down to their hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Endlessly listing the faults and mistakes to be found in the development of the workers states since 1917 cannot hide the class chasm between Marxism-Leninism and the petty-bourgeois leadership of the British Labour movement on this point of proletarian dictatorship.

The outstandingly prominent feature of all Lenin's polemics after 1917 was demonstrating the impossibility of overthrowing and destroying the capitalist state without a ruthless proletarian dictatorship, going so far as to declare: "To confine Marxism to the theory of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. This is what constitutes the most profound distinction between the Marxist and the ordinary petty bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism should be tested." (State and Revolution, September 1917).

In defeating the counter-revolution in the long bloody civil war and war of intervention against the young Soviet state, Lenin vigorously imposed Bolshevik-led working-class dictatorship against all who opposed the authority of the revolutionary workers, including the bogus 'Marxists' and middle-class 'revolutionaries' - the Mensheviks and SRs.

The last 67 years of the Cold War between East and West, - the great historical phenomenon of the 20th century, - is the irrefutable proof of proletarian dictatorship's epoch-making achievement in challenging imperialism's

capitalist-colonial domination of the planet.

All 57 varieties of Trot and Eurocommunist petty bourgeois 'revolutionaries', from the Sparts to the 'Leninist', start their politics not from this reality but from an idea in their heads of 'perfect revolution'.

Even the few brands of this middle class idealism which pretend to be 'pro-Soviet' instead of 'anti-Soviet', - (such as the RCG, Sparts, 'Leninist', Straight Left, etc) are in reality trapped in the same bourgeois philosophical swamp as the rest of the 57 varieties.

The essence of their defeatist treachery to the world socialist camp is their ill-concealed refusal to give UNCONDITIONAL solidarity to the ruling regimes in the workers states in the sense of giving unconditional solidarity to the continuation of the dictatorship of the proletariat (led by the party) in those states.

Correct criticism of all the past and continuing mistakes made by the Soviet Union (and the other workers states) since 1917 remains crucial, and the ILWP's uncompromising exposure of the retreats from Leninism in the socialist states' policies (see in particular ILWP Books vols 3, 4, and 6) will prove to be the most far-reaching, and the only effective polemic, helping to return the world movement eventually to consistent revolutionary Marxism-Leninism.

But establishing the only possible scientific (Marxist-Leninist) world outlook on unconditional solidarity with the continuity of state power in the socialist camp is in no way contradicted by the most outspoken criticism of the ruling regimes' policies.

Just the opposite. The one is only correct or effective given the other.

For example, the ILWP alone denounced Castro's disastrous, confused, and un-Leninist retreat from giving full backing to the Coard-Austin revolutionary wing of the New Jewel Movement after it had defeated the ousted Maurice Bishop's reactionary coup attempt. (See ILWP Books vol 6).

But equally it was the ILWP alone which from the very beginnings of Solidarnosc called for the reimposition of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland to wipe out that reactionary Catholic and capitalist-peasant counter-

revolution. (See ILWP Books vol 3)

Agitating for a much-needed return to Leninism in the Polish workers state, as the ILWP has consistently done, not only does not interfere with urging the most immediate and ruthless defence of the Polish workers state when threatened by Western-inspired and financed counter-revolution; - it proved to be the only reliable guarantee of such political support. Several middle-class fake 'revolutionary' groups (RCG, Sparts, Leninist, etc) limped along months later to change their tune on Solidarnosc and finally agree it was a counter-revolution after all (!). But their initial silence over the CIA-Vatican reactionary stunt (RCG); or their delighted support for it (Sparts); or their demoralised carping and hatred for Poland's proletarian dictatorship (Leninist) when what was desperately needed was vigorous international support for it; - - all of this initial dithering would by then have led to tens of thousands of Polish communists being hanged from lamp posts, but for the firmer elements of proletarian dictatorship in Poland and in the socialist camp as a whole. And if the Polish workers state had been overthrown in chaos, Reagan might just have found the justification he yearns for to launch the nuclear holocaust.

Such 'mistakes' as these late-developing petty-bourgeois 'critics' of Solidarnosc now all claim they made (or mostly cover-up that they made, such is their dishonesty such as the Sparts), - are not 'mistakes' at all, of course.

No one can be 'mistaken' on such fundamental class questions.

Their initial opportunist retreat from unconditional solidarity with the Polish workers state as a result of the hurricane-force propaganda in the West about Solidarnosc's bogus 'socialism-with-a-human-face, mass character' was the expression of their real class position on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and on the whole history of the Soviet Union and the workers states.

These middle class 'left' frauds do not believe for one minute that 1917 and the successful defence and expansion since then of a whole world system of proletarian dictatorship, - is really what Marx explained must become the beginnings of the 'real' history of mankind. At every counter-revol-

in their bodies.
stunt exploded by the West against the socialist camp (Berlin 1953, Hungary 1956, Prague 1968, Afghanistan 1979, Poland 1980, etc) these fake 'Marxists' opportunistically scuttle back into the anti-Soviet camp, routed by the weight of Western public opinion (with an occasional exception).

All such bogus 'pro-Soviet' groups are smart enough to avoid the more crass Trot and Eurocommunist petty bourgeois diatribes against the workers states of proletarian dictatorship (as "having nothing to do with socialism") because they can see the impossible anti-Marxist contradictions got into by joke 'alternative' explanations for the socialist camp's power and durability (such as the lunatic notion of a new 'ruling caste' which is not based on any property or production relations).

So they opportunistically adapt like mad to the reality of the socialist camp's irrefutably powerful development and colossal influence on the growing Third World socialist revolution and national liberation struggle.

But deep down in their little petty bourgeois souls, these fakery remain as unhappy about the dictatorship of the proletariat as any middle class philistine; and as defeatist and cynical about really defeating imperialist war-mongering, and establishing a socialist world of peace and plenty, as Western public opinion in general.

In other words, they are sick and sceptical about real socialism, and eke out a vaguely uncomfortable perch within the reformist labour movement, motivated by only a thinly-disguised dream of 'ideal' socialist revolution (slightly adapted to accommodate a passing gesture at accepting Soviet reality), - not really different from all the other 57 varieties of ivory-tower, arm-chair-socialist renegades.

Their hypocrisy and humbug over Castro is even more nauseating. First, to this entire multi-form breed, he was just a 'Stalinist hack' for backing the repression of the 'Prague spring' (in reality the counter-revolution).

Then the undoubted triumph of the Cuban socialist revolution, plus Castro's remarkable worldwide popularity with the national liberation struggle and Cuba's inspiring and brave material and armed support for many of their

most difficult wars, etc, started off a stampede among the 57 varieties to suddenly (unexplained) regard Cuba as the 'real' world revolution while still writing off the Soviet socialist camp (of which Castro was a key part) as still being 'Stalinist counter-revolution'.

But when Castro himself made one of the worst-ever 'counter-revolutionary' mistakes in his treacherous repudiation of the Coard-Austin revolutionary new leadership of the New Jewel Movement, (replacing the compromising muddlehead Maurice Bishop (who then immediately turned to rightwing counter-revolutionary putsch disruption with the aid of the Grenadan bourgeoisie and outside anti-communist forces))- these anti-Marxist varieties carried right on backing Castro's own 'Stalinism'.

For the Communist Party, NCP, Straight Left, etc, this was nothing new, merely repeating their long-ago learned opportunist conformity to the 'big party'. The farce for the Trot hordes in the 57 varieties was that having made one unprincipled adaptation to Castro's success and world popularity, they were now presented with a genuine 'Stalinist' mistake by Cuba, - but totally backed it instead of denouncing it, and all because of CIA capitalist press propaganda denouncing Bernard Coard (to justify Reagan's fascist invasion of Grenada).

This lightminded opportunist retreat from a scientific Leninist assessment of the international balance of class forces (Coard will be vindicated eventually, and Castro rebuked for his shallow philistine subjectivism on staying blind to Bishop's reactionary coup attempt), - is inseparable from the swamp's permanent Trot and Eurocommunist failure to grasp the nature of socialist change.

Human nature does not change overnight. In some instances in the 67 years experience of struggling to build up strong and successful workers states since 1917, it has shown no signs of changing at all in several generations (over wide areas of Poland, for example).

The same widespread wretched backwardness among some sections of British workers today (the rightwing coalfield scabs, anti-Irish ignorance, endemic racial-

ism, anti-Soviet backwardness, etc) will be present the day after the socialist revolution. Even more important, the putrid philistine hypocrisy of the British petty bourgeoisie will remain almost totally intact the day after the socialist revolution, - and it will all take several generations to wear away and be replaced by a more objective scientific Marxist-Leninist outlook. But the disciplined development of a planned socialist economy to make such transformations in human nature possible will possibly be as long and slow and stubborn a struggle (if imperialism survives for a while longer, in the USA for example) - as it has proved to be in East Europe.

For anyone with the remotest familiarity with Marxism-Leninism (and with the Soviet Union, assessing things another way), there is not only nothing startling about such a perspective, but on the contrary, everything right and reassuring with it. In the real world, socialism, -and then communism, - will be built by a constant raising of general standards of responsibility, maturity, and intelligence. But it will be a long slow struggle, and the withering away of the state will in fact be identical with a phenomenal leap in awareness of scientific objectivity and personal responsibility. And all of this could only flow initially out of a very disciplined class political struggle, both before and especially after the revolution.

It is the petty-bourgeois swamp's hostility to Marx's philosophical grasp of freedom as being the recognition of necessity in law-governed society, nature, and the universe, - that keeps the 57 varieties so hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Life will pass these worms by. The British revolution will have its own very specific character. But it will be based on the dictatorship of the proletariat or not at all. As Thatcher and the capitalist police-state are now demonstrating, the bourgeoisie are not giving up the Parliamentary capitalist slump without a fight, especially the Labour Party. Thøe counter-revolutionary traitors (every last paid-up member) will fight to keep the working class from joining the international camp of proletarian dictatorship as long as they have breath

In a mass revolutionary party will be built in Britain, and the Leninist ILWP will be at its core. All rationalised excuse-retreats about 'starting with a bigger party' etc, are specious demagoguery.

Correct political struggle can start nowhere else than with correct understanding and the opportunity to demonstrate the correctness of this understanding in independent political leadership.

It is useless to be correct in one's personal world view but to be locked inside a 'bigger party' which insists on a completely different (and incorrect) political analysis and programme being put out.

The working class will only see the anti-revolutionary political line of the 'bigger party', not the privately-held un-campaigned-for reservations of an individual 'leader'. It will have contempt for the spineless dissembling of such 'moles' whether inside the Labour Party, the Communist Party, or anywhere else. And it would never dream of trusting any 'leadership' which admits to peddling political garbage most of the time but then suddenly announces "Now we'll tell you what we really believe".

At the same time, such claimed 'privately-held, un-campaigned-for reservations' can only be ill-digested bits and pieces, and insubstantial drivel.

A fully-fledged world view can only be worked out by a political party, and Marx and Engels's early Communist Manifesto work with the Communist League was no exception. Only by being forced (by the demands of leadership) to struggle publicly (in front of the whole class, in effect) to provide a correct analysis of, and guide to, complex historical developments in the class struggle; and bearing the harsh and relentless discipline of being proved right or wrong about their outcome (and therefore capable or incapable of giving leadership) can the fight for understanding bear fruit, winning the confidence of workers, and thus expanding the practical basis for still wider elaboration of theory.

Theory cannot be turned into practice and therefore back into even more accurate theory (and so on) inside 'privately-reserved' heads inside the 'bigger party', not even when it is on the scale

of the thinly-disguised 'left clamour' of the semi-clandestine Militant tendency inside Labour. Whatever kind of a 'Marxist' Ted Grant was in his Trotskyite youth, Militant today is an appalling opportunist swamp, - canvassing for the rightwing ratbags at election times; covering up for the counter-revolutionary monsters Kinnock, Shore, Hattersley, etc, at all times; justifying the imperialist/jingoistic Falklands invasion by British-NATO colonial warmongers; and stabbing Eddie Milne MP in the back just when he began to expose the real corruption/treachery of the Labour

Party; etc; etc; etc. Their degenerate Cold War anti-Soviet hostility can only fester ever-more poisonously all the time they are moled away inside the rightwing pro-capitalist Labour Party. And so on for all brands of semi-clandestine 'entrism' to which Leninism was totally opposed as being the graveyard of any correct fight for verifiable programme and practice. The revolutionary party is no party at all if it cannot campaign openly and independently in front of the working class for its correct line and leadership, (affected only by any dictates of illegality, but even

that not affecting the principle of independent programme). Even when crisis conditions imposed temporary united-front coalition compromise tactics on the Bolsheviks, Lenin saw it as impermissible for the party to ever put its name to anything that was not true, even if it supported joint struggles which had as their political rationalisation a manifesto which was less than the whole picture as understood by the Bolsheviks. But even then, it was axiomatic for Lenin that the party would certainly make sure its entire programme was well-ventilated in Bolshevik propaga-

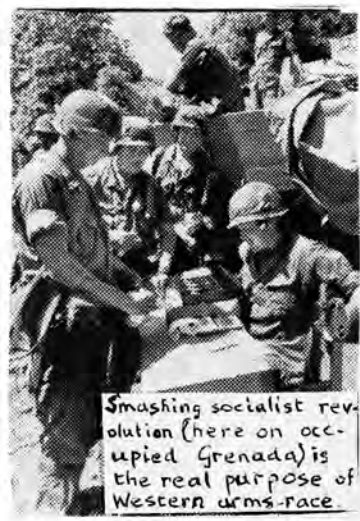
nda conducted independently of the particular united front campaign. The ILWP has always been in favour of the most constructive-possible polemics inside the labour movement to clarify complex questions right in front of the working class; and responds to joint-campaigning proposals strictly on practical merit (consistent with what it regards as the political priorities in the present phase of the international class struggle). What it will never do is abandon its correct programme to pursue some opportunist sivist subterfuge.



US fascist blitzkrieg on Grenada wiping out 4 years of socialist revolution.



Bad US casualties in Grenada despite socialist camp paralysis after Bishop's treachery



Smashing socialist revolution (here on occupied Grenada) is the real purpose of Western arms-race.



Thousands of socialists on Grenada in US fascist concentration camps

Leninist conclusions over Grenada tragedy are still being avoided

17. April 22, 1987 (Bulletin 390)

Widespread republication & comment on Castro's interview with US politicians Dymally & Elliot can only worsen the bitterness & confusion over the socialist camp's feebleness in passively watching Reagan's fascist blitzkrieg wipe out socialist construction on the former British West Indian colony.

Savage new accusations against Bernard Coard, the leader of the majority grouping in the New Jewel Movement, still conflict glaringly with known facts, conflict even more glaringly with newly available material evidence on the revolution's difficulties, still fail to offer a remotely responsible scientific Leninist analysis of the NJM's growing pains, and worst of all flatly contradict different positions taken by Havana at the time.

In addition, the suspicion must now be raised after such astonishing, lengthy, and stubborn obtuseness on this whole subject by Havana that the Cubans, far from being 'totally uninvolved' in the

NJM conflict as they keep on curiously protesting so loudly, -were in fact very heavily & partially backing Maurice Bishop, -despite Castro's even more curious claimed ignorance of what was going on. On top of the socialist camp's non-Leninist approach to problems of theory & tactics on Grenada must now be queried the possibility of interference, abandonment, & then cover-up.

First, the lie given to Castro's latest apologetics by a declared opponent of the ILWPs campaign over Grenada, -Richard Hart, responsible for Attorney General work in the Bishop government, who takes a non-Leninist line of trying to silence criticism and theoretical polemics in order 'not to rock the boat' -exactly the disaster the NJM fell into in the first place, -by Hart's own admissions (in his introduction to the memorial volume of Bishop's speeches), incomplete & partly inaccurate but unanswerably damaging to Havana's lies.

¶ Sometimes Bishop found it difficult to make decisions. I experienced this on occasion when I needed instructions in the performance of my responsibilities. He described his style of leadership of the party as being 'by consensus'.* It was his practice to engage in the widest possible informal consultations with his comrades before making up his mind. There is, of course, much to be said for this method; it is always better to proceed by agreement, resolving differences which are not fundamental by compromise. But this works best as a prelude or supplement to discussion within the formal committee structure, not as an alternative to it as appears all too often to have been the case in the NJM.† Also, when an urgent or early decision is required, there comes a point when the attempt to arrive at a consensus must be abandoned.‡ Good chairmanship involves knowing when to terminate discussion and resolve outstanding differences by majority vote.

* Minutes of the NJM Central Committee, September 14-16, 1983

† That the practice of making decisions informally outside the appropriate party committees had developed was acknowledged by Bishop at a Central Committee meeting held on August 26, 1983, the Minutes of which record him as saying: 'There is reasonable basis to share the concern that many key decisions of the party, if not the majority, have been made informally outside of higher organs'.

‡ The vital decision to attempt the seizure of power at 4 am on March 13, 1979, was taken on a majority vote. The four members entrusted with deciding whether or not the insurrection should be launched (Bishop, Bernard Coard, Hudson Austin and another) being equally divided, a fifth member (George Louison) was added to their number. Voting with Coard and Austin, Louison resolved the deadlock in favour of launching the attack.

To place the events of 1983 in context it is necessary to appreciate that whilst revolutionary Grenada was achieving reasonable economic progress, popular expectations were nevertheless running somewhat ahead of what was being achieved. Despite the spectacular growth of the economy and the reduction of unemployment from allegedly 49% of the adult population in 1979 to 14% at the end of 1982, the latter figure is still indicative of the fact that many people were without work. Also, despite improvements in wages and social services, the great majority were still enduring a very low standard of living. Indeed, the NJM leaders themselves acknowledged that they were to blame for not emphasising sufficiently what a long slow climb the ascent out of poverty would be and the fact that, while the foundations for future prosperity were being laid, a low standard of living would have to be endured for a long time to come.

It is also important to appreciate that, inevitably, in such a small and underdeveloped society, the level of efficiency was appallingly low. Thus, the best laid schemes for improvement could easily fail to realise anticipated results. The fact that the party is composed of the most dedicated revolutionaries who are willing to devote themselves to the service of the community and to act in unity, is not in itself a guarantee of success. Its capacity to lead and inspire the masses will be seriously impaired if it fails to operate efficiently. Such a party is obliged to set itself and its members realisable

tasks and keep a constant check on the fulfilment of those tasks. It must ensure that its members do not attempt to do all that needs to be done by themselves. They must constantly encourage the masses to participate in improving their work, their work-places, their residential districts and the economy of the country. The success of such a party ultimately depends upon the extent to which it can inspire the people to take their future into their own hands. . . .

In a vanguard party which practises Leninist principles, active participation in the making and execution of decisions is a requirement of membership.

In or about September 1982 the problem of how to maintain the internal efficiency of the party led to an unexpected development. Bernard Coard resigned as a member of the Central Committee of the NJM and of its sub-committees - the Political Bureau and the Organising Committee. As his resignation had to do with his dissatisfaction with the internal workings of the party, the Central Committee met from October 12-15, 1982, to look into the whole matter. The Minutes of this meeting are very interesting. They show that the party had held several meetings over the past year to try and improve its efficiency, but little or no improvement had in fact been achieved.

Among Coard's reasons for resigning was a complaint about the slackness of the Central Committee and the failure of members to speak out frankly when things went wrong. He had always been outspoken on such occasions while other members had remained silent. As a result he had been suspected of seeking to discredit the leadership and been accused of seeking power. As he was not prepared to have personality clashes with the Chairman (Bishop), he had decided to resign. This, he had argued, would also have the effect of forcing members to make their own criticisms when they thought something was wrong, as he would no longer be there to voice their criticisms for them. He offered the rationalisation that this would help them to develop.

Having decided to accept Coard's resignation, the Central Committee went on to discuss ways and means of improving their efficiency. They collectively assessed their respective individual performances and as a result, decided to remove one veteran member from the Political Bureau and Central Committee because of his 'lack of political work, extremely bad attitude to study and deep seated individualism and petty bourgeois opportunist attitude to criticism'. But the Committee also decided to conceal from the other members of the party the fact that Coard had resigned and the reason why the veteran member had been removed - a concealment which was to cause a storm of resentment when it leaked out nine months later. Throughout this period Coard co-operated in not disclosing the fact that he had resigned and continued to discharge his state functions as if nothing had happened.² It was, indeed, remarkable that the secret was so well kept for so long.³ Working closely on numerous occasions with both Bishop and Coard, I did not know that Coard was not still in the party leadership, nor were the leading members of any of the fraternal parties in other countries aware of this development.

Over the following nine months the continuing deficiencies in the work of the leading organs of the NJM began to have their effect on the morale of the party members and affected the quality of the party's work among the masses. This was clearly recognised by all members of the Central Committee and can be perhaps best summed up by reproducing from the Minutes of meetings of the Central Committee of the NJM some of the conclusions stated by Bishop.

At the CC meeting on 26th August, 1983 Bishop is recorded as saying that he was 'in agreement . . . that we are faced with the threat of disintegration' and 'agrees also with the analysis that comrades of the party are afraid to raise criticisms.' He felt that the Central Committee members 'should reflect on the individual strengths and weaknesses of all CC members' and 'should also think about the specific responsibilities of CC comrades both at the party and state levels - this should be in writing'.*

At the meeting of the Central Committee held in the middle of the following month Bishop spoke even more frankly about the inefficiency and ineffective leadership given to the masses by the party. Though the Minute-taker's command of the English language on this occasion leaves something to be desired, the meaning is clear. He records Bishop as concurring with the view expressed by other speakers that 'the main problems lies in the Central Committee', and saying:

The lack of proper application of strategy and tactics has led to our party paying no significant attention to the views of the party and the masses; there is clearly no channels for communications which has led to a breakdown of collective leadership. . . . Decisions were taken outside of the CC, we have not set up systems for implementation and verification. . . . The CC has made a number of mistakes over the past 18 months because of weak links with the masses we became bureaucratic and too formalistic in our approach. Visits to work places have disappeared, increasing non attendance at zonal councils and parish meetings, visit to communities to meet the people at an informal level, decrease in the number of discussion and meetings with people in all areas of work, failure to participate in public activities, village meetings

have disappeared. We have not paid sufficient regard to the material base in the country. Changes in the economy, changes in social wages and the predominant Pb [petty bourgeois] character of the masses and society as a whole. Our propaganda positions have consistently fed economism [a term used in Marxist literature to describe being concerned entirely with securing material improvements within the existing system]. We have failed to point out to the masses that this period requires a number of sacrifices and if we are not prepared to build the economy through hard work we will not make it. We have to take the blame for the over economic expectations of the people . . . (Minutes of the NJM Central Committee, September 14-16, 1983)

The Minutes show that Bishop went on to refer to the mood among the farmers and agricultural workers as 'very low'. Summarising the state of affairs, after further discussion, Bishop is recorded as drawing the following conclusions:

1. There is a state of deep crisis in the party and revolution.
2. The main reason for these weaknesses is the functioning of the CC.
3. The crisis has also become a major contributing factor to the crisis in the country and the revolution and the low mood of the masses.
4. The crisis has also been compounded by the weakness in the material base, electrical block cuts, bad roads, retrenchments and jobs as an issue.

However, although in agreement with other members of the Central Committee concerning the low state of morale in the party and among the masses, and willing to concede that the main reason for these weaknesses was the inefficient functioning of and poor leadership given by the Central Committee itself, Bishop was uneasy at this meeting when he heard the solution proposed by a member of the Committee, a solution which a substantial majority of the Committee favoured.

This proposal, put forward by Liam James, was premised on a criticism of the quality of the leadership which Maurice Bishop himself was providing as sole leader of the Party and Chairman of the Central Committee, and its two main sub-committees: the Political Bureau and the Organising Committee. James is recorded as saying:

The most fundamental problem is the quality of leadership of the Central Committee and the party provided by Cde. Maurice Bishop. In his view the Cde has great strength, his ability to inspire and develop cdes, his ability to raise the regional and international respect for the party and the revolution; he has the charisma to build the confidence of the people both in and out of the country and to put forward clearly the positions of the party. Today these strengths alone cannot put the party any further in this period. The qualities he lacks is what is needed to push the revolution forward at this time.

James went on to list the qualities he felt that Bishop lacked:

1. A Leninist level of organisation and discipline;
2. Great depth in ideological clarity;
3. Brilliance in strategy and tactics.

The discussion sparked off by these criticisms seems to have come as quite a surprise to Maurice Bishop. No one had hitherto criticised him personally, except Bernard Coard, and Coard was no longer on the Committee. Following the lead given by James, no less than 9 others of the 13 members present [there were 17 Central Committee members in September 1983] voiced similar criticisms. Basically, what they were saying amounted to this: the comrade leader is an outstandingly good mobiliser, inspirer and articulator but he is a poor organiser. Unison Whiteman, the Minister of Foreign Affairs (who had himself been criticised at the meeting in October 1982) is recorded as putting it in this way:

. . . the weaknesses mention[ed] of the Cde. leader are correct. Since October there have been some improvements in scheduling and study but these improvements are not fundamental enough. He said that the Cde. Leader had not [given] enough time to the fundamental but we have to be careful that we don't shift too much blame from the CC collectively. We need to have a commitment on the CC to new norms, prioritisation, greater reflection, better style of work. We have to build up Comrades, e.g. Cde. Leader, we have to assist [insist?] on higher standards from him which he is capable of.

Bishop's reaction to these criticisms, as recorded in the Minutes, is interesting:

Cde. Leader thanked the Cdes. for their frankness in their criticisms. He said that Cdes. in the past have given serious thought to the question of leadership and failed to raise it for diplomatic reasons which was not

good. He is dissatisfied over the fact that CC Cdes. have not raised these points before with him frankly, though a couple of non CC Cdes. have done it. He picked up an overwhelming sentiment that the qualities required are not possessed by him. He agreed that the points are correct, especially correct application of strategy and tactics which cannot be achieved except the other qualities are fulfil[led]. He had found difficulties in finding a relevant material to study the question of the functioning of the PB [Political Bureau] and CC which reflects a weakness, he don't think that he had given adequate leadership to bodies. He had several problems over the years especially the style that entails consensus, and unity at all costs which can result in blunting class struggle. He had tried to keep a certain kind of relationship with Cdes. even though it is not what it used to be before. He also questioned his approach as regards to collective leadership, he said that there is not enough participation and discussion. Too much decisions are taken by smaller and smaller organs which affect collective leadership. On the question of crisis and problems it is correct as the maximum leader to take the full responsibilities. He needs time to think of his own role and to give a more precise response to the problem addressed . . .

After a break for lunch Bishop put forward some ideas as to how the problems could be overcome:

To develop and maintain links with the masses the leadership must personally get on the ground among the people, step up participation in zonal and parish councils, visit schools, monitor and push production. The role of the CC must be worked out in this regard. Develop mechanism for accountability, and to review constant feedback from the membership and to ensure channels of communication with them. The CC must do a constant evaluation of the progress by members, receive reports from the OC [Organising Committee] on the re-rationalisation of the work, prioritise the work of Cdes. on the CC and set targets to be achieved on a weekly monthly and yearly basis.

As the debate proceeded, however, it became clear that what James had in mind was a far more fundamental solution to the problems created by the leader's generally acknowledged weaknesses. James' proposal went further than simply helping Bishop to overcome these weaknesses. What he proposed was joint leadership of the party:

Cde. James . . . proposed a model [model] of joint leadership, marrying the strengths of Cdes. Bishop and Coard. He went on to define the responsibilities of the two cdes.

Cde. Maurice Bishop

- (i) Direct work among the masses, focus on production and propaganda;
- (ii) Particular attention to the organs of popular democracy, working class, youth masses, visits to urban and rural work places;
- (iii) Militia mobilisation;
- (iv) Regional and International Work.

Cde. Bernard Coard

- (i) Party organisation work;
Chairman of the OC [Organising Committee];
- (ii) Party organisational development and formation of cdes.;
- (iii) Strategy and tactics.

(During the period he was out of the Party leadership, Coard continued to perform his state functions as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Planning, Finance & Trade. He also played a leading part in the Party's educational work. The same meeting of the Central Committee which accepted his resignation decided that he should conduct an eight-week crash course in Marxism for leading comrades (including Whiteman and Austin) whose grasp of theory was weak.

At a meeting of the Central Committee on September 30 1983, before word that Bishop had changed his mind had got back to Grenada, a proposal by Coard was adopted to endeavour to recruit to membership of the Party 500 women from the NWO, 3-400 youths from the NYO and 4-500 workers from the Party Support Groups. *Minutes NJM Central Committee, September 30 1983.*)

The CC must discuss and ratify all proposals and decisions sought by the Cdes. CC meetings must be monthly, chaired by Cde. Maurice Bishop. PB [Political Bureau] weekly chaired by Cde. Bernard Coard. The both Cdes. will write quarterly reports to the CC for review. The membership must be told of this decision.

Later in the debate James made it clear that his proposal was confined to the internal working of the Party and did not involve alteration in the state functions of the comrades: 'Cde. Bishop will be Prime Minister and Commander in Chief, he will sign all documents of the CC'. He made the further point that he was not proposing that Coard's authority in the areas of strategy and tactics should be unlimited:

this does not mean that he will decide strategy and tactics all by himself. However, he will chair all commissions to determine strategy and tactics. The CC will discuss and ratify all proposals brought forward . . . 25

This proposal for joint leadership of the party was a novel one. Everyone recognised that Coard was the most efficient and organised member of the party and welcomed the idea that he should be required to return to the Central Committee and its principal sub-committees. But the suggestion of joint leadership instead of sole leadership did not have unanimous approval at this meeting of the Central Committee. George Louison, the Minister of Agriculture, heatedly opposed it. Whiteman had reservations. So too, obviously, did Bishop. It did, however, have the approval of a substantial majority of those present. Bishop's cautious reactions indicate fears on his part that the comrades had lost confidence in him. He acknowledged that:

The party must utilise all strengths and talents of Cdes. in the party . . . He has never had any problem with sharing power, or even a bad attitude to criticisms. He had worked very well with Cde. Bernard over the years from school days, they share a lot of policy decisions, they both wrote the manifesto [of the NJM proclaimed in 1973 and published in 1974], the peoples congress indictment [indictment] of Gairy.* He referred to 1977 when Cde. Bernard was accused for aggressiveness and wanting to grab power,† he had defended him. His position is that he or [neither he nor?] anybody has the right to be leader for life, he favours cooperation over competition. He feels that Bernard can come back to the PB because of his skills and intelligence. Cde. James' breakdown of responsibility is very useful, however his concerns is the operationalisation of strategy and tactics. His own idea of his role falls into what Cde. James had outlined. He feels that school visits should have been included under his responsibilities.

† When Coard, in 1977, successfully proposed the establishment in the NJM of the 'Organising Committee' some persons had accused Coard and others, including George Louison, of wanting to establish a rival power base.

Bishop then stated some of his reservations. He said 'He would like to know what is Cde. Bernard's view of the situation and response', and posed the question 'If he do not agree what will be the views of the CC?' He also needed 'to get some answers on the operationalisation' of joint leadership, and he wanted to know 'how we will articulate this to the party and the masses.' He said: 'His personal concerns are: image of leadership, power struggle, imminent collapse of the revolution.'

Bishop went on to say: 'The formulation of Cdes. criticisms have indicated a clear note of no confidence' and that 'he cannot inspire the masses when he have to look over his back or feel that he does not have the full confidence of his comrades.'

This last reaction caused considerable disquiet in the Committee. One member expressed this in the following way:

Cdes. were very frank, they criticised themselves for not being brave enough to do so before. This frankness is critical for the development of an ML [Marxist-Leninist] party. It will be sad if the meeting concluded that this was a vote of no confidence. This was done in the interest of the party and revolution, what we are solving here is a problem that we experienced for years.

Another member said: 'the meeting was one of unprecedented frankness and boldness by all Cdes., it was done through the spirit of great love for the revolution and Cde. Leader.'

There is, however, no avoiding the conclusion, after studying the Minutes, that Bishop's initial reaction to the proposal for joint leadership was one of resentment and suspicion. But that was not how the Committee saw things. When the vote was finally taken as to whether or not to adopt the joint leadership proposal, nine members voted in favour, one (Louison) opposed and three abstained. Those abstaining were Bishop and Whiteman and also Hudson Austin, General of the Army, who gave the fact that he had come in late and missed the greater part of the discussion as his reason for abstaining.

Following the vote, which was taken on September 16, one of the members proposed that they take a break and 'ask Cde. Coard to come to the meeting for the decision to be put to him'. Bishop opposed this, as the Minutes record, 'because of the fact that he has to make a personal reflection on the issue.' He proposed that the CC meet with Cde. Coard in his absence. He suggested that the CC meet Cde. Bernard tomorrow while he will be leaving for St Kitts' [independence celebrations]. In answer to the argument that it was important for both of them to be present, Bishop said that 'based on his personal position to sit down with Coard for productive discussion, it will have no usefulness, it will be counter-productive.' He said it was critical for him to know 'Bernard's position' (how Bernard felt about the proposal). 'This will even help him in his own reflection'. The Minutes record that 'Sister Phyllis Coard* then questioned what will the CC say to Cde. Bernard in the absence of Cde. Bishop'. This, however, was not addressed.

The Committee adjourned until the following day, as Bishop had suggested, to ascertain Coard's response to the decision. In the light of persistent allegations in the media and elsewhere that there was a struggle by a group led by Coard to obtain control of the party, Coard's reactions to the proposal are of the utmost interest. Informed of the decision of the previous day, the Minutes record that Bernard Coard raised four points:

1. He would like to see the minutes of the meeting.
2. The position of those opposed or abstain and what are the reasons.

3. Were other options examine[d], what were these options and why were they rejected.

4. Why was not this meeting schedule[d] so that Cde. Bishop could be present.

Having heard what the members present had to say about the proceedings of the past three days, the Minutes record that Coard:

reminded Cdes. of his reasons for resigning last year . . . He said that he was tired and sick of being the only hatchet man and critique [critic]. The failure of CC comrades was to speak up freely, as a result he concluded that he was the main fetter to development of the CC because everyone was depending on him for everything, especially in the area of the economy . . . He said he had detected a feeling of wanting him to undermine the Comrade Leader's position. He would not like to return to the CC and PB, any tasks given to him he will do it. He even used the struggle of the formation of the OC [Organising Committee]. Cdes. Louison, Strachan and himself was accused for organising another seat of power in the party . . . He was seriously affected by the accusation of wanting to undermine the leadership so he resigned from the OC.

Though Coard was frankly critical of Bishop's shortcomings, he expressed his reluctance to return to the leadership. This is what he is recorded as saying:

The Cde. Leader found himself vacillating between the ML [Marxist-Leninist] trend and the petit bourgeois trend on the party. This worsened as the CC was not aware what was going on and the situation was slipping and because Comrades were not thinking, therefore the severe drift and disintegration was not seen . . . [If] he was an ordinary member he would have manners* the Cde. leader years ago. Because of his position as deputy leader and the extent that Cdes. will think that he is fighting for leadership, if he comes back and Cde. Bishop falter he would be afraid to criticise him and will resign again. For it to be left for him to manners the leader, he is not prepared to deal with this. He admit that this is on his part a Pb [petty-bourgeois] conduct.

However, he had tried to give the party his best support in strategy and tactics, he would prefer to operate as in the past year. He also is prepared to take all responsibilities the CC offers him, but off the CC. He cannot take emotional conflict situation that saps his energies. He wants this to be clearly put to the party.

* 'Manners', used as a verb in this way, is an expression, originally popularised in Jamaica, meaning to discipline someone - to put them under manners.

The Central Committee, however, showed no disposition to go back on its decision of the previous day. On September 25, 1983 a meeting of the full members of the NJM was convened to consider the Central Committee's decision. The meeting got off to a bad start because Bishop, who said he had not completed his reflections, was reluctant to attend. Coard, too, expressed his own reluctance to be present if Bishop was not there. Eventually, however, the members having required the attendance of both, they both arrived and the meeting proceeded.

At this meeting of full members on September 25 the proposal for joint leadership, which had been so exhaustively discussed by the Central Committee, was debated all over again. Bishop participated in the discussion but Coard refrained from speaking until after the matter had been amicably resolved. At the end of 15 hours of debate a resolution approving the proposal for joint leadership was unanimously adopted. Only two members of the Central Committee had been absent (out of the country): George Louison who had voted against it and another member who had voted in favour. The Minutes record an emotional ending to this meeting:

The members then called on Cdes. Coard and Bishop to speak.

Cde. Bernard Coard said that today is indeed a historic day in the life of the party (applause). He said that the CC meetings he attended from Monday 19th September surprised him because unlike the past every CC member was putting forward well thought-out, clear and reasoned positions on the way forward for building the party and transforming it into a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. He said that in the past most CC members would be silent in CC meetings and seem not to have ideas on how the party and revolution is to be built. However, now he witness a qualitative difference . . . He said that in his opinion the members have spoken from both their heads and their hearts. Their words have been sincere and it shows a genuine commitment by the members to struggle for socialism and lay the basis for the eventual building of communism. He repeated that a qualitative lift has taken place in the CC as well as among the membership, thus he is deeply confident in the future of building socialism and communism (applause). He pledged to the party that he would put every ounce of effort in building the process and that he knows that Cde. Bishop

would do the same. He said he had known and work together with Cde. Bishop and that they both owe it to the party, revolution and the Grenadian working people to do all that is possible to build the revolution (applause).

Cde. Bishop stands and embraces Cde. Coard. Cde. Bishop said that it was correct for him to come to the GM and stay and hear the views of the party members. He said that reflecting in isolation would not have been correct for him since he would have seen things in a lopsided manner. He said that the entire GM had accepted the CC analysis and decision and this has satisfied his concern. He admitted to the GM that his response to the CC criticism and decision was petit bourgeois. He said that the GM has rammed home that the criticism was correct and so too was the decision. He said, 'I sincerely accept the criticism and will fulfil the decision in practice'.

Cde. Bishop went on to say that his whole life is for the party and revolution and the difficulty he had was because so many things were going through his mind. He said that he agreed with Cde. Moses Jeffrey that he had not shown confidence in the party. But all these things are now behind his back. He said that the party comrades are maturing and are capable of taking strong positions. He said that his desire now is to use the criticism positively and march along with the entire party to build a Marxist-Leninist Party that can lead the people to socialism and communism. He pledged to the party that he would do everything to erode his petit bourgeois traits. He said that he never had difficulties in working with Cde. Coard and joint leadership would help push the party and revolution forward (applause).

At the end of Cde. Bishop's speech the entire GM broke into singing the Internationale and members filed past to embrace Cdes. Bishop and Coard.

On the following day Bishop left for Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He left behind him a happy band of party members, confident that they were well on their way to solving every difficulty, reviving morale and regaining the entire confidence of the masses.

However, not many days were to pass before the members of the Central Committee still in Grenada began to suspect that all was not well.

Whilst he was out of Grenada Bishop had had second thoughts about accepting joint leadership and had decided to reopen the matter. What exactly it was that brought about this change of heart may never be known. All that can be said with certainty is that before his return home from Czechoslovakia, via Cuba, on October 8, and for whatever reason, Bishop had changed his mind and was no longer prepared to accept the new form of party leadership. This may have been formally announced to the Central Committee at its meeting on October 12. No Minutes of that meeting (if indeed Minutes were prepared) have as yet been found, but the Minute-taker's copious hand-written notes of what took place on the following day at a meeting of all party members (full, candidate and applicant) are available. These notes disclose an atmosphere of widespread distrust and hostility towards Bishop, very different to the atmosphere of concern and comradely criticism apparent at the meetings of September 14-17 and September 25. What had happened to poison the atmosphere?

My own analysis of these events suggests that, having ascertained the unwillingness of the Central Committee to reopen the matter, Bishop had decided to employ a strategy — go directly to the masses over their heads and rally them to his support.* But what appears to have enraged the membership of the party was the disclosure of the bizarre tactics Bishop had decided to employ. This plan, which had begun to be put into effect on October 12, was disclosed by one of Bishop's two personal security guards upon whom he had relied in part to put it in motion.

This security guard had given a statement to his superiors to the effect that Bishop had informed him that Bernard and Phyllis Coard were plotting to kill him (Bishop). Bishop, he said, had given instructions for a list to be drawn up of persons to be informed of this plot and had personally approved the list. This, the security guard now repeated orally on October 13, in Bishop's presence, to all the members of the party.

On October 12 word was in circulation concerning the alleged plot. One immediate effect had been that a group of persons, led by an insurance agent from the St Paul's district where Bishop's mother lived, collected firearms at the local Militia headquarters and set off to defend the Prime Minister. Having been alerted by the security guard, the security forces intercepted them. The other security guard was also taken into custody and interrogated.

Whatever the merits or demerits of the decision to seek a reopening of the decision of September 25, the spreading of such a rumour was a particularly desperate and dangerous course which could have endangered the life of the man chosen by the party members to be their joint leader. At the meeting of party members on the night of October 13 Bishop denied responsibility for the rumour, speaking at length in his own defence. But having heard the evidence given to the meeting by the security guard, the overwhelming majority of the members believed that Bishop was guilty.

Though the overwhelming majority of those present had applauded demands that Bishop be expelled from the party, a

final decision on the matter was left to the Central Committee.

Over the next few days the Central Committee, no doubt conscious of an upsurge of mass support for Bishop, endeavoured to work out a compromise with him whereby he would have resumed the exercise of his state functions and remained a member of the party. Four members of the Committee met with him directly and at their request a trade union leader from Trinidad came to Grenada to act as a conciliator...the morning of October 19, Bishop had not given his answer to the proposals put to him, proposals which he had told the Trinidad intermediary he would 'sleep on'.*

* Many persons have asked why, since I had worked closely with and had the confidence of both Bishop and Coard, I was not asked to assist in the process of conciliation. The only explanation that I can think of is that my position must have been compromised by the fact that my name appeared on the list, approved by Bishop, of persons who were to be informed of the alleged plot to kill him. This may have created the suspicion that I was conspiring with Bishop to overturn the decision of the party.

Bishop..... set in motion events which were to lead to his being killed at the Army headquarters at Fort Rupert, which he had taken over with the assistance of the crowd..... To what extent the American Central Intelligence Agency participated in the events leading up to the killing of Bishop is not yet clear. That 'agents provocateurs' were at work in Grenada is evident from the sudden and well organised appearance among the crowd of anti-communist placards. Some read: 'C is for Coard, Cuba, Communism'. The involvement of the CIA in the removal of political leaders disliked by the US Government is too well established for the probability that its agents had a hand in the events leading to Bishop's death to be discounted, but at what level it is difficult to determine.

When Bishop changed his mind about accepting the party's decision on joint leadership, he was violating a fundamental principle of the NJM — democratic centralism. This principle committed every party member to accept majority decisions, whether or not he or she agreed with them. The disappointment and resentment of party members is, therefore, understandable.

An aspect of the Grenada situation to which insufficient consideration has been given is what would have happened if Bishop had succeeded in rousing the masses against the Central Committee and the party, and had established personal control. Without the support of the party he would have had to rely heavily on the support of petty bourgeois elements. Without a Marxist-Leninist party to guide and lead the Revolution what orientation would it have taken? However sincerely Bishop may have believed that the survival of the Revolution depended on his maintaining his position as sole top leader, would it not, without the guidance and direction of a Marxist-Leninist party, have lost its working-class socialist orientation? Did Bishop take this problem into account when he decided to defy and, if necessary, destroy the party? ♪

Despite this prodigious proof of Bishop's duplicity and opportunist ambition, — directly challenging Castro's imbecilic new 'theory' that Coard had given up his party leadership positions as a 'subtle fifth column' to prepare a 'cunning sectarian conspiracy' based on the 'purity of ideas', — the legal sophist Hart nevertheless

himself concludes, either through astonishing naiveness or astonishing dishonesty, — that Bishop's petulant anarchy should have been capitulated to.

And yet it was Coard (again by Hart's own admissions — see above) who called for the revolution in the first place, — against the vote of Bishop.

♪ A characteristic feature of party organisations based on the Leninist model is their 'democratic centralism', a concept which, in the context of the events which occurred in Grenada, deserves discussion. The democratic aspect of this concept is that, at all levels of the party, decisions should be taken after full discussion in which all the participants enjoy equality of status and everyone agrees to be bound by majority decisions. The centralism of the concept implies that the lower organisms of the party are bound by decisions arrived at by the higher organisms.

This structure, designed to ensure equality of status in the decision making processes to all who have been admitted to membership, does not however detract from the degree of influence exercised by leading members of the party. Nor does it preclude the party from projecting the personality of an individual leader, should it decide to do so. Most political parties, whether or not structured on the Leninist model, have considered it advisable, in response to the expectations of the public, to project the personality of a party leader. In this respect the situation in Grenada was not exceptional and it was to be expected that the NJM would follow the usual practice.

In Maurice Bishop the NJM had a party leader who also admirably filled the role of a national leader. By any standards he was a remarkable man. A lawyer by profession from a comfortable middle-class background, his sympathies were nevertheless with the underprivileged masses. The initial emotional stimulus which he had received from the Black Power movement of the 1960s had ripened and matured during the 1970s on a more secure intellectual basis as he familiarised himself with Marxist-Leninist theory. Sentiment, theory and practice had combined to mould him into a dedicated

revolutionary. He possessed to an extraordinary degree the ability to articulate clearly the objectives of the Revolution and to inspire support for it internally and regionally. His analytical mind and capacity for simple explanation helped the people to understand and share his convictions. His personality was magnetic.

One aspect of the situation, which the Central Committee does not appear to have taken sufficiently into account, is that such was Bishop's popularity and personal influence that if he would not abide by the party's decision and was determined to take the matter to the masses, the masses would support him rather than the party. Given Bishop's determination not to implement the joint leadership decision, the prudent course for the Central Committee to adopt, their disappointment and resentment notwithstanding, was to explore other options for improving the structure and quality of the leadership of the party until a compromise formula had been found which both Bishop and other members of the Central Committee could accept. There was no sensible alternative. Any other course was bound to bring the party into conflict with the masses. 9

This mystical, populist, anti-scientific drive is right up Castro's street as far as Havana's blind spot on this particular subject is concerned.

6 Mervyn M. Dymally: Given your close relationship with Maurice Bishop — it's said that you looked to him as a brother — why did you not know about the intrigue that went on while Bishop was out of the country? Where did Cuban intelligence break down?

Fidel Castro: I'll explain. It's even more surprising.

Of course we never practice intelligence methods with friendly countries, countries with which we have close relations.

Mervyn M. Dymally: I mean intelligence not in the sense of the CIA, but in the sense of communication. Where did your communication break down?

Fidel Castro: Your question is quite logical; it's absolutely justified. First of all, we do not employ an intelligence apparatus, intelligence bodies, or intelligence methods to gather information about what may be happening in a country with whom we have relations of trust and friendship. There's no methodical and systematic collection of information. We always depend upon the conscious cooperation among revolutionary people, friends, and sympathizers who can explain what's happening within a leadership group, a council of ministers, a central committee. In fact, it's logical for us to have known what was happening in Grenada, since we had very close relations with Bishop and other leaders. In addition to working relations, we were assisting in agriculture, industry, health, education, the army, and even in the Ministry of the Interior. Our ambassador enjoyed excellent relations; so did the party representative, the representative of the Cooperation Committee, the advisers in the army, in the militias, and in the Ministry of the Interior. The truth is, we didn't know about the process that was evolving, and that has been one of our harshest criticisms of those in charge of cooperation with Grenada and our diplomatic representation there.

During that entire period, only one woman comrade from the Federation of Cuban Women — who had been there for a few days on an exchange visit — had written a brief report to her organization on the problems she perceived there. I didn't even hear about the report. It seems no one paid any attention to it.

The wild idea of a split in the country's leadership was inconceivable. What really did happen? The party was made up of a small group of members — some 200. The leadership group was quite small. Coard worked with great subtlety. He did not work openly. He started placing cadre — that is, people from the group that had joined Bishop's party. He did not dissolve that group; he kept it

as a faction. Very quietly, and gradually, he placed his sworn followers in key positions in the army, as political instructors, in the Ministry of Security, and in some positions in the party. He had even resigned his position as a member of the Bureau a year earlier as a gesture of selflessness. He went off to a small island and was there playing the role of an isolated man, self-isolated, but he continued being the spiritual guide. That was his style. So, this developed very subtly, very quietly. And Coard gradually gained a majority on the Central Committee — and always in the name of principles.

These methods are always somewhat effective whenever someone gains a kind of priesthood of the doctrine, guardian of the doctrine, theoretician of the doctrine, philosopher of the doctrine — the one who knows the most about revolutionary doctrine. Although Bishop was an educated man — with great preparation — he was not a professor of Marxism. I tell you this so you will be on your guard with scholars, because they have prestige. [Laughter] Let us say: Coard — with Professor Elliot's pardon — was the scholar of politics, the professor of political science; while Bishop was the man who worked with the masses, worked with the people, worked with the administration, and was active internationally. In other words, Coard's conspiracy was carried out quite covertly and subtly. It was not easy to perceive what was in the making.

Now then, there's no doubt that Bishop was very noble and, I'd say more, naive, because he never gave much thought to the problem. He never imagined that a tendency of this type, aimed at isolating him, could develop, and I believe he underestimated the importance of Coard's activities. We have proof of this: several weeks before the events, some questions were being discussed — not the conspiracy, of course. But there had been meetings to analyze the work being done with the workers, the economic work, the work with mass organizations, and the work of the party. These were the matters under discussion. They even made some criticisms of Bishop — they made some critical remarks — but they seemed normal, logical, and even healthy criticisms, which is how Bishop saw them.

We learned some of these things later from the papers published by the U.S. government, which were greatly manipulated. Every day they publish a paper to prove something in a demagogical and dishonest fashion. The invaders seized the records of these meetings. Naturally, we didn't have those records; no party, no political organization, gives the records of its meetings to another organization, no matter how close their ties may be. We keep the records of our party meetings to ourselves. The records of any revolutionary, Marxist, left, or any kind of party are logically not handed over to another party. Besides, these discussions seemed harmless.

The fact is, when Bishop stopped in Cuba on his way to Europe, he spoke with me in the house where he was staying. We talked a lot about the airport under construction, the economic situation, the way projects were going, and ideas for the future. Then Bishop — who had had a meeting several days before his trip — spoke to me self-critically. Sometimes we told him — because we knew it was so — "not enough attention is being paid to the militia — the organization and preparation of the militia." The advisers told us; they explained these things to us. I talked with him about these problems, and he said: "Yes, I've given little attention to the militia. I've given little attention to the

work of the party. When I return, I will give more attention to the work of the party and the mass organizations."

The day before he left, we gave an intimate reception in his honor, to which I invited all the comrades in the Political Bureau, the comrade vice presidents of the executive committee of the government, and the ministers who had to do with cooperation in Grenada. This was all due to the fact that everyone loved Bishop. He was, as you said, a brother — pleasant, friendly, intelligent. People liked meeting him, and we stayed about two or three hours. Almost all the members of the Political Bureau who were at this reception spoke to him.

While Bishop was abroad, those people worked actively in Grenada. A member of Bishop's personal security team even turned out to be one of Coard's sworn men, who informed on the details of the trip. Now, since those problems were already present, they took advantage of Bishop's absence.

When Bishop returned to Cuba, he didn't say a single word about this problem. As I see it, this was for two reasons. First, he underestimated the problem and, second, he may have been embarrassed by the idea of raising an internal problem of his party.

Now, I wonder: if we had known at that time of the discussions which had taken place, could we have done something? Could we have helped to prevent what happened there? Perhaps not. Had he told us that there were problems, he would have conveyed his impression and reduced the issue to something unimportant. We would have listened to him, but nothing more. He himself was not aware of the importance and the potential gravity of the charges, in the form of criticism, that were being addressed to him. But the fact is he went back, and by that time, Coard and his group — who by then had gained control of the majority of the leadership bodies — had already made some major decisions. They decided to leave him as head of the government, but relieve him of his responsibilities as head of the party.

A short time later — within a few days — there was a meeting, and he was now in an obvious minority. He was already in a minority in the party leadership! Events rushed ahead.

It might have been possible to do something if the gravity of the problem had been known two months earlier — perhaps a month before the events — and some delegation of ours could have talked with them. It's possible that we might have been able to do something to avert the catastrophic outcome. But no one can guarantee this. Coard's conspiracy, his intrigues, and his demagogic behavior had already undermined Bishop's authority within the party almost irreversibly. But Bishop was a noble man who was capable of any sacrifice to help his country. The new majority must have known that it needed at least his cooperation to move forward. Nevertheless, nothing that fox Coard did was sane, sensible, or reasonable.

A few days later, Bishop went to our embassy in Grenada and explained that there were problems — he said clearly then that there were problems. He said he feared, he was worried, that they might even attempt to assassinate him. But he said he thought he would solve the difficulties, that he could solve them.

Almost immediately, the conspirators launched another charge against Bishop. They accused him of slandering Coard, of gross defamation, of spreading the rumor that Coard wanted to assassinate him. That was the most serious charge against him, and the events were triggered al-

most immediately. As a matter of fact, Bishop did consider the possibility that there might be an attempt to eliminate him physically.

Bishop may have mentioned his concerns to several people. A meeting took place to analyze the charge of slandering Coard. One of Bishop's personal security guards — actually, one of Coard's men — testified that Bishop had given him instructions to spread that rumor. . . . Now then, the situation for us was delicate. We couldn't meddle in the problem. First, as a rule, we adopt the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of any country with which we are cooperating. This rule is strictly observed. We contribute to unity and help resolve this type of problem if the parties involved request our cooperation. No matter how much we liked Bishop, we couldn't have violated this principle. In fact, it was Bishop who asked that the Cuban construction personnel have weapons.

. The Cuban construction personnel had only infantry weapons; they were not supposed to fight against the U.S. Army. They didn't even have an "Arrow" [an antiaircraft rocket launcher] to shoot down the airplanes and helicopters. It was on Bishop's request and insistence that the airport construction personnel received weapons. But Bishop wasn't contemplating a U.S. invasion To fight against U.S. troops would have called for a different type of personnel, different weapons, and a different kind of war. Above all, there would have had to be a government worth defending, one supported by the people.

When the internal conflicts erupted, we adopted a policy of not getting involved in any way.

. there was no legal basis to justify giving support to Bishop. A decision to relieve him of his position in the leadership of the party could not be challenged, because it had been adopted by a majority. In this case, the conspiracy assumed "democratic forms"; they had achieved a majority within the leadership group. Third, any action on our part would have provoked armed clashes between the Cuban personnel and the Grenadan soldiers, whose command was controlled by the Coard group. That would certainly have given the United States a perfect pretext for its intervention: a war between Cuban and Grenadan personnel.

When the uprising took place, one of Bishop's comrades went to the embassy to seek our support. A wire was sent to Havana saying that Bishop was asking for support from the armed Cuban personnel in the construction brigade.

Frankly, it would have been a serious political mistake to have authorized the Cuban personnel to become involved in the Grenadan revolutionaries' domestic troubles. Bloody combat would have ensued, and, even if things had turned out in Bishop's favor and the U.S. intervention hadn't occurred, Bishop would have had to rule the country without his party, without the army, without the police and security units, and without the revolutionary cadres. Coard had gained control of those institutions, and many of their members believed — almost blindly — that they were serving the revolution. It was an absurd situation. I would never, under any circumstances, have authorized the Cuban personnel to have become involved. Of that you can be sure. Our answer would have been "No." But there wasn't even time to answer; there was no need to answer.

Our relations with the coup(!) group were very bad throughout the crisis. When we learned that they had made those accusations against Bishop, I immediately

made it clear that Bishop hadn't said anything at all to us concerning the existing problems when he stopped over in Cuba. And I also made it clear that we hadn't interfered — nor ever would — in their domestic affairs. Several messages were exchanged. Ours were quite harsh and critical. We were really indignant. We hadn't even issued an official statement, as we were waiting for the situation to become clear. When Bishop's assassination was reported, we issued a very harsh statement, making it clear that our political relations with the new leaders of Grenada would have to undergo profound and serious analysis.....

In Grenada, however, I don't believe it was an extremist policy on Coard's part. Rather, I think, personal ambition was Coard's basic motivation and what really confused many people in whom he inculcated extremist ideas from supposedly revolutionary positions, as a means of gaining support. In the name of the purity of Marxist-Leninist principles, he portrayed Bishop as a man insufficiently prepared to lead the country. Very subtly, he did it very subtly. He worked in the rank and file of the party, the armed forces, the Ministry of the Interior — always presenting himself as an apostle of the purity of ideas — and astutely, little by little, he created the image of a vacillating, reformist Bishop. Thus, he confused many people of good faith in the revolutionary ranks.

Bishop had great popular support and was well liked by the population. But Coard and his group — who belonged to one of the organizations that joined with Bishop to form the New Jewel Movement — didn't work with the masses. That is, the Coard group didn't work with the masses; it worked among the party members — who were a small group of about 200 — and with the cadres of the army and the Ministry of the Interior. This fifth column, this undermining of Bishop's authority, coalesced at a moment when Bishop — though he had the support of the immense majority of the people — lost the majority within the party, both in the Central Committee and among the membership. This was the fruit of the conspiracy led by Coard and his group.....

The government could not have endured. We wouldn't have offered any support to that government after it murdered Bishop and fired on the people. After we had assumed that attitude, it would have been difficult for any other socialist or progressive country to support that group.....

As soon as we had finished the airport, we would have left Grenada.....

Somewhere around here are the dispatches and confidential documents that show everything that happened, as well as the tense relations between us and that group. All cooperation was broken off. Any united defense plan became morally impossible for us. Of course, work on the airport continued. But the messages exchanged, which express our attitude with regard to the events, are in our files..... We fully endorsed Bishop's policies.....

What I'm telling you is really our assessment of what happened there. The international dispatches confirm that when the Cuban doctors departed, the country was left without medical care. What purpose has the invasion served?

The whole infamous action was surrounded by all sorts of lies, with no scruples whatever, because the U.S. students on the island never ran any risk. The first thing the coup group did was to give assurances of safety to everyone, and particularly the medical college. The safest people in Grenada were the U.S. students.

Just a short time ago — one could say a few years — Grenada had attained independence. There was still no real solid national spirit; that sense of homeland, of nationality, was still in the making. In addition, for people who had been educated in the British traditions of respect for the law, who saw the brutal violations of lawfulness and witnessed the unprecedented events of firing upon the people and the assassination of Bishop, it was logical not to realize what an invasion of their territory by the United States meant for the independence and sovereignty of their country — much less what it entailed for the rest of the Caribbean and for the independence of other peoples. Had this been a country with a strong national awareness, a national spirit already developed, the reaction would have been different, despite their profound outrage over what had happened. With the trauma and the pain left by Bishop's death, the loss of the chief, and the brutality of those involved in the coup, the Grenadan people were in no position to judge the invasion.

Situations such as these show the value of patriotic and national feelings. I believe, for instance, that the people of the United States would not have been pleased with an invasion by a foreign army to rid them of Nixon during the Watergate days. There are many examples of peoples with a strong national awareness. The Saharan people have a strong nationalist, patriotic spirit; the Irish have a high national spirit; the Mexicans have a patriotic and national spirit, which is also very strong; Cuba has it. But you couldn't expect such a spirit from the Grenadans. However, many Grenadan soldiers died fighting heroically against the invaders. Therefore, this argument that the invasion was welcomed with applause is trivial — a really weak and simplistic argument.....

The contradictions in this drivel are hilarious. Confessing hopeless misinformation and ignorance from his legitimate reporters on Grenada; claiming no other intelligence sources; claiming that there are no reliable minutes available of NJM developments;—nevertheless Castro suddenly announces to the world, out of the blue,—that he knows the details of how Coard over years placed this friend in one position inside this tiny party of only 68 full members, and another in that key post,—while Coard himself totally abandoned the crucial positions on the Organisational Committee and Politbureau.

And how in such a tiny group of only 68 full members and only 500, in total, candidate & applicant members,—could anyone secretly have been for years slipping their supporters into key posts without anyone else noticing, —especially in such a relatively continuing closed circle where subjective personal relations were still so difficult?

Also, what should be made of Castro's apparently 'impartial' stand on October 15 1983 in the light of his admissions now that they were not going to support the Grenadan revolution without Bishop.

And why this continuing anti-Leninist, unscientific imprecision about 'the people's anger', 'the people's resistance', and 'the people's uprising' when much of the continuing confusion about what exactly happened on Grenada rests precisely in which groupings did what, and why? (See in particular Coard's detailed statement to the US imperialist kangaroo court, next week's Bulletin).

On Saturday, October 15, Comrade Fidel sent a message to the Central Committee of the New Jewel clearly expressing the Cuban position of total noninterference in the internal affairs of the Party and country. He also expressed his deep concern over the fact that the split which had developed could considerably damage the image of the revolutionary process in Grenada within the country and abroad; that even in Cuba, where Bishop was very well regarded, it would not be easy to explain the events; and that he harbored the hope that the difficulties could be overcome with the greatest wisdom, calmness, loyalty to principles and generosity.

Essentially, Cuba's concern was centered around prevent-

ing the situation from leading to a violent and bloody confrontation.

The message also said that Cuba's cooperation with the people of Grenada was a commitment that would continue, regardless of any changes in the Party and national leadership, since this was a purely internal matter.

... people had taken to the streets to support Bishop. A big demonstration had gone to his residence. The reports are still not clear, but it would appear that the people took over a military installation. The army sent troops to the area. There are reports that they fired on the people, killing and wounding some. The army regained control of the installation and arrested many people. (Oct. 20, 1983)

Were the new People's Army on revolutionary socialist Grenada not 'people' too?

Why must they be fired upon by an illegal mob led by an insurance salesman and an ice-cream monopolist which had, like a bunch of counter-revolutionary pirates (or CIA agents-provocateurs), seized Fort Rupert?

And in colossal detail, defying the US kangaroo court to bring a scrap of evidence to prove to the contrary, Coard also explained at his 'trial' that NEVER was Bishop placed under house arrest, or any kind of arrest, or ever removed from the CC of the party;—that all the now-accepted mythology of his 'arrest' by his 'former colleagues' was a complete propaganda stunt from start to finish. (Sadly, this universal 'report' of Bishop's 'arrest' was one of the few

inaccuracies in the Bulletin's interpretation of events on Grenada PUBLISHED AT THE TIME (from sifting through the garbage in the bourgeois press (Guardian, Socialist Action, New Worker, Morning Star, etc)) which has since been richly confirmed by Hart's account, and now by Coard's remarkable court statement. Pending further evidence, the alleged 'arrest' of Bishop will also now be relegated to the bog of rumour and propaganda).

Despite Havana's pitiful naiveness in assuming any noisily clique must be 'the people' (when published CIA evidence tells how their agents bribed crowds tens of thousands strong to fake a 'popular revolt' to overthrow the Iranian nationalist Mossadeq in Tehran to instal the Shah's stooge dictatorship), the 1983 Cuban statement nevertheless declared too:

Unfortunately, the division among the Grenadian revolutionaries led to this bloody drama.

No doctrine, no principle or proclaimed revolutionary position and no internal division can justify atrocious acts such as the physical elimination of Bishop and the prominent group of honest and worthy leaders who died yesterday.

The death of Bishop and his comrades must be cleared up. If they were executed in cold blood, the guilty should receive exemplary punishment.

No steps should be taken which could aid imperialism in its plans.

After yesterday's tragic outcome, we will closely follow the course of events; we will adhere strictly to the principle



Reagan & W. Indies stooge embellish "rescuing students" lies—excuse for invading Grenada to smash socialism.

of not interfering in Grenada's internal affairs; and, above all, we will take into account the interests of the Grenadian people as to economic and technical cooperation, if such cooperation is possible in the new situation. However, our political relations with the new leaders of Grenada will have to undergo profound and serious analysis.

Nonetheless, if the revolutionary process in Grenada is saved, we will do everything we can to help.

We only hope that the tragic events which have taken place will cause all revolutionaries in Grenada and the rest of the world to reflect deeply.

Coard's court evidence demonstrates how pathetically little the Cuban comrades have 'cleared up' of this tragic mess despite the enormous resources at Havana's disposal. Castro's blind spot, —embarrassingly admitted to in one of Cuba's own publications in 1983, still continues:

ST. PAUL'S, Grenada, November 1 (AP).—Cuban President Fidel Castro and former Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop had a virtual father-son relationship, the mother of the assassinated Grenadian leader said today.

"Maurice always admired Fidel, and he, in turn, considered him as a kind of son," said 69-year-old Allmenta Bishop.

"They had a very, very close relationship. They had great mutual admiration," she said. "Fidel used to say that Maurice was too great for Grenada."

Either Bishop or Castro had a contemptuous view of the revolutionary movement on Grenada,—depending on who really told this story. Unless Mrs Bishop is just a doddering old liar,—in which case why publish her views in a Cuban magazine? This lofty conceit echoes the Castro remarks reproduced above about how the allegedly 'stupidly backward' revolutionary island would 'naturally' not have the faintest clue as to what US imperialist invasion was all about.

Or is the real backwardness Castro's? Certainly the petty-bourgeois mob which Castro arbitrarily decided was 'the people' knew no better than to welcome the invading US imperialists with open arms. But does this say

more about Castro's lack of Leninist intelligence or about the revolutionary movement on Grenada?

Perhaps the clue lies in Castro's other astonishing statement in praise of 'people who had been educated in the British traditions of respect for the law'!!!

Ask millions of butchered & framed victims of the Empire since 1600 about that.

This sounds much more like the revisionist stooge who cheered the Allende regime's every naive move in Chile,—even allowing himself to be photographed alongside the 'supportive' General Pinochet representing the 'different' Chilean military who 'had respect for the democratic process',—rather than the revolutionary genius of Moncada.



(See ILWP Bulletins 391-394) The NJM manifesto of 1973 was written in the summer of 1973. Over 80% of that was jointly written by Cde. Maurice Bishop and myself at Beverly Flats. I was particularly responsible for writing the economic sections. My responsibility before and throughout the Revolution was the economy - the formulation and implementation of economic policy. Some of the problems and the decisions taken are very important to lay to rest. The propaganda campaign of the U.S., the propaganda campaign which still pounds away even after 2 3/4 years.

It is important in order to get an understanding of my particular outlook in the context of the lies of the propaganda campaign and the lies and slander, to look at some of these decisions which I took.

When March 13, 1979 took place, the early days of the Revolution were very hectic. The first six days I remember clearly. Neither Maurice nor I operated from any office. We were on the go trying to hold things together. His office was a suitcase. I remember going to the Ministry of Finance to see the situation. My task was to prevent economic disaster, then to get development going to transform the country for the people.

During Gairy's time frequently different categories of public workers got late salary; a number of international organizations could not get their subscriptions paid. At one stage Grenada faced expulsion from the U.N. because we didn't pay. So we had to do a juggling act from day to day with money coming in and money to be paid out.

At this time there were many patriotic Grenadians who, eager to see the economic transformation of our country, took the position that now the Revolution has come, there are a number of things that must be done and done quickly. One of the problems we were faced with and conscious of, and I particularly, is that left governments, progressive and socialist governments in many parts of the third world have been subjected to a lot of propaganda, sometimes correctly, sometimes not, failing to manage the economy properly, trying to move too fast - all with good intentions, but making the situation worse. We saw this in country after country and we were careful about this.

I received letters from citizens and I remember being stopped in the streets and asked in press conferences also, "Why don't we ban the importation of luxury and semi-luxury goods which cost millions of dollars of foreign exchange? The country can't afford this." A very attractive argument. Even many middle class Grenadians who over the years imported or bought such goods were raising this. But we did not ban these luxuries and semi-luxuries, because, as it was my duty to explain at the time, if you suddenly inherit an economy with a certain structure, in which government's revenue depends on imports including imports of luxury and semi-luxury items, then if you ban them overnight all this would lead to the collapse of government revenues.

Karl Hudson-Phillips, O.C.: (interrupting) M'Lud.

C.J. Byron (loudly, emphatically, and with manifest hostility): Yes, do I have to listen to this?

Hudson-Phillips: Archibold, paragraph 555, says that defence statements must be relevant to the issues being tried.

C.J. Byron (to Bernard Coard): Your statement must be relevant to the indictment.

Bernard Coard: I will determine what is relevant.

I intend my statements at all times to be relevant to the indictment in all its dimensions, including why it is that I have been indicted in the first place, and the nature and character of the evidence. I don't intend to please Karl Hudson-Phillips. I will say what I wish to say and I will establish its relevance. I am saying that confronted with difficult decisions...

C.J. Byron: Let me tell you this: regardless of what you say I would have to determine what is relevant.

Bernard Coard: Your Lordship, I will determine in the first instance what is relevant, you will rule on it. I am the one to judge what is best defence for me.

I am saying that when faced with a problem - and we have a problem here... It is my understanding that a defendant making an unsworn statement should not be interrupted; and if I am interrupted all the time it will become a farce.

I have to establish several things. Things were said about me on the streets of St. Georges, including in the demonstrations and that is in evidence in this trial. To establish my character, to show how I respond when faced with difficult problems, this is the best way to establish my defence. To see how October 1983 came about we have to look at the political and economic problems we faced. If even my statement from the dock under duress is going to be stopped with cries of "relevance", then please advise me that you don't want me to establish even an indicative defence. Just tell me, and I will take my seat. I am showing the problems so as to show how 1983 came about.

George Louison talks about a "so-called crisis", giving the impression that the crisis was made up. I want to know where I stand, so please tell me. I have spent my time proposing an indicative defence. A defendant should not be arbitrarily interrupted.

I have a right to establish my character and how I tackle problems in order to establish whether what has been said in this trial is so or not. So please tell me if I would be allowed to present even an indicative defence and I would abide by your ruling even under protest.

C.J. Byron: Did you understand what I said?

Bernard Coard: I think I understood, I am not sure. But my understanding of what you said, if accurate, greatly disturbs me.

C.J. Byron: I trust you will guide yourself accordingly. I have made no ruling. I have stated a principle.

Bernard Coard: So confronted with this problem, I took the decision which was supported by the government and was explained to those who inquired, that such a decision, while good in principle, to save foreign exchange apparently, the immediate consequences would be damaging to the country. While it is attractive to ban things and use the immediate funds for development, however, the consequences would be the collapse of government revenue and inability to pay bills, etc. You can only move to ban and restrict imports after a number of structural steps have been taken over a period of time to transform the economy, so as to provide different sources of revenue, so you don't cause chaos. This is just one example showing caution, a

level headed approach to dealing with the economy.

The same applied to the importation of most vehicles, because you don't ban the importation of vehicles unless you increase public transport first so people can get around. Otherwise you damage the economy. This kind of crazy man, ultra-left image the Americans tried to paint of me and others is refuted by the way I went about solving problems. There were also people raising the question of why don't you have stringent foreign exchange restrictions? (Even Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad had such restrictions) - because we needed to conserve foreign exchange. But before taking any steps - because this sounded very good - so we can conserve foreign exchange - I went to speak to the heads of the Central Bank of Guyana and Jamaica on their experience. I told them, we want to learn from your experience on this. Those officials said that their experience is

that when you place very strict foreign exchange controls, what happens is that many nationals living abroad who send back money, stop doing so. Psychologically they want to know if they want to take the money out of the country, they can do that; thus, if we restrict, the remittances they send home would dry up. It would be counter-productive. For that reason we left the foreign exchange situation as it was. Grenadians were able to send money abroad. And because of this and other factors remittances went from \$16 million to \$42 million in the first year of the Revolution and every year it remained in the 40's. It was important - that's one reason why we were able to do so much. We didn't jump and take action. We checked others first, and we were guided by what we learned.

It is interesting that in the formation of the NCB and GDB and Grenada Bank of Commerce the approach that was used was this. Not to wake up some morning and pass a law nationalizing any bank and businesses. You will never believe this if you hear the propaganda and you would never believe this was my responsibility.

"The documents of the Revolution will show my own position on the question of the pace of building the Revolution"

In August 1983, I gave a speech in London to Caribbean teachers in Britain. The Prosecution has the book with that speech. I made the point there that there are some people who believe that a Revolution must be built like a house, brick by brick. I condemned in that speech those who believed in Instant Mescafe Revolution. Tony Buxo printed the line in The Torchlight years before, that "Coard is a hard-line Communist." And in October 1983 that line suddenly surfaced on the streets. That book I referred to, as well as the question of the pace of building the Revolution. My statements on RFG in answer to journalists' questions also show a consistent pattern in respect to all of these matters.

All the propaganda says a different thing. And they manipulate people to push a different line on the streets. None of this is accidental.

"Pile on the pressure until the system cracks!"

I made the point at the outset, that to understand this case we have to see how the U.S. and certain CARICOM governments reacted to the growth and development of the Grenada Revolution. Actions they took to turn back the Grenada Revolution and crush all its leaders, especially Cde. Maurice Bishop. The pattern of destabilization right through and including October 19. Who were the agents and what were the concrete methods used: only in this way can we understand the following:

- the nature and basis of the crisis.
- the motivation of Barbadian policemen sent by Tom Adams to investigate the case. Why we were tortured and why they came to Grenada with a particular concocted story.
- why the particular people in the dock are here, and why others are not.

When the Revolution took place four actions were taken immediately by what is now known as the OECS states, as well as by Barbados, in one case. The four actions were hostile and oppressive.

(1) They stopped LIAT flights into Grenada - the only airline serving Grenada - with the consequences for the economy, and our links with the outside world.

(2) They removed the Supreme Court from Grenada. They met in Antigua and took that decision. They ordered the judges to leave Grenada. That is how Grenada the PRG was forced to set up its own court, not through choice but forced by the exigencies of the situation.

(3) The other OECS states held up and refused to release Grenada's currency from BOCA. If you don't replace worn dollar bills, the economy will in time collapse, will grind to a halt. It was a serious crisis. Money belonging to us under the treaty, they were refusing to hand over. It was an acute crisis based on a political decision of the other OECS states.

(4) The other OECS states owed Grenada \$800,000 for various debts and were refusing to hand it over. Nearly one million dollars! Those were days of real pressure!

On top of those problems faced by Grenada, our Party and leadership, the U.S. government embarked on a number of concrete actions aimed at also turning back the Revolution - a pattern that has become world famous - a process the U.S. Congress called destabilization.

Jack Anderson exposed it in The Washington Post. The NSC of the U.S. government was debating whether to take a decision to place warships right around Grenada, to blockade Grenada so as to have immediate restoration of Eric Gairy. They decided that other measures were preferable because of possible international and American outrage.

So instead of open blockade they started destabilization against the economy and political process of Grenada. In that early period an American academic, a writer of books, visited Grenada and spoke to Cde. Maurice Bishop and myself outlining what he knew as the pyramidal crack! That was the strategy he described.

"The U.S. government will not tolerate your having relations with Cuba ... remember, Grenada's economy depends on tourism."

One of the first things they did was to send in Frank Octiz. I met him in my office. He saw Cde. Maurice Bishop in his office. And we met him together too. We asked him to get assistance from the U.S. government to develop the country. His response was to say that "We can organise for you to get some projects for \$5,000 each." That was the kind of aid they were prepared to give us! Cde. Maurice Bishop made all of this public in speeches to the nation. Octiz said that the U.S. government will not tolerate us having relations with Cuba and having close relations with Cuba. We will have to remember that Grenada depends on tourism," he said.

The distinct, repeated impression he gave was that the U.S. government could mash up our economy by mashing up our tourist industry as they did to Jamaica under Michael Manley and to other countries, through propaganda, through paying criminal elements to stir up crime so as to discourage

tourists, and so on.
We said to Ortiz and later Shelton, that Grenada is an independent and sovereign country, and is not a puppet, and that we will not be bullied and pushed around. Then a number of things started happening as a result. Articles started to appear in the North American and European press where our tourists were coming from. One had a photo of a beach looking like Grand Anse Beach, but with barbed wire, and they said this was a beach in Grenada. It appeared in Maclean's Magazine in Canada. The only time you have had barbed wire in Grenada was after the invasion! But suddenly such articles appeared. How could tourists feel?

Then in the first year we invited Sparrow to put on a concert in Grenada. The entire leadership of the Revolution went to Seamon: Army and Security units were sent up there to protect the leadership, because there were threats from Gairy and from mercenaries. But when the concert was in progress, two fires took place in Grenada simultaneously. A Crafts Cottage right in the heart of the tourist area was burnt down; and simultaneously GITS in the heart of St. Georges burned down as well. Both fires in the tourist sector. GITS is one of two travel agencies in Grenada. It was found out that it was arson. Kerosene was found there.

With the Crafts Cottage fire, a U.S. medical student was actually caught red-handed. This happened when the whole leadership was in St. Andrews. This happened after Ortiz tells us "remember that Grenada's economy depends on tourism." On top of that we have appearing in this same period a series of articles in a West German paper saying there is a submarine base in Grand Etang, then Carriacou, then Petit Calligny. This was reprinted in the local press with all kinds of technical details! All of this after the U.S. ambassador tries to tell us who to have relations with, and "don't forget your economy depends on tourism!"

As the years went on there were other signs of destabilization. Ship-loads of cocoa leaving Grenada in good conditions and arriving damaged by chemicals. We lost \$600,000 in one shipment of cocoa alone. This never happened before. One of two generators in Queen's Park was damaged, it looked suspiciously like sabotage. All of the tactics are well known to be used by the U.S. C.I.A. around the world. Another development was that a particular businessman, a patriot, came to see me and he said that he personally and others had been approached by U.S. diplomats asking them to stop the importation of certain goods they were importing, and to board certain other goods. The same tactics which had been used in Chile and Jamaica. They said to the group of businessmen that "we will finance you for any losses."

So they could turn off housewives to a Revolution like if they go in a shop and could not get basic things! Women are a large section of the population. At the same time a particular businessman responsible for the importation of rice brought in rice and refused to clear it unless the government could give 10% mark-up above the normal permitted mark-up. It was out of that experience that one of the economic policies of the Revolution was speeded up to deal with that, namely the Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB). This was to counteract the U.S. using any unpatriotic businessman. The businessmen knew that if they went along with the Americans then the MNIB would take over the importation, so the people can get these items. So MNIB served as a way of preventing destabilization: MNIB was also used as a form of competition, to control prices. We dropped the price of tyres and sugar. At one stage sugar in Grenada was half the price of what it cost in nearby St. Vincent.

"Six minutes before the bomb went off, the U.S. Embassy in Barbados announced the deaths of the PRG leadership! - those convicted walk free today."

That was not the end of the pattern of destabilization. That pattern was to continue and grow from strength to strength because at all costs the Revolution had to be overthrown. We had the grave inference on June 19, 1980, when yet again the entire leadership was on platform together in Queen's Park, in honour of Heroes Day, when a bomb went off directly under where the entire leadership of the Grenada Revolution, Party and government sat. That bomb went off at 3:12 p.m. that bomb was supposed to have gone off at 3 p.m. based on investigations done later. But because of errors in the timing mechanism it went off at 3:12.

At 3:06 p.m. the U.S. Embassy in Barbados put out in their telenews releases that a bomb went off in Queen's Park and a number of leaders of the PRG were killed, others injured. Six minutes after the bomb was supposed to have gone off, but six minutes before it actually went off, the U.S. Embassy put out these releases. We actually got one of these releases!

It is significant that those who were arrested, charged and tried for the killing of three young women by the bomb that was placed, they were convicted, they appealed. The matter was before the Appeal Court. When the U.S. invasion took place, the very first people pardoned by the Governor-General - undoubtedly by the "advice" of the Americans - were all those convicted of that murder and whose appeal was before the Appeal Court. They were pardoned before the Appeal Court could hear and determine the matter, even without the knowledge or recommendation of the Chief Justice who was not even in the country at the time! They are walking the streets of Grenada free - pardoned for the June 19 bombing which the U.S. Embassy released in advance of its occurrence!

It is similar for those being held for the murder of the St. Patricks Five. They too walk the streets free, freed after the U.S. invasion of Grenada! It is called justice, Yankee style.

We have also the mysterious fire at the Holiday Inn, the #1 hotel, the island's largest hotel, burnt down mysteriously one night. With just that fire half of the first class hotel rooms in Grenada were knocked out and with it the tourism industry was badly affected.

This is part of a general pattern unfolding at the time, and we have to remember threats of Ortiz, the appearance in our territorial waters of U.S. helicopters, military aircraft, battleships and submarines. On numerous occasions the country had to be put on a state of alert and each time the country was on a state of alert it had consequences. It created dislocations, affected tourism.

Another form of destabilization was the attempt at every twist and turn to prevent Grenada from getting loans and grants to prevent us growing and developing. They wanted the Revolution to fail. They understood that the building of the International Airport was the passport to economic liberation, so they wanted that stopped. Through our own efforts and mobilization we were building our own International Airport. No other Caribbean island has done that in peace time. That is why we are on trial! It cost \$71 million, a lot of money. It was my responsibility to find the money, and General Austin's to build the airport. A lot of sleepless nights were involved.

(At this point the Chief Justice packs up his books, and turns his back on the defendant, closing his eyes.)

"Reagan announced that the airport was a Soviet military base - up to now, no apology for that lie."

The U.S. did everything to stop that airport being built. The lies they spread! We said the runway was 9,800 feet. They said it was 10,000 to 11,000 feet. We said "measure it!"

The U.S. medical students lived right next to the International Airport. They ran and jogged at the airport. The place was no security zone. Grenadians used to go there on evenings to take in the majesty of the project. But Reagan in March and April 1983 says on T.V. and radio, that the International Airport is a Soviet military base and he actually showed satellite pictures to "prove" that, and he said because of that Grenada is a threat to the U.S. national security. That's a declaration of war! Note that, in relation to October 19, 1983.

Plus in the stockpiling of medicines by the Tom Adams government in August 1983 and spoken about by Mr. Errol Barrow in Parliament at the time. The British government of Mrs. Margaret Thatcher had a representative based in Grenada and he used to visit the International Airport to report to his government. One of the people we had to get the money from - the largest cash donation (Cuba gave us materials, equipment and technical assistance) was the British government of Margaret Thatcher. Do you think that such a government would give money for a Soviet base? A British company, Plessey's, was given the contract to install all the equipment at the terminal building. Meten - a Finnish company - got the contract for the lighting.

Yet they said it was a Soviet military base right up to the invasion! They used that to overthrow the Revolution, smash it up. Up to now, of course, they have not apologized for that lie.

There have been fifty-seven military flights just this year, of U.S. Air Force and Navy using the International Airport. So who has turned it into a military base? What they accuse others of doing, they do it.

I had to go to a conference in Brussels on April 12, 1981. Ode. Maurice Bishop was to speak at a mass rally at the International Airport itself. Simultaneously it was my task to be in Brussels at a conference specially organized with the EDC to interest governments and banks to help us with loans and grants. \$40 to \$50 million was still needed. The U.S. embarked on a fantastic campaign. When we reached Brussels we were bombarded with propaganda! It attacked me personally, too, that's the stroke!

The conference lasted a few days. We took the then President of the Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Association. They went as part of the delegation. The Banks told us the U.S. tried to prevent them from even attending the conference to discuss the matter. But we won that battle and we got the money. Two banks - British and Canada - approached me and said they were prepared to lend the money on one condition, "that you don't let the world know until all the contracts are signed." They were afraid they would come under U.S. pressure. But it is significant that some people were standing up to assist us. We had to struggle to get money from the IMF for roads, farm roads, fisheries, industry, electricity, telephone, water, and housing. Each time the U.S. government tried to block us officially. From 1979 to '83 the U.S. officials sought to block us from getting funds. There was battle after battle. All of this is on record. When the IMF meets what every country says is put on telex to every other country. On every occasion the U.S. officially sought to block us.

C.J. Byron (suddenly interrupting): There is something I would like to say in the absence of the jury.

The Jury are removed from court.

C.J. Byron: I cannot see the relevance of all this to the charge. The amount of time you have spent on it! I am not persuaded of its relevance. And you have made an outburst which verges on impertinence. It is my duty to control your statement!

Bernard Coard: First, your Lordship, I wish to say that I am not convinced that you were awake at all times so that you could see the relevance. Secondly, I wish to establish as part of my defence, the role of the U.S. government and its agencies in causing the crisis and events of October 1983. The pattern of pressures, mounting and cumulative pressures - the economic, military, diplomatic and propaganda moves - to put pressure on the Grenada Revolution and its leadership, in order to establish unmistakably that for one thing when George Louison says that there was a "so-called crisis," there was in fact a deep-seated and profound crisis!

That what happened was neither an ideological conflict nor a personality conflict nor a personal struggle for power. That the desire and concern of the leaders of party in September/October 1983 was to genuinely grapple with the problems, that there was no ulterior motive or plot or conspiracy as St. Paul and George Louison try to imply. Why does joint leadership get proposed? What is the context? What is the background? Was there a crisis? What was the nature of it? How did it unfold? What were the motives of those who proposed the different solutions? Who was responsible for the crisis? What role did different people play? What is the role of the U.S. the crisis, what was its manipulation of the situation?

If I can't present this defence, you will have to move to the next defendant. The Prosecution took eleven weeks to present their case. Now I can't get to present mine.

Hudson-Phillips: There is a lack of appreciation as to what an unsworn statement is, a tendency to abuse the facility. One reason he gives for saying all this is to counter George Louison's evidence about a "so-called crisis". He did not cross-examine the witness George Louison. This is significant. It seems that the strategy is, not to participate, but yet -

Bernard Coard (rising): Objection! Mr. Hudson-Phillips is misleading the court. Regarding this particular witness, I wished to cross-examine him. I asked for certain documents in order to do so. These documents were refused the defendants; the U.S. government invoked diplomatic immunity in refusing to return the defendants' copies of the NJM Party minutes seized following the invasion of Grenada; documents which were vital to their defence. Mr. Hudson-Phillips cannot represent my strategy. Let him speak for himself!

Hudson-Phillips: The strategy is transparent. Certain records have been broken ...

Lt. Colonel Edward Layne (sotto voce): Like for the selection of the jury!

Bernard Coard: Like the rigging of the jury. Mr. Hudson-Phillips was slandering me! I cannot tolerate this. Moreover, he is seeking to forbid me to give my evidence, this "alleged Q.C."! These are things I know; I am

...to speak of them. And do not represent my position as me!

Hudson-Phillips (appealing to the judge): He said you were not awake!
Bernard Coard: He put away his books, and closed his eyes! This is highly prejudicial conduct towards an unrepresented defendant making a statement in front of a jury!

Hudson-Phillips (changing tack): The relevance of this statement is escaping me. The relevance of the action of any government to this case escapes me.

Bernard Coard: Listen, settle this in chambers and give me the ruling!

Hudson-Phillips: He speaks of his character - that's relevant, though self-serving. He is seeking to prove or disprove what's not on record too! The party about an ideological split or not, he's saying the crown's case seeks to give him a motive, and he must say certain things to negate that. But I can see no relevance in a political tirade!

C.J. Byron: Once more, I say, the principle of relevance will be applied. That's all I will say at this time. We will take the adjournment now. Call back the jury.

ADJOURN FOR THE DAY
THURSDAY, 14TH AUGUST 1986

Bernard Coard: There are a number of points I would like to make in order to place into total context the statement of my indicative defence. I would like to state in broad outline that my indicative defence is as follows:

"This is my indicative defence."

Firstly, I am innocent of all charges in respect of this case #19 of 1984 brought by the U.S. government using black face cards.

Secondly, the events of October 19th and the tragic death of Ode. Maurice Bishop and others was the culmination of the result of a grand conspiracy by the U.S. government and its agencies, stretching over the 4 1/2 years of the Revolution, with the clear objective of overthrowing the Grenada Revolution utilizing both the genuine objective problems facing the Revolution and the Party, the NJM, combined with the conscious activity of destabilization of myriad kinds by the U.S. government and its agencies.

Thirdly, the statement I am making from the dock is not of my choosing but has been imposed on me, and I am constrained to give only an indicative defence - check Blackstone's commentaries. Were this a free and fair trial which I contend it is not, where I could have cross-examined witnesses as a result of being provided with the necessary facilities, could call witnesses to testify and put into evidence many documents which the U.S. government is holding and is refusing to hand over after more than two and a half years of requests;

Were I able to do these things, then not only would I be able to destroy the pathetic pack of lies masquerading as 'evidence' which the prosecution has presented and taken eleven weeks to do so, but I would also have been able to establish beyond doubt the guilt of the real culprits who deliberately provoked the incident on October 19th which resulted in the tragic death of Ode. Maurice Bishop and others; which incidents these same culprits have here used as an excuse to invade and occupy our country; to strip Grenada of its sovereignty and national independence and, to boot, lay charges against myself and the remainder of the leadership of the Revolution, so as to complete their aim, to eliminate the entire leadership of the Revolution, as they tried to do in the Queen's Park bombing on June 19, 1980, as they tried to do in October and November 1979, and in the April 1980 plot to assassinate the leadership of the Party and Revolution, and as they tried on many other occasions unsuccessfully. That is the main outline of my defence. Those who wish me to produce a different defence, let them do so when they are put on trial.

Those who wish to close their notebooks and their eyes and so prejudice the jury, I will simply note it, and take it up elsewhere.

"The Americans are responsible for every aspect of this case, and yet are invisible."

One of the most significant aspects of this case is how the Americans are responsible for every aspect of this case, and yet are invisible. Phillip Agee's book shows that this is standard operating procedure. When C.I.A. has a project, Headquarters has to approve all arrangements to ensure that as far as possible the entire source of their destabilization, mischief and crimes are hidden. They operate through other people. They interrogate through Bajans. They investigate, but use Uncle Toms. They hire certain people to practice the law for them - while the U.S. representative is sitting in the press box. He makes a report to his government every night!

"Those who slander the name of the Grenada Revolution and of Ode. Bishop are now crying crocodile tears, while those who feel his loss the most are those on trial."

We used to run a government for 4 1/2 years, no one could underestimate our capacity for knowing what is happening in this country. Those who meet with State Department officials in their offices must know that we know. We are observing their actions and conduct. Those who slandered the name of the Grenada Revolution including Ode. Maurice Bishop, and tried tricks to assassinate Ode. Maurice Bishop are now crying crocodile tears - while the people who feel his loss the most are those on trial. Those who send a famous calypsonian on two occasions to talk to us at the NCB building, to ask us to provide them with assistance to overthrow a government and we say no - Maurice Bishop and I said no - have good reason for wanting us off the scene. That information is on its way to the relevant CARACOM government. We refused to interfere in other countries' affairs. We said we will not help you in overthrowing any other Caribbean government.

"Grenadians want to know, the world wants to know."

I want the following clearly grasped in the outline of my indicative defence:

#1. Was there a crisis in the party in September/October 1983? George Louison talks about a "so-called crisis," giving the impression that we make it up. What did Ode. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, George Louison and defendants here have to say in September/October in those meetings George Louison described? What did they say at the time in question, recorded while it was being said? Grenadians want to know, the world wants to know.

#2. How serious was the crisis?

#3. What were all the causes of it? Including the causes as seen and analysed by the leadership at the time in question? What did Ode. Maurice Bishop and others say at the time? What was the state of mind of all involved? What did they say about it? Grenadians want to know.

#4. What was the fear of the leadership at the time in question in September/October 1983, if the crisis was not resolved? What were they saying? What was uppermost in the minds of all if the crisis was not resolved? Grenadians want to know.

#5. What concrete measures were proposed for dealing with the crisis by all those involved at the time? What solutions to the crisis were proposed by different people? What was my view? What did I say at the time? Not what I say today, but what I said at the time.

That is why the Americans just can't afford to turn over those documents, because think of this: can you imagine, the minutes of all NJM CC meetings were always taken by a recording secretary while the meetings were taking place. They were always typed on stencils and a precise number rolled off. Each copy was distinctively marked with a felt pen in the body of each page. That way, if any agent stole one and we discovered it, we could know whose copy it was. It was a security measure. Every copy is an original, in a sense. Some of these documents could be seen in the U.S.

book, Grenada Documents. Some additional copies were kept at Ode. Maurice Bishop's home and the rest in the Party Secretariat.

Therefore the American government has 20 original copies of each vital document of a political nature, yet they can't provide one from the 20 for this trial. Why? It gives off a stench. They could do nothing to assist the cause of justice and truth. But you see, the documents do not serve their interest and ends.

#6. What role did objective factors unfolding in the natural process of building a poor country have, in the unfolding of the crisis of September/October 1983?

#7. What role did U.S. agents play in fomenting, escalating and exploiting the crisis? Certain people fidget when you mention the U.S. and their role. Dr. Williams once said he would return to government because the person taking over was in the pay of the U.S.I

#8. What role did George Louison and one or two other specific elements who I will name play in fomenting and escalating the crisis also?

"When the documents start leaking out of the building in Washington, people would remember the words I said here, and judge for themselves."

#9. How did the convergence of (a) objective problems, (b) the activities of George Louison and company, (c) U.S. government and C.I.A. activity and that of their regional puppets: how did the convergence of these three factors lead to moving the situation initially from one of crisis (January to end of August '83) culminating in the CC meeting on August 26, 1983; the growing gravity of the crisis in the Party, and how it was affecting programmes and mass organizations of the Revolution? The fact is that the minutes of August 26 would show that Ode. Maurice Bishop pointed out that the Party faced disintegration, unless measures were taken. This is before the September meeting to propose solutions. Then a situation of the crisis resolved on or on the way to being resolved. (September 25 General Meeting of members of NJM, a meeting the Prosecution has not talked about.) However, Cletus St. Paul in order to push a propaganda line trying to make mischief from the witness box, unwittingly talks about the atmosphere of joy and happiness of all, including Ode. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and others at Ode. Maurice Bishop's home on September 25.

The Ode. Maurice Bishop leaves the next day, September 26. He meets George Louison here and also out there are Cletus St. Paul and Don Rojas (you will hear more about his activities, including his activities on October 19th) and then there is the return of those three elements who accompanied Ode. Maurice Bishop and then the crisis is back to square one. Why? Who was responsible? What causes that? Then another stage - the crisis escalates. Who escalates it? Why? With what objective? Who stands to gain and who stands to lose?

There is something I have given a lot of thought to, and that is the very strange conduct of George Louison on October 18th, which was a very important day. Sometimes you just look at October 19, and you don't put all the pieces together. But one of the legal counsel I met, after he spent some time speaking to people. The first question he asked me was "What happened on October 18th?" It was a time of heightened activity by everyone - those in the dock and others - to solve the crisis. October 18th was the high point of that. I proposed the meeting with George Louison, Unison Whiteman, Selwyn Strachan and myself to find a solution. In the trial George admitted this but said I was returning his call!

Apart from my initiating a series of meetings, to solve the crisis, CC comrades went to meet with Ode. Maurice Bishop, Caribbean personalities came in to assist us and one met with Ode. Maurice and the rest of the Central Committee on October 18, and was due to meet with us again on October 19. And meanwhile Odes. Hudson Austin, Ewart Layne, Dave Batholomew and Liam James met with Ode. Maurice Bishop also. Other CC men met with Party comrades on the night of October 18, also in an attempt towards resolving the problems.

Ode, Hudson Austin told Ode. Unison and others, "don't resign, they're about to be solved." Yet that same afternoon on all radio stations, there are the announcements of the resignations of Ode. Unison Whiteman, George Louison, Lyden Ramadhanny, Jacqueline Crefit and Norris Bain. Were some people upset because it looked like a solution was about to be reached, the crisis about to be solved? were precipitate actions taken to ensure that the crisis was not solved? Who took those actions? What did they do? With a meeting scheduled for 10 a.m. on the 19th October, plus with Caribbean persons there. The outline of the agreement verbally discussed and about to be agreed to, and then a crowd is led up to Mt. Weldale, takes Ode. Maurice Bishop - there is a crowd in the Market Square with microphones, but instead they went up to Fort Rupert, disarmed soldiers and armed certain civilians.

And this crowd had "God Bless America" placards. Are we supposed to believe that all of this is accidental? Wasn't it that some people tried to ensure that there was no solution, so that the Revolution can be overthrown? October 18th is key.

All I have to say here, I don't expect Grenadians to understand, appreciate and accept now, but I say so for the historic record so that when the documents start leaking out of the buildings in Washington, so that when people worldwide get here, they would remember the words I said here and judge for themselves. I do not say anything for short-term advantage, but for history. I speak from my heart. I am a very blunt person. I say things as I see them. I don't take nonsense, and I am not going to curry favour with judge, prosecution or jury. Who vex, vex. I'll let history judge me.

#10. Who, which persons, which forces, which governments, had a vested

interest in the crisis not being resolved, but instead getting worse and leading to catastrophe? We need to examine that.

11. What was the position as recorded in black and white at the time in question, of all the leaders of the Party presently facing trial, with regards to the fundamental importance of Ode. Maurice Bishop to the Party, government and Revolution? Not something we say now, because he is dead, but what was said at the time? What did those on trial have to say on this question of the fundamental importance of Ode. Maurice Bishop to the Party, government and Revolution on the 14, 15 and 16 September? What were the positions of people on September 17, on this question? What were their positions, expressed in relation to this at the very General Meeting on September 25th? What were the positions of comrades at the General Meeting on September 26 on this question of Ode. Maurice Bishop's fundamental importance to the Party, government and Revolution? All this was recorded while the debates were taking place. What was the position of leaders of the Party on the question of Ode. Maurice Bishop on October 13th, at the Party General Meeting at Butler House - a meeting George Louison spoke of but left out a number of things and told lies that did not take place. What was the position of Selwyn Strachan and Bernard Coard at the meeting of October 15, 16 and 17 at my house with Unison Whiteman and George Louison on the fundamental importance of Maurice Bishop to Party, government and Revolution? When George Louison at that meeting on two occasions proposed the removal of Ode. Maurice Bishop from leadership of the Party,

what was the response of all the other members of the leadership now in the dock?

Where Ode. Maurice Bishop himself as reflected in minutes of several meetings of CC from as far back as 1982 and including vital meetings of 1983, when Ode. Maurice Bishop raised questions concerning his ability to lead the Party because of his acknowledgement of weaknesses, what was the response of other party leaders now in the dock?

That is why I say this case starts when it's done, because when documents start being published, people would find out the truth. We must examine the concerns, fears and motivations of the leadership, especially those in the dock at this time. Not frame up a case to kill people and call it justice!

"There was absolutely no way this country could be defended successfully without the presence and active involvement of Ode. Maurice Bishop."

12. How did the leaders of the Party presently in the dock see the role of Ode. Maurice Bishop in September and October 1983, in the context of the impending U.S. invasion of the country? We must be under no illusion. The U.S. was planning to invade Grenada, there was abundant evidence of this, and a number of different pieces of concrete information then available to the leadership will be resolved.

Because uppermost in the minds of all the leaders now in the dock and those not in the dock was the impending invasion of Grenada by U.S. And it was clear that there was absolutely no way this country could be defended in the context of disunity, and without resolving the crisis. There was absolutely no way this country could be defended successfully without the presence and active involvement in that defence of Ode. Maurice Bishop. No way in terms of rallying the people, the militia, and this was determined by the unity and morale of the people, and the active involvement of Ode. Maurice Bishop was absolutely necessary for that. He was unparalleled in that, none could touch him in articulating the desires and aspirations of the people. His charisma, the love of the people for him; no one could touch him in that. No one therefore in this dock was under any illusion in relation to the capacity of the Revolution to defend itself without Ode. Maurice Bishop.

If we don't understand that, we don't understand October 19th. Some people don't want October 19 to be understood! I am trying to show clearly therefore all the factors which led to and determined the thinking and moderation of the Party leadership in their deliberations in all the meetings - at the September 14 - 16, September 17 CC meetings, the September 25 General Meeting, the September 26 General Meeting, the October 13 General Meeting and all other bilateral and small meetings between the 14 - 18 October, such as the ones between Selwyn Strachan, Unison Whiteman, George Louison and myself, all aimed at finding a solution. Not the lies George Louison and Cletus St. Paul would like people to believe, but the real reasons, the real thinking. What was said and done at the time? To demonstrate conclusively that there was no motive to murder Ode. Maurice Bishop, and that there could not have been any; in fact the opposite is the case; the entire leadership was clear that there could be no solution to the crisis without Ode. Maurice Bishop. Anyone who knows the Revolution knows this is true.

Without an amicable solution, given the high level of consciousness on the part of the leadership of the role and motivation of the U.S. to invade the country, the whole Revolution was bound to be overthrown by imperialists if we didn't go all out to resolve the problems. This was the main preoccupation of everyone at the time.

It is in the above context we must appreciate my personally initiating the series of dialogues between Selwyn Strachan, Unison Whiteman, George Louison and myself. Not the lies George Louison says took place! What George Louison said took place are lies. Secondly it is in the above context we must understand the attempts by other CC comrades, including the four CC comrades who met with Ode. Maurice Bishop on October 18th. It is in the above context also that we must see the two CC members who went to speak to many members of the Party on the evening of October 18th, all in attempts at settling the crisis.

Fourthly, it is in the above context that we must see all of the Party leaders including Ode. Maurice Bishop accepting Caribbean left leaders coming into Grenada to help in settling the crisis. In fact their having played a constructive and useful role and reaching far in amicably settling the crisis.

I will now deal separately with Cletus St. Paul's hide and seek melodrama of how he tried to reach me, etc. Its objective is prejudice, slander, and innuendo. Once I lay out a few facts, people would see the absurdity.

"Ode. Maurice Bishop going to Fort Rupert on October 19 was completely out of character for him, and for NJM as a Party ... on his own, there is no way he would have taken such a decision."

I wish to say also, and plan to argue further, that Ode. Maurice Bishop going to Fort Rupert on October 19 was completely out of character for him and for NJM as a Party. I say this based on my intimate knowledge and relationship with Ode. Maurice Bishop over the years from secondary school, and my knowledge of NJM. On his own, there is no way he would have taken such a decision.

"My personal knowledge and relations with Ode. Maurice Bishop go back to secondary school days."

My view is also based on information that Unison Whiteman and others were almost certainly expecting Ode. Maurice Bishop to go to the Market Square and address the people there. Microphones were there and Ode. Unison Whiteman had spoken to people earlier that morning on those same microphones. That was the reality of the situation, and that is my view based on my personal knowledge and relations with Ode. Maurice Bishop going back to secondary school days, he at Presentation Boys College and I at the GBSS. There was a strong tradition in those days where GBSS boys didn't talk to College boys. One of the things that Ode. Maurice Bishop and I were proud of is the starting of the process of the breaking down of that unnecessary and somewhat unhealthy tradition of young men of the same age not talking to each other! We were together the founders while in 6th form of the Grenada Assembly of Youth After Truth in the early 60's. When I was studying in the U.S.A. and Maurice in the U.K., he would come to New York, I would go across from Boston to New York, and we would spend time together and talk. We would discuss the future of the country. We were extremely close socially and politically.

When I went to the United Kingdom to do my post graduate studies, he was then living in Tulse Hill. I worked in Deptford.

The book on education which I wrote while I was living in London - the idea was conceived at a fete at his house. I remember we used to go together to libraries - to the London University library, to the West India Committee Library - researching together the life of Fedon, the man who struggled against the British to free the slaves in Grenada. Maurice wrote a forty page paper on the history and life of Fedon.

"We wrote the manifesto for the development of our country."

I remember in 1973 going with Ode. Maurice Bishop and other comrades, some of those in the dock, and some of those who are not, to meetings of MAP (Movement for Assemblies of the People), meetings in River Saltee, and on the West Coast.

I remember after the formation of the NJM in 1973, along with other comrades but mainly the work was carried by the two of us, we wrote the manifesto for the development of our country. About 80% of that manifesto was written by Ode. Maurice Bishop and myself at Beverly Flats, in quarantine ... Grenadians who know the area will know that's where the BBC nightclub always used to be. I don't know if it's still there, but that's where it was for many years.

"Meaningful, not meaningless independence"

I remember NJM's mobilizing for the May 6, 1973, People's Convention on Independence. Our main slogan was "meaningful, not meaningless independence" - we meant independence with jobs, with housing, with decent education and health services for the people. We explained to the people that Gairy's independence was meaningless.

The Constitution talks were held in London. Gairy and the opposition, then headed by Herbert Blaize, went to the talks. I was invited to go. At those talks we worked together; I was on the inside, and Maurice on the outside, talking with Grenadians, trying to persuade them to support a programme for meaningful independence.

"The 27 crimes of Gairy ... a historic document ... we wrote it together."

I remember the People's Congress of November 4th, 1973. I remember vividly, in the days before that Congress there were attempts by Gairy to arrest the NJM leadership, and so to prevent us holding the Congress. I remember when I came in to Pearsall Airport from Trinidad, there were police waiting for me, but they were drinking in a bar - I made a quick dash into a taxi, and gave them the slip!

The 27 crimes of the Gairy government which was presented at that Congress at Seamount, Ode. Maurice Bishop and I wrote it together. The NJM as part of the People's Alliance gave a very creditable performance. Even with massive rigging by Gairy - we came within 250 votes of winning that election. Yet we did not win, and so the pressure on the people, the suffering of the people, continued.

"With the limited means at our disposal, we had to make the Revolution."

And I remember Saturday, the 10th of March, 1979. At around 3 o'clock in the afternoon we were in a building on Lucas Street, the Party was holding a meeting there, and we got news that Gairy had sent out his police to round up the leadership of the NJM. At that time we learned that we faced possible liquidation. Gairy had had constructed eight special underground cells for the eight members of the Political Bureau of NJM. During this present trial, throughout the Prosecution case I was placed in one of those cells prepared by Gairy for the NJM leadership in 1979. They are the only cells in the prison without light. That's a historic irony!

On that day, March 10, 1979, the police had gone to nab us at our homes. We got word of this and asked some comrades to park our cars for us in different locations all over St. George's so that it would not be apparent that we were in that building, because our cars were right outside the building on Lucas Street. Then we - Maurice and myself - went into a vehicle we had never travelled in before; because when you have a security problem of any kind you do not use a vehicle which is well known, what's called a 'marked car'. You use a vehicle which is not known, an unmarked car. This is a basic precaution, and later on I am going to invite all those whose minds are not totally and irredeemably prejudiced by the propaganda, I am going to ask them to consider whether on October 19th, 1983, with hundreds of people in the streets chanting and shouting for the blood of Bernard Coard, whether my security would have chosen to put myself and my wife into Maurice Bishop's car, perhaps the best known car in Grenada.

And so, we went into hiding on March 10th, 1979. Ode. Maurice Bishop, Ode. Unison Whiteman and myself were together. Ode. Hudson Austin went into hiding separately, with other comrades. I remember vividly which house we went to, in Green Street, to hide until it was dark. Then we moved and we were moving, moving, from Saturday the 10th to Monday the 12th. One of our hiding places was only a few yards from Gairy's residence at Mount Royal - it was a little scary! That was a dangerous and perilous period - but we were in hiding together, discussing how to respond. With the limited means at our disposal, we knew we had to make the Revolution.

"One was facing history rather directly."

Hudson Austin joined us on the 12th. At Freedom Hill that night we were joined by 42 others. We were 46 in all. Half of us had something in our hand, and the other half had nothing. We were facing Gairy's army of 200, and his police force of 600 in 36 police stations throughout the island.

That was an assault on Gairy's Green Beast [Army] Barracks in which

seven of them now in the dock. That's why they are here in the dock. And it is a fact that only a percentage of the enormous crowd went there.

At 4:10 a.m. when we moved out, that was quite a moment. One was facing history rather directly. We would either make the Revolution or we would be dead. We had a careful plan involving maximum noise and confusion, to create a fire with Molotov cocktails, and to create confusion ...

When we attacked, Gairy's army rushed out in underpants and in no pants - not one Gairy soldier or one of ours lost their lives. Two people died later, but not then, not in that assault.

"We were insistent that it could be done without bloodshed, because Grenada is a small society."

I will never forget, there was one individual who was not a member of the Party but we involved him because he had had military training. He presented us with real problems. I think he had been trained in the British army. His training was "kill! kill! kill!" He kept saying in disgust, "Coard wants us to take Gairy's army with a Bible in one hand and a rope in the other!" (We had rope to tie up the soldiers.) You can ask any of the 46 persons who were there that day ... because Grenada is a small society, everybody is related to everybody - everybody is somebody's uncle, aunt, and so on. Although they were Green Beasts, although they had brutalized people, had killed Alister Strachan, we were insistent that it could be done without bloodshed. Because Grenada is a small society.

Immediately after the attack, Ode, Maurice Bishop and I, with Ode, Unison Whiteman, were going to Radio Grenada - Radio Free Grenada as it was afterwards christened. This was within minutes of the attack. We had borrowed a white Ford car from a friend. We had problems of transport that night, some comrades were on foot. When the fire started at the barracks we saw the fire brigade coming, then a black car license number 10; in it was Sergeant Bidoux, later during the Revolution he was promoted and I think he is now an Assistant Superintendent - he and another police officer, and after our cars passed each other they looked back! - "What are Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard and Unison Whiteman doing together at 4 o'clock in the morning!" - then they saw the fire and they decided to go to investigate it. It was a close shave!

"When the U.S. is shouting 'Bloodthirsty killers!' let us remember that historical record."

Six of us had to hold the radio station for 1 1/2 hours, because other comrades - Lester Redhead here and others - had to round up the Mongoose Gang. The Mongoose Gang were armed, they were shooting; yet our Party went to great lengths to capture the Mongoose Gang alive and unscathed. These are facts of history. When the U.S. is shouting 'Bloodthirsty killers!' let us remember that historical record.

At the radio station that morning we had to be getting the radio working, so we could put out a call to the people, and at the same time we had to be defending the station. There were police at the nearby police station, and they decided to come over and investigate, and there were only six of us there! Fortunately just at that moment our units arrived.

These are just a few of the times that Ode, Maurice Bishop and I went into hiding together, and operated as a team together. From school days, to college days, abroad, in the pre-NJM political work, the 1973-74 struggle, the 1976 elections, to the glorious March 13 Revolution - which the Bajan torturers have Redhead refer to as a 'coup' in his torture statement! Really! They must do their dirty work better next time!

"It was never part of the method of functioning of our Party to do what that demonstration did on October 19th."

From all that experience I can say from my knowledge of him - and other Grenadians I am sure will agree if they think about it - that it was completely out of character, both for him and for NJM as a Party - that it was never part of the method of functioning of our Party to do what that demonstration did on October 19th. On his own, there is no way Ode, Maurice Bishop would have taken such a decision. It was completely out of character, both for him personally and for NJM.

"A crowd is not like a boy scout troop, moving in a disciplined fashion: there are different elements."

And to move on to another dimension. We have to understand the dynamics of a crowd, especially a huge crowd, especially one being whipped up and agitated by certain elements.

Think about it. Consider this example. Suppose there is a fire at a store, citizens will gather and they will stare at the store. Suppose then one or two persons break a showcase window. This will trigger a few other elements to do likewise. And if a couple people then, seeing some nice goods in the showcase window start to take one or two things home - otherwise known as looting - you would be surprised how many other law-abiding citizens, who have never in their lives stolen anything, will do likewise!

People one to one can be reasoned with. It's different with a large crowd. There is a 'hard psychology.'

It's very important to understand crowd psychology if we are really to understand October 19, 1983. There were many different leaders and sub-leaders leading the crowd in different directions - "let's go there" ... "nah, let's go there." A crowd is not like a boy scout troop, moving in a disciplined fashion. There are different elements. And this was the situation on October 19th.

"There were three main elements in the crowd on October 19th."

What we can deduce from all the facts available is that there were three main elements in the crowd on October 19th.

Firstly, and I call this category A, there was the vast majority who simply wanted to hear the leader, and whose aspiration and intention was to head for the Market Square where microphones were set up, to hold a mass rally, and so on. This was in keeping with Ode, Maurice Bishop's personality and that of the vast majority of the people.

This vast majority found themselves split into three sections as the demonstration unfolded. This is the kind of thing for which I want to call actual witnesses in a free and fair trial.

I know an individual and through him I can locate another man, who lives in Fontenoy. After October 19 he said to me "I was in the crowd." I would call him as a witness. I wouldn't ask him to agree with me in everything, but just to be honest. When that decision was taken, when people said "let's go to the Fort" - just when the actual decision was taken it would not even be easy to know. But this man said to me that when people said "let's go to the Fort," "we going to Fort Rupert!" a number of the demonstrators said "that look like trouble," and they did not go to

Fort Rupert with the crowd. They just don't find it sounds right. And it is a fact that only a percentage of the enormous crowd went there.

There were many decent, law-abiding supporters of the Revolution in that demonstration. And when the decision was taken to go on to Fort Rupert, some people left and went home.

There was a second segment, like this individual from Fontenoy - the people who comprised that segment got carried away with excitement. You know this is true, if you are in a cinema and there is a fight, everybody will forget the show and move across to watch - everybody will be diverted. If there is a fight on a dance floor this happens too. People get carried away. And so this guy from Fontenoy went to Fort Rupert. The turning point for him was when he heard one or two people saying "all those with militia training step forward to be armed."

I say there are hundreds of Grenadians who were at Fort Rupert - regardless of whether or not they are hostile to the defendants because of propaganda - there are hundreds of Grenadians who were at Fort Rupert but were not personally involved in seizing weapons, in seizing secret army documents, in looting the canteen, in abusing soldiers, hundreds who did not personally go to get hold of a weapon - these categories are a minority, I would submit - hundreds of ordinary decent citizens were there, and a number left and went home when they heard people say "all those with militia training step forward." The man from Fontenoy is one of those who left and I will find him and bring him to testify in a free and fair trial. These are some of the kinds of witnesses I would bring in a free and fair trial. That's why I can present only an indicative defence.

Then there is a third segment of that vast majority on October 19. The third segment doesn't leave, these people stay on, but they don't take part in the violence. They don't accept weapons.

It is no accident the Prosecution did not question Chris Stanislaus. She said she saw 25 civilians with weapons before the armoured cars arrived.

Leader of the Prosecution, Karl Hudson-Phillips (interrupting): there is no evidence in this trial...

Bernard Coard (interrupting): Right! That evidence has been suppressed! I am glad that you said that. She said so at the preliminary inquiry but the evidence you suppressed at this trial. But history will record that she said that! My business is with history and with truth. You will get a Ph.D and a Q.C. for Kangaroos at the end of this trial. I will award it myself - you deserve it!

"All that you have suppressed here will come out."

At a proper Commission of Inquiry the truth will come out. You think you could suppress it forever? Joke you making! No matter what happens to us, our families and friends will ensure that. There will be an investigation, if necessary outside Grenada, with some of the most eminent jurists in the world; and all that you have suppressed here will come out!

On the 15th April, even before this trial started, that first day when I spoke, I said that far more important than my life is my reputation. The same is true for the other defendants. I am concerned with the truth, not your fancy rules and regulations!

"The second category, those with an anti-Imperialist track record."

So some people stay, but don't take weapons.

Then there is the second category, which I call category B. This category is composed of Vince Noel and one or two other individuals, with natural leadership qualities, and we must frankly acknowledge, an anti-Imperialist track record, who are opposed to anti-Communist propaganda, who in my personal opinion were not consciously acting as agents of the C.I.A., who were acting as they saw best for whatever their reasons were. He and others were agitating the crowd. I saw some of this. So did some other defendants.

"The third category, anti-social elements ... and consciously leading them, the C.I.A. agents of the United States."

Then there is category C. Remember, in all crowds there are different elements. You must find a few anti-social elements, looking for an opportunity to break up and mash up, to take something in the process, to get some free drinks. There are always a few of these. Among these, and consciously leading them, were the C.I.A. agents which the United States had in place for this purpose.

We must not confuse categories B and C. There was a chemistry and a dynamism operating between them, but we must not confuse them. Because there is no way Vince Noel would be part of any demonstration - nor Unison Whiteman - of any demonstration with placards saying "God Bless America" and "C for Coard, C for Communism." And yet, those placards were there.

"'God Bless America' placards - the fingerprint of the C.I.A."

People in those two categories were all vying for control. For who will control! At one point I saw Vince Noel snatch a placard - there are photos of these placards - he grabbed a placard and mashed it up! I saw another defendant close to Vince Noel when he did that. Vince Noel was not part of this anti-Communist thrust in the demonstration. He was hostile to it. Some agent was holding such a placard, and Vince Noel mashed it up.

If Grenadians stop and think and reflect, they will know that even under Gairy we never saw such placards. "God Bless America", "We love America" - where America come into this? I could understand that after the invasion perhaps, after the U.S. brought in their psychological operations battalion, but never during the Revolution! It was clearly the work of foreign agents, the hand of the C.I.A., their fingerprint.

"A struggle took place for supremacy and control of the actions of the crowd."

For Vince Noel - and Unison Whiteman was the same - for him to grab that placard, indicates the heterogeneous, complex and contradictory character of that crowd on October 19, 1983. There were different elements, with different objectives. Some want to go to the Market Square, some want to go to Fort Rupert. These latter want to go there because they want bloodshed - that's their orders!

So, some want a rally in the Market Square; others want to capture the Headquarters of the Armed Forces. Some want the Revolution; others want the United States. Some want Revolution; others want counter-revolution.

That incident with Vince Noel was part of the struggle taking place for supremacy and control of the actions of the crowd. The struggle was won by those who said "let's capture the Headquarters of the Armed Forces."

An Armed Forces, mind you, which was off the streets in their barracks - every Grenadian knows that! There was no water-cannon, tear gas, butu and so on brought to smash up the crowd in any of the demonstrations. Anyone who says that is lying!

"There was no attempt by the army to disperse the crowd, so you provoke it. The enemy provokes bloodshed."

So how does this enemy of the Revolution achieve bloodshed? How do they get to kill some of the leaders of the Revolution, and then now come and kill the others on the grounds that we killed the first set?!

They achieve all this by storming the Headquarters of the Armed Forces. There has been no attempt by the army to disperse the crowd so far, so you provoke it. You provoke violence.

"On October 19th, Tom Adams expected something to occur."

Tom Adams gave the game away, when he spoke about the decisions Barbados took, with the U.S., on the morning of the 19th October. They expected something. They cancelled one operation to send troops to 'to rescue Maurice Bishop from House Arrest,' and were "waiting for other developments."

Part of a proper Commission of Inquiry has to be getting certain Cabinet documents from the Barbados Government, and also the records of certain communications between the U.S. and Barbados governments.

LUNCHDOW ADJOURNMENT

This question of crowd psychology and dynamics especially of a large crowd, an emotionally charged excited crowd, is of fundamental importance to grasp fully in all its dimensions, to fully understand and appreciate October 19th and the sequence of events which unfolded. This is by no means the only dimension, but it is indispensable in understanding the events.

Two examples exist that can give people an insight into the dangers, the problems, of large crowds concentrated in limited areas, in excitable states. One is the incident which occurred just a few months ago in Belgium in a football match, when a small segment of the crowd in one area of the crowd broke down part of the partition and engaged in a melee. In a matter of minutes 38 people lost their lives, and hundreds were injured due to fighting between small segments of rival supporters, and the collapse of structures. This was reported worldwide.

With the speed and rapidity with which the events took place from the activities of a few dozen - not the majority - a few dozen of the most boisterous and lumpen persons amongst the crowd; before anyone knew it there was disaster and calamity.

"The C.I.A. manipulated a demonstration to overthrow Mossadeq in 1953."

The second example of how a crowd can be engineered and manipulated is the example of Iran. The year is 1953, and the Mossadeq government is in power. A revolutionary democratic government seeking national independence and an end to foreign control. It was elected to office. The autocratic Shah, a feudal lord, had left the country in the wake of this national democratic Revolution.

The C.I.A. was formed by an act of Congress in 1947. They were inheritors of the OSS, which served the U.S. in the war. The first successful overthrow by the C.I.A., officially acknowledged by the U.S. government in the records of the U.S. Congress, is the overthrow of the Mossadeq government in 1953. The first success in destabilization reaching overthrow. They brought back the Shah. There are British and American T.V. documentary films. It is uncanny, some of the documents of that demonstration. I recommend to all Grenadians to see that film, so as to understand October 19. There was a buildup of demonstrations like in Grenada. Then the big one.

The demonstration started with the chanting of anti-U.S., pro-Mossadeq slogans. By the time the demonstration ended, they were shouting "Out with Mossadeq," and started to smash up the country. And the Mossadeq government had to flee. There were economic and political problems in the country. The issue was, who or what to blame? The government said the U.S., because of its policies. The U.S. was engaged in destabilizing, in destabilization, they admit it now. The U.S. paid lumpen elements led by C.I.A. agents. In the film, they zoomed the camera lens to show the agents with the crowd. You see it in the film; the camera actually shows the chanting of the people, and the U.S. agents in the crowd, dishing out dollar bills!

"In any serious investigation there must be an examination of all the films of October 19th."

In Grenada there were two sets of chants - pro-Maurice Bishop and pro-Revolution; anti-Communist and promoting counter-Revolution. There are people who took camera photos and video films of the demonstration. Anti-U.S., pro Ode, pro-Revolution; and God Bless America, We Love America, anti-Communist slogans and chanting and placards. They admitted in Congress how much money they spent to bribe people in Iran. In the film of Iran they show you the actual faces of agents, bribing people, agitating people.

When people are whipped up, emotionally aroused, and when some start to do it already, they are most vulnerable, most suggestible, most open to chaos, confusion, destructiveness. They are at their weakest and most vulnerable. So if people in their midst are inciting "Let's go here, let's go there," many people get carried away. This was brilliantly documented in Iran. The C.I.A. admitted that they manipulated the crowd.

In any serious inquiry there must be an examination of all the films of October 19th. I saw a leading secret police in the crowd jostling for position. He was one who beat up Selwyn Strachan, Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman with axe handles in 1973. Are we supposed to believe that on October 19th he was the greatest champion of Maurice Bishop? I saw known hostile opponents of the Revolution mixed among strong supporters of the Revolution who were the majority in the crowd. Anyone in or observing the demonstration would have to admit that while there were strong supporters who were the vast majority, there were also counters, Gairy-ite secret police, and lumpen elements, although they were in the minority. These are things to be investigated, through checking people, and films taken at the time.

"U.S. Imperialism had planned to ensure a shoot-out."

I wish also to say that the U.S. government and its agencies, with the open knowledge and connivance of Tom Adams, based on his own statements since the invasion, had planned - and here we can see and contrast the

spontaneity of the masses with the planning of U.S. imperialism and its regional puppets - they had planned to ensure a shoot-out, to ensure violence and bloodshed between the civilian population and the Army, and the storming of the Army's Headquarters.

No one except conspirators - the U.S., Tom Adams and Edward Seaga - would have thought that the Headquarters of the TRAF would be stormed or even forsee the smashing down of the barriers at Mt. Weldale. The storming of the Headquarters, taking of weapons, military documents dealing with the defence of the country and the provocative and illegal acts of a nation highly dangerous to national security, I say in retrospect, was calculated to provoke a response from the Army. That's the only way I can interpret those events.

"When Cde. Maurice Bishop left Grenada the crisis was solved. So what happened in Eastern Europe?"

Then there is the highly significant behaviour of a particular individual, Don Rojas, who in October 1973 was the Press Secretary of the Prime Minister - his highly suspicious behaviour which went beyond suspicion to certainty as to its agent character after the invasion.

Don Rojas is Vincentian by birth, but his father lived in Grenada. He worked in the U.S. in the black community including as a journalist in New York, and at one stage being a member of the editorial staff of the Amsterdam News.

As soon as the Revolution took place, Don Rojas shows up in Grenada. He is speaking the language of the Grenada Revolution, all the right phrases. He comes with recommendations from other journalists well respected by the leaders of the Grenada Revolution. He comes with needed journalistic skills. He also has experience in radio broadcasting, all skills vitally needed. He offers his service to the Grenada Revolution.

At first he works with the Free West Indian, then he becomes editor, then managing editor. He starts accompanying the Prime Minister on trips abroad and giving reports on how the trip was going - very gripping reports, well done journalistically. He knows his stuff. He gives a sense of how the trip is going.

As a result of his work performance and travelling closely with Ode, Bishop to many countries, Don Rojas is able to move out more to gain the confidence of the leaders of the Revolution. He fooled me, too! I must admit it. No matter how many books you read, in real life it is different.

It is significant that the people who accompanied Ode. Bishop - George Louison said a 17-man delegation among the people who accompanied Ode. Maurice on his trip to Hungary and Czechoslovakia, apart from the technical personnel and one or two Party members, it is very significant, some of the others who were on the trip.

It is significant because when Ode. Maurice Bishop leaves Grenada the crisis was solved, at the General Meeting on September 25 for 15 hours, at which Ode. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and myself had been present. George Louison is the only one not present. That meeting comes to certain decisions, there are frank discussions - everything is recorded in the minutes. The meeting ends on a high note, everybody goes to Maurice Bishop's home and has drinks. Cletus St. Paul mentions this, in a sinister context. I will deal with that later. But he mentions it.

So everyone except George Louison is at that General Meeting. Then Ode. Bishop departs for Eastern Europe. So what happened in Eastern Europe? And who is with Ode. Maurice Bishop throughout? - George Louison, Cletus St. Paul, Shahiba Strong (another one who showed up after the Revolution like Don Rojas), and Don Rojas.

What is extremely significant is that while the crowd in the streets on October 19, 1983 reaches Ode. Maurice Bishop's residence and bursts in and removes him and is taking him down as it turns out to Fort Rupert, while that is happening, two other events are happening simultaneously or almost simultaneously. There are specific people who can attest to this, namely the telephone workers on duty who were stuck up by Don Rojas with AK's. He stuck up the workers at gun-point and had a list of telephone numbers of Army camps and political and military leaders whose phones must be disconnected. Some of the weapons that were there as part of weapons belonging to the workers' militia were seized by him. The fact that there was a list shows that while the crowd was acting spontaneously, Don Rojas was not acting spontaneously.

For the people, events were unfolding with genuine spontaneity and chaos, but to the U.S. and their conspirators and agents in the country, it is a different ball game altogether. At the same time as this is happening at the telephone company, a particular businessman with one or two other persons were sticking up police at Immigration Department and taking away weapons. This businessman is now acutely embarrassed by this. He was nobody's agent, he was unwitting in his actions. In the first weeks, when we were in jail, he sent us some footballs, clothes, cigarettes. It was his way of saying, "how did I get mixed up in this thing?" I am sure he knows who put the idea in his head. This can be found out in a serious investigation. Inspector Raymond was in charge that morning at that time when weapons were seized at the Immigration Department. He can be checked out.

Since there is now no law in this country, perhaps foreign journalists will undertake the investigation!

"Don Rojas gets VIP treatment from the Americans."

Don Rojas puts out a statement from the telephone company to the region that morning. What he says and doesn't say must be carefully studied. When the invasion took place the Americans were grabbing everybody - the U.S. government admits, to the press that at a certain point they had taken to the concentration camp 2,800 Grenadians, as well as Caribbean citizens working for the Revolution. A sister from Guyana, who was permanent secretary in the Ministry of Housing, a German doctor, Dr. Fuchs, all were treated so, except two I know of: Shahiba Strong and Don Rojas.

Here is the Press Secretary of the Prime Minister, travelling all over the world with him right at the heart of things in terms of knowing many things. He is not detained but flown out in a U.S. military aircraft to Barbados, where they set up a press conference for him. This is a report from CANA by Alister Hughes, dated 29 October - the day I was kidnapped by two Yankees - "Bridgetown CANA in English," it says, "Rojas flown here by military transport." Sticking up workers at the telephone company on the 19th! And VIP treatment from the Americans on the 29th!

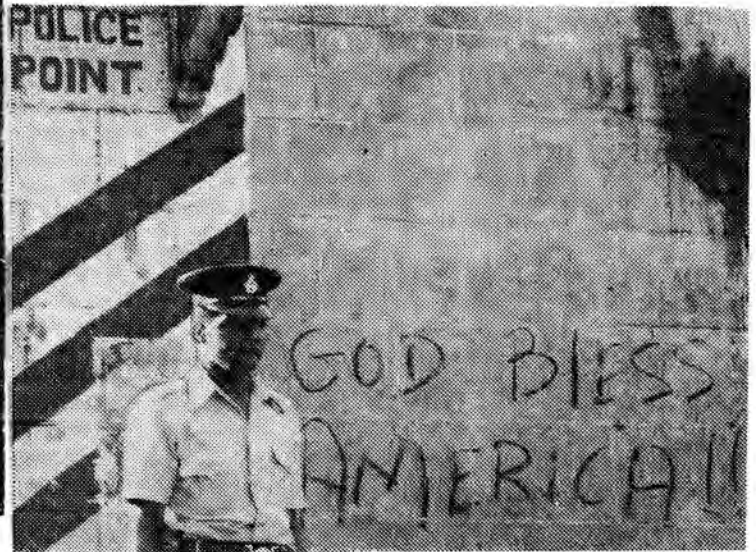
I wonder whether any prosecution witness said in the trial like in the P.E. that there was an attempt to have the telephones reconnected at Fort Rupert? Don Rojas had all the phones cut including the phone at my house and that was before the crowd reached Fort Rupert. It is possible that this was done before the crowd reached Mt. Weldale. That needs to be investigated! The Press Secretary of the Prime Minister doesn't get detained like everybody working closely with the Revolution - and is even put on a military transport plane - VIP treatment! - Even Miss Hylton [DPP] had to travel by Liat. And then he gets press conferences! This is out of character for the U.S. The U.S. would want to interrogate him for days! They held people in less sensitive jobs and interrogated them.



Reagan's Rambo imperialism jackbooting its way into Grenada to wipe out socialist revolution there, and reinstate monopoly-capitalism's stooges



U.S. President Ford and Secretary Kissinger greet "their man" in Grenada— dictator Eric Gairy



Bernard Coard's court statement II

"Don Rojas is now a leading member of the (P)BPM."

Don Rojas' car was left with the U.S. security personnel, that's who he gave the keys to. From Barbados he went to the U.S. for more press conferences. Don Rojas for the past 2 1/2 years is a leading member of the (P)BPM led by Kenrick Radix and George Louison. Here is George Louison who admits, boasts that he was a member of CC and PB of NJM for nine years right up to October 12. He was on the PB and CC for many years; a Cabinet Minister for 4 1/2 years; in the Party and government leadership.

"How long did George Louison spend in jail under American occupation?"

Now observe this closely: Chris deRiggs was a member of the CC, but not of the PB. He was Minister of Health for the last year or two of the Revolution. Before that he was a Deputy Minister. He was out of Grenada for most of the months of October '83 and in particular the week before and after October 19, travelling to Sweden, the U.K. and the U.S. He returned to Grenada hours before U.S. troops landed on October 25 - on October 24.

Yet Chris deRiggs, you can bet any money that if Chris deRiggs was unfortunate enough to be in Grenada on October 19th, he would be here in the dock! The Bajans tortured Chris Stroude to get him to put Chris deRiggs' name down in his written statement as voting to execute Ode. Maurice Bishop - even while he was thousands of miles away! Notice, the CC don't disagree on anything. It must be a unanimous vote. For, you see, the idea is to get rid of every member of the CC - not just Coard and Austin. That's why every torture statement talks about "unanimous CC decision." I checked what date Chris deRiggs was picked up and brought

into the Richmond Hill Prison. Chris deRiggs had not yet been picked up by the Americans and not yet interrogated at the time Chris Stroude was tortured to put Chris deRiggs' name in the statement. MacBarnette was tortured after Chris deRiggs was picked up. That's why deRiggs' name is not down in his statement. Serious students of history will take the torture statements and rip them apart!

Chris deRiggs was picked up and jailed without charge for 7 1/2 months. I know this as a fact. He was in the same block with me in identical prison conditions. Chris deRiggs and 14 other political detainees after filing habeas corpus actions and the Court wouldn't hear them, and the judge who had to hear the case went to Jamaica and called all of us Satans, - that's Judge Patterson - Chris deRiggs' habeas corpus never was heard. After three months they went on a hunger strike and they got their freedom. They couldn't cook up anything on him because he was not in the country. A soldier like Rudolph Ogilvie was in Guyana at Officer

Training School for eight months but a charge was laid on him for maiming persons - laid by this occupier [the DPP] - and they had him locked up on this false charge and at the same time they had his passport showing that he was in Guyana when this offence was supposed to have occurred. He led troops in the south of the Island that held off the Yankees at the International Airport. He had a bullet in his foot while in jail. Chris deRiggs is lucky that he was not in Grenada on October 19! Even if his foot was broken or he was in St. Patricks, he would be here in the dock. Because this is a fishing expedition "CC this" and "CC that" - it's a road march! But this is not Carnival, it's a serious business! Examine closely the torture statements!

Chris deRiggs was not a member of the Political Bureau, he was a member of the Cabinet for one year, a member of the CC out of the country, but was kept 7 1/2 months in jail. How long did George Louison spend in jail under American occupation? One night. Approximately twenty hours. The U.S. wanted to invade the country so badly - and they were picking up everybody - NYO, army, militia, NWO - but a member of the CC/PB spends 20 hours! And a CC member they can't accuse of any offence gets 7 1/2 months; but George Louison, a member of the CC and PB gets one day's jail!

George Louison saw Ode. Maurice Bishop for nearly two hours on October 19, in private. He is the last known person to have had a lengthy discussion with Ode. Maurice Bishop before the crowd came up - before old mas' break out! There would be a thousand questions the Americans would want to interrogate George Louison about! He was a CC member and a Cabinet Minister for years! He was so central to the whole crisis. He accompanied Ode. Maurice Bishop to Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary. But Chris deRiggs who was out of the country was locked up for 7 1/2 months. George Louison is with Don Rojas, Shahiba Strong, Cletus St. Paul and with Ode. Maurice Bishop. George Louison is the last person who held discussion with Ode. Bishop on October 19.

"Is George Louison a disinterested witness?" (P.I. = preliminary investigation)

We have to put the process together. George Louison, 20 hours. detention. And the same Don Rojas doesn't even get 20 hours in detention, but is put on an American plane - VIP treatment, press conferences! Really! Is there any wonder George Louison came here in the P.I. and trial? Is George Louison a disinterested party, interested only in the truth? A party with no axe to grind? What would have happened to George Louison's standing in Party and government if the crisis had been resolved amicably? 500 persons were in the October 13 General Meeting, but he alone is called as a witness for that meeting. And they bring him to say that

all kinds of fantastic things were said by persons in this dock. You mean the Prosecution cannot call one other witness from that meeting? And why is the U.S. not handing over our documents? Would George Louison have come here and sworn to lies on oath if he thought the Americans would have handed over the documents? Who is George Louison really working for? Who was Don Rojas really working for? Was it the Revolution, the PRG, Ode. Maurice Bishop? Would Ode. Maurice Bishop have gone on an American

When we analyse real life, we must approach real life with maturity, with sophistication and sobriety, and not be led astray by propaganda and appearances.

"The only thing the U.S. didn't do was to pull the trigger."

The only thing the U.S. government and its agents didn't do on October 19 was to pull the trigger. They did everything else. That is why I spent time yesterday showing a pattern of destabilization. The Holiday Inn fire, sabotage of Grenada's electricity machines, the Grenada International Travel Service (GITS) and Carifta Cottage fires, the tremendous campaign to stop us getting loans for the International Airport, and loans to develop the country. Propaganda showing pictures of barbed wire, propaganda about a submarine base at Grand Etang, etc. - propaganda about the Airport as a Soviet airbase.

• We have to see the buildup in the threats by Ortiz and Shelton, then

In all the things which happened - the propaganda, military, economic and political destabilization so that the system would break under pressure. I want to explain that the only thing the U.S. did not do on October 19 was to pull the trigger. They did everything else. I'll give two examples of what I mean, and some facts to back them up. One is of an Alfred Hitchcock film, in which a man wishes to kill another and he discovered that the man had a bad heart. So he worked out a plan of psychological measures which led to the death by heart failure of the individual. The death certificate said heart failure but in reality the man was murdered. This is the difference between outward appearance and inner reality.

"I don't expect Grenadians would immediately understand all aspects of the U.S. role in the October events ... but I speak for History."

Another example - a man is seen knocking down a child with a car - a tragic accident - and he is charged for manslaughter. But the man who loosened the screws on the car's brakes, or cut the steering, is not even on the scene of the incident when the child is killed. That is the U.S.'s role in all the events, up to and including October 19. And by the way, that too is the U.S.'s role - invisible, using black face cards in this trial. I don't expect Grenadians would immediately understand all aspects of the U.S. role in the October events, because of how the C.I.A. operates its mask and hides its actions. It is very hard for most people to see. But when I speak of the events I speak not just for the present audience, but for History. As more and more facts are revealed, the things I say would take on more significance, and one day people would understand the full picture.

That is why I wish to try to link together the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle I outlined yesterday with those today to start the process of seeing how they fit together.

Apart from all the forms of economic pressure - blockade and sabotage throughout the 4 1/2 years, many many times helicopters, warships and military aircraft invaded our airspace and territorial waters as a form of military, political and psychological pressure. The number of times states of alert were called, and the effects of this on the economy, for tourism for instance, and on the psychological states of the troops being on alert so often must be considered. Their being always confined, their guard must fall; it's a constant pressure. And the results were to frequently divert the leadership of the Party, government and army from the main tasks, as well as to affect the psychological state of the leadership.

FRIDAY, 15 AUGUST 1986

"The soldiers from the armoured car did not commit suicide. How did they die?"

There is a Grenadian, unemployed, whom I know well. It is my information that he was on Fort Rupert on October 19. More so, he was one who was persuaded to take one of the weapons being distributed. Having received this information through a mutual friend, I raised the matter with three defendants who confirmed this. At one point he actually had that weapon pointed at them, being one of the civilians who was in and out of the Operations Room.

This individual is acutely embarrassed by his role that day. He now realizes that he was duped, manipulated. He sent messages to me about six months ago for a visit and to come and see me. This was not possible at that time due to Maloney. I saw him in court one day. I spoke to him briefly from this dock. He was acutely embarrassed. He was one of those swept up on October 19 by the propaganda. It is significant, he said, why he found himself there. He said that he was swept up by the propaganda that Ode. Bishop wanted Socialism and Ode. Coard wanted Communism. That he was for Socialism, but was afraid of Communism. That is why he joined the demonstration. And the next thing he finds himself with gun in hand, sticking up officers of the General Staff in their own headquarters!

This individual would definitely know the names of other civilians who were also armed on the verandah of the Operations Room and may be able to identify those who were at the back of the Operations Room as described by Capt. Lester Redhead. Whichever individuals he names, when they are questioned, could provide the names of others there and could say what actually happened. This is how a serious investigation would take place if the objective were the truth, rather than political persecution.

There has been talk amongst some Grenadians who were on Fort Rupert on October 19 as far back as before the P.I. as to the identity of civilians who they claimed first opened fire and allegedly killed W.O. Raphael Mason at the bottom of Fort Rupert. There has been talk and it is my understanding that statements were given to police officers about an Indian or Indian-ish individual (Jasvant Kapur's son) - the son of a prominent person in St. Georges - who first opened fire. This may or may not be accurate but it ought to be investigated. How did the four soldiers who died there - Mason, Mayers, Nathan and Peters - how did they die? How did it happen? How did the battle start? This is a small country. A serious investigation would turn up the names of all or nearly all those civilians who had weapons on Fort Rupert before the APC arrived, and who opened fire on the soldiers. Who opened fire, who took part in the battle? Those soldiers did not commit suicide. And it has been ascertained and can be checked, that all but 2 of the soldiers on the 1st APC were either killed or wounded on October 19. That couldn't happen by magic. It needs to be explained, investigated if we are interested in truth and not scapegoating, but this area of investigation is taboo to the prosecution! They don't want Grenadians to think of this at all.

"A Prosecution witness can provide serious information as to the identities of all civilians who were armed."

Bernard Coard: She testified to that under oath at the Preliminary Inquiry. My concern is for the truth.

C.J. Byron: You had the opportunity to cross-examine the witness!

Bernard Coard: I did not have the opportunity. I was denied all the facilities to cross-examine witnesses. I was even kept in an underground cell without a light-bulb and without a copy of the P.I. depositions until after the Prosecution closed its case! I am willing to cross-examine the Prosecution witnesses still, if the conditions for so doing are given.

In any case without saying what Chris Stanialaus said at the P.I. and on oath, I draw the attention of the court to the fact that a prosecution witness in this case can provide serious information as to the identities of all civilians armed with automatic weapons, machine and submachine guns prior to the arrival of the APC's. With a serious investigation and a free and fair trail to follow, witnesses would be called to testify to the following:

- 1) The slogans, chants and placards of what I yesterday referred to as "the Vincent Noel Group" in the massive crowd on October 19.
- 2) The slogans, chants and placards of the "God Bless America", "We Love America" anti-Communist elements in the crowd, who these people were precisely. There are photos here that could help. And witnesses could describe the conflict which arose between the 2 groups seeking to control and direct this huge crowd. What would the crowd do? Would it go to the market square where microphones are set up, or storm the Headquarters of the PRA? What slogans and chants would predominate? What would be the main thrust and focus of the demonstration? The conflict and interaction between these 2 groupings struggling for hegemony can be investigated and determined by those who were there.
- 3) Precisely who smashed down the security barriers at Mt. Weldale? Which individual, which elements?
- 4) Who stormed Fort Rupert and took the weapons away from the soldiers at the entrance? The real facts of this should be ascertained.
- 5) Exactly who beat up and stripped women soldiers, some down to their panties and bras on Fort Rupert on October 19? One was thrown to the ground and trampled and has had to get medical attention for her breast even since that time. Medical documents can show that. Who did that can be identified, discovered. This is a tiny country.
- 6) The identity of those who ransacked the secret military documents dealing with national security and plan of national defence of the country in various rooms, in particular the Operations Room and Fort Rupert - who read these and who took some away?
- 7) Those who took weapons on Fort Rupert that day - exactly where were they located when the APC's approached and which of them opened fire?
- 8) Telephone workers who could testify to Don Rojas arriving at the telephone company and ordering them to cut off certain phones, and his making overseas calls.
- 9) Immigration and police personnel on duty at the Fire Station that morning who can identify and relate all the circumstances involved in the seizing of their weapons.
- 10) Soldiers as well as civilians who can testify as to how these four soldiers died - Mason, Mayers, Nathan and Peters - and how the other soldiers were injured on October 19; and exactly how Ode. Maurice Bishop and others really met their deaths, because a serious investigation is yet to be done.
- 11) The names of all civilians who left Fort Rupert with weapons for destinations unknown.

"Who wanted to hold a rally, and who wanted an armed confrontation?"

12) Who set up the microphones in the Market Square? Who asked them to set these microphones and for what purpose? Because that would tell us whether Ode. Unison Whiteman or Ode. Vincent Noel gave instructions to individuals or themselves set them up. That would give us an idea as to the thinking and plans of a segment of the demonstration who wanted to hold a rally at the Market Square, instead of storming Fort Rupert and seeking confrontation and bloodshed.

Also which individuals actually spoke on that microphone that morning? My information is that Ode. Unison was one such. That too would give us an indication as to which elements are seeking to operate in a peaceful way and which had other objectives.

13) To try to discover who in the crowd said "let's take Fort Rupert. Let's seize it!" or words to that effect. Those who deeply wanted armed confrontation and bloodshed. Who were they?

These are matters which would give us great insight into what really happened that day.

14) Identify and bring to testify

(a) some of the Grenadian demonstrators who dropped away and refused to participate in the storming of Fort Rupert and what were their reasons for so doing at that time?

(b) those who went on Fort Rupert but left when weapons were being distributed.

(c) those who stayed on even after that, but did not take up weapons or brutalize soldiers, but who saw these activities and could describe them, and perhaps even name certain individuals involved.

(d) those who actually took up a weapon. Such people would be important in any inquiry.

15) Soldiers who were based at Fort Rupert that day and could describe what really happened. And I don't mean lumpen elements, those that you can buy for two cents!

16) Soldiers who arrived on the APC's and what they experienced. All we are hearing is American propaganda on this! Let's hear from those who were there!

"Who was really in control of the rapidly unfolding events?"

17) Who were the "national leaders" who emerged and really took charge or control of events in the streets and at Fort Rupert that fateful and tragic day? Which elements were really in control of the rapidly unfolding events?

18) What precisely did Don Rojas send out to the world media by telephone that morning at the time he seized the telephone company, in the heart of things, and what did he send out to the media after the invasion?

There are records of this and what do they tell us about the activities of Don Rojas prior to, during and after the invasion?

"Did the U.S., Jamaican and Barbadian governments have a hand in the plot on October 19?"

19) The actual texts of the speeches, official statements before Parliament and press conferences of Tom Adams, Edward Seaga, Ronald Reagan and senior U.S. government officials for two specific time periods.

(a) For this point I am not concerned about what they said after October 19 and about the tragedy, but what they said before October 19 up to and including on the morning of October 19, before the tragedy. Does this show for example when looked at, that they had a hand in the pie? Those I have seen, made by these people, smell.

(b) Statements they made on or after October 19, but dealing with events prior to and up to the moments of the tragedy. Analyse these in the context of what actually happened on the streets and at Fort Rupert on October 19. I know that there are journalists, academics, and historians who will do this work and will discover the truth, no matter who may wish to hide it.

I wish the day will come when it would be possible for the Cabinet documents of certain Caribbean governments, for example of Barbados and Jamaica, for the months before the October events to be made available! Also the records of discussions between Barbadian and Jamaican officials and U.S. government officials before October 19 and up to the time of October 19.

All such documents would be invaluable for serious investigation, including:

20) What precisely were the instructions given to the Barbadian torturers before they left Barbados for Grenada and who gave them their codes?

"Was Tony Buxo, like Don Rojas, aware of what was planned for that day?"

I have given a lot of thought and scrutiny to the phenomenon known as Tony Buxo. I didn't hear his testimony, but I got some information from the newspapers about what he said in this trial. Tony Buxo is an optician with an office in St. Georges on the Esplanade. On a normal weekday, a working day, Wednesday October 19, I understand that when he reaches the telephone company on the Carenage he sees a demonstration on the Carenage; turns on to Tyrrel St. and Green St. There is a traffic jam. And it just so happens that Tony Buxo, based on this explanation - put it under a telescope - just happens to find himself at the only house that commands a view of the homes of Ode. Maurice Bishop and myself, and Fort Rupert, with a telescope conveniently available at that home, and even binoculars! - a location far from where he works.

I have seen Tony Buxo in many demonstrations. There are books with pictures of Buxo, he is always in the front of the demonstrations, always observing; including the demonstration on June 20, 1980, after the June 19 bombing. He is always there as a spectator over the years. That is his track record - and there are photos that can prove it!

And so suddenly, of all days, including demonstrations on previous days in St. Georges, but on October 19, just that day, a Wednesday, Tony Buxo is in a location he says, from which it just so happens he can see into my home, Ode. Maurice's house, and Fort Rupert. And with a telescope available - just by accident! And this is on a morning that a crowd of demonstrators choose to come to Mt. Weldale, a thing which had never, ever happened before! It was the first time, ever, but he knows that would happen! He says he saw a crowd of demonstrators come up to Mt. Weldale. So he was there already! Waiting! Like any good Sandhurst-trained soldier - he is on time! The crowd didn't reach there yet, but he's there before they reach.

This is not an ordinary situation where people going up there every day, you know that, so you go there. They never went there before, only October 19. OK, this is a new development, so maybe you see that happening and you go up to Dr. Bierzinski's house, so you only see the final end? But no, he's there already, stationed on duty.

There are not many locations where you can see Bernard Coard's house, Maurice Bishop's house and Fort Rupert. I think Dr. Bierzinski's house may be the only such location. And with a telescope conveniently available. And all of this is accidental, we are supposed to believe.

I wonder what the statistical experts would say about the law of coincidences in relation to Tony Buxo? The law of coincidence is being grossly violated! Coincidences do take place, but these are just too many. Firstly, it was a Wednesday; secondly, the demonstrators never went to Mount Weldale before; thirdly, he goes to the only house from which one can see Ode. Bishop's house, my house, and Fort Rupert; fourthly, there is a telescope conveniently available; and fifthly, he is there before the demonstrators arrive!

Now Tony Buxo was not brought as a witness in the P.I. The prosecution and the Yankees thought of him afterwards. They make it up after! Let us note, he is a Grenadian, he lives here, he is not an overseas person, I made that point at the time he was called. The question we must ask about Tony Buxo is this: was he, like Don Rojas, aware of what U.S. imperialism had planned for that day?

Consider these factors: 1) It's a weekday, 2) he can see both houses, and Fort Rupert, 3) he is far from his work place, 4) has telescope at the ready, 5) October 19 is unlike normal pattern of previous demonstrations, 6) he is there before the crowd comes, 7) Tony Buxo is the same individual who was part of the anti-Communist, anti-NJM propaganda before the Revolution, especially attacking Bernard and Phyllis Coard in the form of cartoons in the Torchlight in 1978, before the Revolution. A strong and known opponent of the NJM, to the point of attacking us in the Torchlight, using the pen-name 'the Rat'? The archives of the Torchlight will show that Tony Buxo's house was searched by FRA during the Revolution, in 1982, based on information that there was an unlicensed weapon there, which was found and confiscated. There would be records of that too, unless the Yankees take that also! Plug in the fact that despite his record of anti-NJM activity he tried to suck up to NJM leaders after the Revolution, offering to train the FRA. He lied if he said he trained them but he did offer. We turned his offer down, because we didn't trust him. So Buxo is not exactly a disinterested party in relation to NJM and its leadership and in particular myself - that is known. These matters all require very careful reflection, and investigation, to find out what really went on.

In relation to other aspects of the case, I am dealing now with the question of witnesses who could be called in a free and fair trial. With respect to George Louison, there are two points I wish to make. Firstly, let us hear from several of the other people who were at the meetings George Louison talks about and let us hear from them also about the meetings he does not talk about. Secondly, let us have all the documents, the minutes of meetings, the reports, so we can get to the bottom to find out the truth. At some meetings there were hundreds of people present. Then there are the relevant documents, minutes and reports.

Can you imagine the time, funds and personnel needed for me as a defendant to do all this research to undertake a serious investigation of this case? And the only way to seriously defend myself is if I do this investigation, given that after three years of propaganda onslaught any jury would come with their minds already made up.

I have to prove my innocence beyond reasonable doubt. The secret method of imperialism to kill me and others is to do the job long before I am behind bars. I can't talk to the press. And meanwhile people are only hearing "Coard and them did this!", "Coard and Austin did that!" People's minds must be made up in advance. It is like elections - they are won or lost long before election day. They have tried and convicted me in the mass media. They have done this because their case is flimsy, pathetic, circumstantial, uncorroborated; based on slander, prejudice, innuendo, and torture, with so-called 'witnesses' with axes to grind. It is in this context that a defendant must be in a position to be able to call a wide range of witnesses who have to be identified through others. A tremendous amount of work would be involved, and on top of all that our documents which record what everyone said at meetings, they are refusing to hand them over for the trial. And I and others are supposed to believe this is a free and fair trial!

"All we want is justice and a fair trial; but if we get that they would have no case!"

In respect to Cletus St. Paul on the question of witnesses: Firstly let the Prosecution call the soldiers guarding St. Paul on Fort Frederick on October 19. He was under arrest, under close guard. Where are those guarding him? They see and hear the things he sees and hears? Where are those soldiers? If there had been a serious investigation or inquiry some of those soldiers? If not all of them would be here, and when they come they would tell us when they were holding St. Paul at the time in question, and whether they saw and heard the things St. Paul said he saw and heard. There were also over 100 soldiers at Fort Frederick at the time in question. Did any of those over 100 soldiers, including the guards, see Liam James arrive and say that "the CC arriving to take a serious decision?" Then Bernard Coard and Phyllis Coard arrive in Ode. Maurice Bishop's car; then the rest of the CC arrive (if Kojo was in Grenada St. Paul would have called his name too). Then they chant slogans.

Then Leon Cornwall breaks away and makes a speech about Ode. Maurice Bishop and "go and liquidate them." All these soldiers around, you mean none saw and heard any of this?

Let us put one more piece into the equation. Cletus St. Paul is seen by Alister Hughes on October 20th, 1983, and they talk about the crisis. And Alister Hughes sends a report to Canada. And if St. Paul saw a CC meeting taking decision to kill Ode. Maurice Bishop he wouldn't have told Alister Hughes about that? And that wouldn't have been world news at the time? I can't do the kind of investigation I speak of; that is why I have to indicate, raise questions people have not been asking, lines of inquiry, indicate how this case ought to be investigated. If St. Paul saw those things he must have told Alister Hughes. And it's not two pieces of news Alister Hughes sent out, including all kinds of uncorroborated information. That would have been the hottest news all over the world!

Because observe this: Take Cletus St. Paul out of this case and there is no case against the leadership of the Party and Grenada Revolution, including myself. The magistrate made that clear, Miss Hyllton asked him, and he agreed that's why he is committing me and my wife, because St. Paul said he saw us arrive in Ode. Maurice Bishop's car. All we want is justice and a fair trial. But if we get that they would have no case. It's not accidental that throughout the presentation of the prosecution's case I am in a dock cell without light, and moved when the prosecution can close! In a case based on justice and the rule of law, we wouldn't need lawyers to deal with Karl Hudson Phillip!

Let us call Cletus St. Paul's security chief - his boss. The Chief of Personal Security for the entire leadership of the Party and Revolution. He lives in Grenada. Where is he? He would have a lot to say - and not only he - to say about Cletus St. Paul and his role in spreading the rumour; about Cletus St. Paul's claiming that for 3 - 4 days he was searching for Liam James, Selwyn Strachan and Bernard Coard and couldn't locate us, all of which can be destroyed by the Chief of Personal Security and the Personal Security men attached to us.

In looking at the Prosecution case, we must examine not only who they brought, but who they did not bring. Let us call Security officers including two police officers who witnessed St. Paul's written statement regarding his role in the spreading of the rumour and also the taped statement he gave. Let us get them, and also the letter he wrote to the leadership. All are in the hands of the Yankees. Apart from this other Grenadians have seen them.

"The evidence of Errol George completely contradicts that of Cletus St. Paul."

It is significant that Cletus St. Paul is the only Personal Security officer called, not only from Ode. Maurice Bishop's own Personal Security unit (of 16 - 20 officers) but of the Personal Security unit as a whole, of all the leadership. Not one apart from St. Paul has been called in this trial. The only other one who was attached to Ode. Bishop's personal security unit, and was a prosecution witness at the P.I., that is, Errol George, the Prosecution have not called him at this trial. They called him in the P.I. Now they say we can call him as a defence witness! I will draw attention as to what my understanding is in relation to the law on that; about witnesses whose names are to be found on the back of the indictment and who are not called for cross-examination. Archibald, which we could not get, has something to say on this, which I will deal with later. Errol George's evidence completely contradicts the evidence of Cletus St. Paul. That is why he didn't get called. It would mash up their case if they called him! But Errol George is a Grenadian. People are going to check Errol George. They are going to ask him, "Listen, you went with Liam James to Fort Frederick. You heard any of this?"

When Cletus St. Paul says Chris Linton drove Bernard Coard and Phyllis Coard in Ode. Maurice Bishop's car, this is a total lie, and Grenadians are going to ask Chris Linton, he lives in Tyrrel Street in St. Georges, not in New York.

"The thing that hurts me the most is their contempt for Grenadians."

The thing that hurts me the most about this case is the total contempt with which they view Grenadians. They see Grenadians as being stupid, they can't think, they can't use their heads. It hurts my national pride. What they using to pull it off is the blaze of propaganda and playing on the people's love for Ode. Maurice Bishop, the anti-Coard propaganda, and the anti-Communist propaganda - three years of uninterrupted propaganda to prevent people from thinking maturely, soberly.

Put aside what people think about Bernard Coard, Phyllis Coard, or Hudson Austin and see what these people are trying to do to us as a people. What they are trying to do is trampling on our national pride, our dignity, self respect and intelligence.

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"people are going to check - you can't hide the truth for all time."

I mentioned the security officers including two police officers who witnessed St. Paul's statement as well as the tape recording regarding his role in spreading the rumours, and the letter he wrote to the leadership of the Party.

Let us hear from the soldiers who fed him at Camp Fedon where he said he was not fed. But Alister Hughes sees him on October 20th and sees no sign of this. When he sees him, he is "nattily dressed." It is significant in terms of assessing the honesty and credibility of St. Paul as a witness.

Let us hear from Personal Security officers and soldiers from the guard company assigned to Selwyn Strachan's house and at my house. Not one of them is called in this case. Why? Let us hear what they have to say as regards St. Paul's story of going to Selwyn Strachan's house on October 9 and my car being there.

I will deal with the details of St. Paul's testimony later. I will deal with the specifics of George Louison's, and Joseph St. Bernard's testimony later. I am focussing now only on the number of different persons and categories of witnesses who they have failed to call. You don't call these other persons who would have been present. Instead you bring up as your main prosecution witnesses someone not only with an axe to grind, someone highly suspicious in conduct, who another prosecution witness said under oath spread the rumour on October 12th, and that other witness, Errol George, you choose not to call, although he is on the back of the indictment!

That witness said St. Paul told him to spread the rumour, but you didn't bring him in the trial. The only other personal security man the prosecution had and then didn't bring him. Why?

There are Grenadians in this court who knew Errol George and Chris Linton and would ask them questions highly embarrassing to the prosecution! What about all the Personal Security officers assigned to me by Security as well as the many soldiers on duty at my house? The Personal Security officers who are in any car that I am in, they were there too. What about that? Does not one see myself arrive on Fort Frederick or go anywhere else in Cde. Bishop's car? If this anansi story took place there are over 150 Grenadians who would know about this. Where are they? They are living in Grenada now!

But you bring a man who tells Alister Hughes one anansi story and the court another, and goodness knows who else he tells what! There is so much in this case that smells!

"Every time we investigated, the hand of the U.S. was behind events."

We have the task of trying to understand the events of October 1983 as the culmination of a number of phenomena that I started to outline yesterday. I pointed out that it is my position and contention and part of my indicative defence that the U.S. government played a decisive role in laying the foundations and building the walls, the roof, windows and door of the tragedy of October 1983. That is my analysis, based on the examination of data available to me, although a thorough investigation is needed. We have to examine closely the real possibility that on October 19 the link between the Vincent Noel group in the demonstration and the "God Bless America", "We love America", C.I.A. group, could be an individual working on the one hand for the C.I.A. - Don Rojas - and ingratiating himself with the Party and Revolution. He may very well be the chemistry that led to the attack and seizure of Fort Rupert. It is worth careful study and investigation.

In addition, different forms of economic destabilization unleashed by the Americans from the early days throughout the 4 1/2 years, stepping it up every year, but apart from helicopters, submarines, etc., that from time to time would enter the territorial waters and airspace of Grenada, diverting the leadership from the task of economic and social construction; there was also the massive and growing propaganda war from the earliest days and thought, led and orchestrated by the U.S.

Cde. Maurice Bishop, exactly 6 months 5 days into the Revolution, made a famous speech "Beat back destabilization." This book was produced, with all the evidence of the U.S. destabilization including photocopies of newspapers, 18 Sept. 1979, detailing what the U.S. had already done in the area of propaganda destabilization which got worse and worse every year.

During the 1980 election presidential campaign for the U.S. - Ronald Reagan and George Bush running for President and Vice President, respectively - in their speeches not only launched direct attacks on the Grenada Revolution but used the phrase many times that they would "teach Grenada a lesson." There are radio and T.V. reports to show this. They talked about teaching the Grenada Revolution a lesson and openly promised to smash the Revolution. They said that in different words.

George Bush was the head of the C.I.A. for a number of years. When they took over they stepped up the destabilization and pressure on the Revolution - on the government, Party and people. Then we had a critical point. Historians looking back would have to pause to examine their operation Amber and the Amberines. Does this sound like Grenada and the Grenadians? This military manoeuvre took place in Vieques off Puerto Rico. They chose a location and scenario virtually identical to what would be required for Grenada and the Grenadians. We published all the documents they put out on this, and citizens of Puerto Rico reacting to what was happening protested at the time. And when we looked at Grenada's map, we discovered that not far from the International Airport, there is a tiny bay called Amber.

It is significant that in the invasion the U.S. was to land and seize the International Airport. Amber and the Amberines was seen by independent observers as dress rehearsal for Grenada and Grenadians. In addition to that we also saw a number of other phenomena - in which any time we investigated we discovered the hand of the C.I.A. I refer to the October 1979 plot to assassinate the leadership of the Revolution and seize power; the November 1979 plot which was part of the same plot - the de Ravenerie plot - he was caught red-handed with explosives and when questioned he revealed certain information in relation to the role and support from U.S. craft carrying mercenaries. The April 26, 1980 plot and, involving the same elements, the June 19 bombing that killed three persons. The November 17-18, 1980 killing of five Grenadians in St. Patrick's. In the days and weeks following, there were a number of shootings and bombings in the countryside by the Duck and Ayub gang.

All of these manifestations of violent internal counter-Revolution directed by the C.I.A. was the counterpart to other phenomena like Amber and the Amberines, like economic destabilization, propaganda destabilization, etc. Then in the last 18 months before the invasion, the C.I.A. began to bring together groups of Grenadian counters in New York, Washington, Florida and Trinidad and Tobago. One of the groups that met in Trinidad and Tobago took upon itself to contact ex-PRA soldiers to stir up trouble. A U.S. diplomat from the embassy used to chair those meetings and one of the leading personalities in that group, in that Trinidad and Tobago

group, was the Acting Registrar who drew up the array of jurors for this case and who was immediately prior to that a member of the prosecution team.

There are secret files on that individual's role. We have files on that. There is more that will be said about this in a different location. Then plug into all of this the three speeches of President Ronald Reagan of 10 March, later in March, then April. In April he held a large military manoeuvre - the "Jeremiah Richardson Manoeuvre" - as a direct response to the U.S. threat to invade Grenada. Sanchez, Shultz, Bush, Weinburger and Ronald Reagan all between January - 20 April made a series of statements about the Grenada Revolution, claiming that Grenada is a threat to the national security of the U.S. When a country says that one is a threat to its national security, it is a declaration of war!

Then we have the stockpiling of medicines in Barbados in August 1983 which the then leaders of the opposition of Barbados attacked in parliament, saying that the volume of medicine brought in there was several times more than what was required for the Barbados Army. He wanted to know why? We know why now.

All of this was before October 1983. What were they preparing for?

"Who gained from the tragedy of October 19th?"

Because we have to always ask ourselves: countries all over the world have at one time or another experienced serious tragedy. The question is who then invaded to take advantage of that tragedy? Who arrested those presently in the dock illegally? Kidnapped them? Who "investigated" this so-called case? Who put us on trial? Who is paying for it? Who is withholding our documents so that we cannot establish our innocence? Who gained from the invasion? Who gained from the death of Cde. Maurice Bishop? Who gains from killing us now, the remainder of the Party leadership?

"The invasion had to be timed for when the country was in a state of crisis and tragedy."

Look at the number of attempts made to assassinate Cde. Maurice Bishop and the rest of the leaders in different plots and bombings. We have to bear in mind that the four main methods or models for over-throwing a Revolution were all employed in overthrowing the Revolution:

- The policy of comprehensive, many sided destabilization - propaganda, economics, military. That was used successfully in Jamaica and Chile. It was also used in Grenada.
- Mercenary invasions like Bay of Pigs, 1961 in Cuba. Comoros Islands is a recent example of mercenary. The Seychelles off Africa was a dramatic attempt led by South African troops backed by the C.I.A., troops jailed as well. They were going to try this in the de Ravinerie plot.
- Assassination of leaders of Revolution. We have to see the October 19 plots, June 19, Nov.-Dec. 1980 period. We have to remember the assassination of Lumumba, the seventeen assassination attempts by the C.I.A., admitted under oath, to assassinate Fidel Castro; the assassination of Marien N'Guabe in Congo Brazzaville; the assassination of Eduardo Modiane in Mozambique of Amelcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau, 1st leader of that country; of Mantola Mohammed of Nigeria - several leaders of other countries were killed by Imperialism, sometimes using South Africa, the Portuguese, and others.

It is in that context we must see the cracking of the concrete under the PRG leadership on June 19 and that those who did it are now walking the streets free - pardoned.

- Direct military invasion using U.S. troops - done 150 times in the past 150 years - in Haiti, Dominican Republic, Cuba, Nicaragua. In 1840 the U.S. seized half of Mexico. They have a track record. 150 military invasions, incursions, interventions in 150 years. Grenada is part of a pattern. When Haiti didn't pay its debt the U.S. sent in Marines and grabbed the Customs and collected the money for years - in some cases they spent 20 years in the countries they invaded. 1966 Dominican Republic - 30,000 U.S. troops. The line was "protect the lives and property of American citizens." Does that sound like Grenada?

But since the Second World War and with every passing decade since, it has become harder and harder to accept military invasion of other countries, especially after the fiasco of the Vietnam War. The American People were so afraid of their government after Vietnam, that they forced their congressmen to forbid the U.S. government to intervene in Angola in 1975, and they forced through the War Powers Act to restrict the government waging war without the consent of Congress. The government invented the Gulf of Tonkin to invade and the American people lost confidence in their government. As a result, the U.S. government is in a situation that they have to prepare the ground well to justify an invasion. It has to be quick action involving minimum U.S. lives. This was admitted in an official release form from Weinburger. Seven conditions for war he talks about - all because of the Vietnam syndrome.

One problem the Grenada Revolution posed for them for 4 1/2 years was that as long as the Grenada Revolution had a powerful militia fully organized and mobilized involving ordinary citizens with that many people fighting back, the cost of an invasion in U.S. lives would be too high politically. I am not saying that they can't bomb the place to the ground, but the tremendous loss of U.S. lives would be unacceptable and would violate one of the seven principles of the Pentagon. Therefore the invasion had to be timed when the country was in a state of crisis and tragedy. The invaders would therefore need only a small army and a very small number of militia. Military intervention had to be combined with systematic, massive destabilization over a period of years, with the cumulative effect this would have.

Mercenary invasion was not only seriously considered but persons were trained in the U.S. But a mercenary type invasion would have been a fiasco like the Bay of Pigs or Seychelles. A mercenary invasion of a few hundred could not succeed. It took 20,000 troops, and they had to ensure they would not meet the full might of the people's militia.

They had to sow many seeds and wait for the right moment, before they could pounce to "teach Grenada a lesson," turn back the Revolution. So they had to combine various methods. Has anyone ever given thought to the fact that a number of different dimensions of the activities of the U.S. vis-a-vis the Revolution only take on meaning within that context? Has anyone ever thought of the fact that the U.S. hated Cde. Maurice Bishop and wanted him dead at all costs and tried several times to kill him including on June 19, 1980? Does the U.S. want justice in Grenada, or to consolidate its hold on the country by eliminating the leadership?

"The U.S. penetrated its agents."

The U.S. penetrated two kinds of agents into Grenada. Some were specialists, others versatile. We can identify them in some cases. The

two main purposes were intelligence gathering, whether with binoculars or telescope or otherwise, which helps in providing the information for the U.S. to focus more pressure on the Revolution, to finding more effective ways to destabilize the Revolution. The intelligence gathering would also assist in the detailed planning for an invasion. And then secondly, manipulating and setting the leadership and people apart, creating mistrust, mischief, chaos and confusion. This was an active role of destabilization.

We have to bear in mind the role and significance of the objective factors, which any poor developing country faces in the process of economic and social transformation. What were these problems? How did they bring more strain on the Party and leadership? How does this contribute to the crisis? The role of U.S. agents and their regional Uncle Toms in aggravating and accelerating the objective problems, in making the situation worse, must also be examined. They're waiting for the maturing effects of the destabilization - the crisis - then they pounce on it, aggravate and help to move it from crisis to catastrophe.

Any Grenadian would have experienced working where one or two persons in that workplace are always bringing news behind your back, making up news and trying to curry favour with the boss to get rewards. Any human being who has lived long enough will have experienced this. There is no way one can understand October 19 without understanding this method, used by Don Rojas, Shahiba Strong, Kenrick Radix, Cletus St. Paul and George Louison. They thrive on sowing seeds of mistrust and the C.I.A. discovers this, and seeks to penetrate them, playing on their over-sized egos, love of money, and so on. The foreign enemy seeks to send in people who they can place close to the leadership and play one against the other skillfully.

Don Rojas and Shahiba Strong arrive in Grenada in 1979, in the early months of the Revolution. One ends up as Press Secretary to the Prime Minister and travels with him all over the world. Shahiba Strong ends up being the Chief Protocol, also accompanying the Prime Minister all over the world, and with tremendous access to the PM's many documents of Party and State. She also was not detained when foreign occupation forces arrived. She was observed in the Red Cross having dinner with U.S. intelligence officers. She was spared the treatment given to 2,800 Grenadians and Caribbean citizens in Grenada, including many women. There were a tremendous number of questions, one must have thought, for an invader to ask her. Shahiba Strong was in the Operations Room at Fort Rupert on October 19. Quite a lot to ponder ... We have to look at these types as getting into three categories so as to see the role of different persons in the crisis.

First there are those local Grenadians in the leadership or close to it with an axe to grind, who can be manipulated even without their being conscious of it, into being de facto agents of a foreign power, unwitting agents of the C.I.A. For instance, if a foreign enemy wishes to get a politician to spy on a Grenadian, but he is patriotic, if he knows it's for a foreign power there is no way he will do it. But if you bribe the Inspector or Superintendent and he tells the policeman "this man is under suspicion for drug trafficking," they will watch the man in the spirit of trying to contribute to the development of their country. But they will be unwitting agents of the C.I.A. Maybe this is how to explain Kenrick Radix and even George Louison.

Secondly, there are those local in the leadership or close to it who can be reached with money. These are consciously working for a foreign power. They know what they are doing. Cletus St. Paul is one of these. And there are others!

Thirdly, there are those brought in by the foreign country, both Don Rojas and Shahiba Strong fall into this category. Both were living in the U.S. for several years before they flew in after the Revolution. They get close to the leadership and we have to look at how the U.S. treats them after the invasion.

Over a period of years they win the confidence of the leaders. They become useful and even indispensable; they have access to the private offices and even bedrooms of some of the leadership and so they can do their work from inside. These are facts of life. If we are to understand the crisis we have to confront this.

We have to examine how Reynold Benjamin of the GDM could be making phone calls on October 11, days before the crisis became publicly known. The GDM finally forms the government after the invasion. The dates of the phone calls are very interesting. They provide a lot of information. Those who want to understand the events of October. The information the GDM had on October 11 could only have come from someone who had access to an office or bedroom of the leadership and could pass information on, to the United States.

Now there is Leonard Barrett, U.S. C.I.A. case officer leading a group of Grenadian counters in Trinidad. Reynold Benjamin is in Trinidad too, in that group, and so is Denise Campbell, the acting registrar, the same person who selected the array of jurors of this case, totally in violation of the Law. Members of this group are taking certain actions and revealing certain information in October 1983 at a time when they could not have had it, outside of access to the C.I.A., and access to documents in the offices and bedrooms of Grenada's leaders.

So while all three types of agents carrying news, some are also making up news, spreading news, picking trouble - some do it because of personal reasons - because they have an axe to grind or because of envy; others do it for bribes, others because they are professional agents. They come from different backgrounds, they have different objectives, but they are using the same methods and having the same consequences. These elements were vital in the success of destabilization in October '83, and then there were the real objective problems, and finally the invasion, the coup de grace, to finish off the job.

"There is an enormous and qualitative difference between a Party in Opposition and a Party in power."

I now move on to a different dimension of the crisis which is also of enormous importance in understanding the basis of the crisis. That is, the objective factors, the unfolding problems we experienced, independent of the machinations of imperialism. How they grew and why the suggestion of Joint Leadership. What was the response to this, what was the response of different comrades, including myself, to this proposal and what was the response of Ode. Maurice Bishop?

The most important point is, that it is absolutely fundamental to understand how and why what was discussed and proposed at Central Committee and General Meetings in September 1983 came to happen. What is the background, the basis? We have to understand the nature and character of the Party - NJM - in the years of struggle against Gairy up to the moment of taking power. We have to contrast that with the tasks and problems facing the Party after March 13. And thirdly, see the evolution and dramatic escalation in the expansion of tasks, responsibilities and complexities facing the Party with each year of the Revolution. So people don't think that people just wake up and take a decision one morning - joint leadership! I am not dealing with the correctness or incorrectness of the Joint Leadership proposal, whether you agree or don't agree with it, whether you

think it was a good idea or not. I am now just dealing with what happened and why.

Firstly, one must understand the difference between the demands of crowd politics/elections politics type of political parties versus political parties based on daily and weekly and monthly organized links with masses. This is key if one is to understand the pressures and strains which arose later on.

The difference between the requirements of a Party to take power, and what is required when in office in trying to build the country and the process, especially to attempt to do so in conditions of massive U.S. pressure and destabilization is enormous. There is an enormous and qualitative difference - speaking from personal experience - between what is required to take power, i.e. work in opposition, and what is required when a Party is in office, in running the country, to deliver the goods, to mobilize the people, to improve their well being, including the conceptualization, organization and implementation of a large number of new programmes and projects. It is a task of a completely different character. It is like a bucket of water versus all the water in Grand Anse beach! This is true even if we didn't have to deal with destabilization, when dealing with an extremely poor country. Even without the pressure of destabilization, just the task of trying to take people from poverty, making sure all the working people's children can get education, health, etc. All of these require a Party with a level of organization, of a totally different character than what is required to organize people in demonstrations or for elections, or for True Blue barracks!

"We had gone through various crises in the life of our Party."

Our Party therefore had to go through certain transitional experiences, changes and adjustments to meet the changing tasks and complexities. In 1973-74 the Party's type of work was one of mobilizing the people for demonstrations and so on. Then they go home. Some parties are very active around elections, and after that you don't hear from them for years. What we call "in season parties."

In life people go through stages, life crises. Every child goes through these. Then in later life too, for instance, women go through menopause. Well, political parties in development also go through such 'life crises.'

The first trauma, the first crisis we went through, was after we were defeated in 1973-74. 30,000 people were mobilized in demonstrations against Gairy, and after that Gairy was still in power to rig the 1976 elections and the poverty of the people remained.

By the end of March 1974 that first Revolutionary upsurge of the people led by the NJM Party failed. The leadership held a series of meetings. We analysed why we failed, we analysed that we didn't have sufficiently organized links with the people, so we could know what they are thinking and saying and to unite them in well-organized, sustained action; the crunch came, we were defeated. It took us three years - from April 1974 to March '77 - after the analysis, to reorganise ourselves thoroughly, and to establish organized links with the people in every Parish, in every Village. I remember Ode. Selwyn Strachan and I used to go up every single Monday to St. Andrews to organize fishermen. At first we had only three in the group, then it grew to five, 10, 19, and so on. We helped them organize bulk purchases of diesel oil and so on. This was donkey work, for three years - the kind of work Kenrick Radix hated, he couldn't do that! In every organization some work harder than others. So there is always some friction and tension between those who do the work and those who don't. There are many organizational tasks even for an ordinary public meeting - typing out invitations, rolling them off, distributing them.

Kenrick Radix was an expert in rolling up to speak on the platform. He don't know how the crowd reach there! Those who observed the 1984 elections will understand what I am saying. Most of his public meetings had no chairman, no microphone, and he was the only speaker. He was so used to those in the dock organizing those things for him. Unfortunately, we were behind bars and couldn't do it for him this time!

So this was one of the problems - the strains and tensions between those who do the work and those who operate parasitically, who take a free ride, and for years we shielded and protected him so junior Party members won't know. All of this is in the NJM records. So there is this hard slogging work winning the confidence of the people, helping with workers, students, fishermen's struggles. And the task to move from a Party where you only have to bring out large numbers to a rally, to a party wherever every day members go out to every village, every parish, is an enormous leap organizationally. I must say frankly that this was my area of strength in the Party and also Selwyn Strachan's and we were officially responsible for this area of work all these years.

"Why did everybody vote for Joint Leadership?"

If you wipe out all this conspiracy theory from your mind, what do you see? Ode. Maurice Bishop, immensely popular not only with the Grenadian people but also with every member of the Party of different ages. At the October 13 meeting, I remember an elderly lady in her 70's, she was in the 1951 demonstration when British soldiers shot down Grenadian agricultural workers. I remember members in their 40's, 50's, shopkeepers, farmers, and so on. When Ode. Bishop comes in to the meetings everybody rises and applauds. This is how Ode. Maurice Bishop is treated who is supposed to be under house arrest! This is what always happened, including on October 13, after the rumour of October 12. There is tremendous love for him - young comrades, grandparents, small farmers, youths, students, workers. Everyone has this love for him.

And at the September 25th General Meeting almost everyone spoke up during 15 hours of discussion. And then, at the end of the meeting, everyone voted unanimously, including Ode. Maurice Bishop and Ode. Wilson Whiteman, in favour of a Joint Leadership for the Party. Are all those people in a conspiracy and plot? Are all of them crazy? Everybody is acutely conscious of Ode. Bishop's tremendous qualities, of his indispensability to the Revolution. But he had his weaknesses and internal Party organization was one of them. That's life. The records will show that. We must not just ask who voted how in the CC, but why does everybody in the Party agree with it? Is this much deeper and more profound than the propaganda I have been hearing? Why can't Grenadians get to see these documents so as to see what everybody said at the meetings? Why doesn't George Louison talk about the September 25th meeting. Maybe you will say he was out of the country, but he talked about the September 17th meeting. He said I chaired it, and he was already out of the country at that time!

So let's look at what are the real problems. How did they arise? How did they unfold? How did we try to deal with them?

Well, we had this first transformation from crowd politics to daily and weekly organizational links with the masses. It took us nearly three years to achieve this transformation! I was responsible for that area of

work, along with Ode. Strachan and other comrades. We reached a fairly high level, between March 1977-79 and before the Revolution we were able to operate at a peak, at the level necessary for taking power from the Gaiky regime. I remember vividly in the six months before March 1979, when a campaign was launched against us by the GNP and UPP and Gaiky, and we put out a pamphlet in response. Part of our answer was to list all the different struggles NJM was engaged in right then in defending the interests of the people. We discovered to our amazement, in compiling that list, that simultaneously, NJM was involved in 22 different struggles. No wonder we were ready for power! My task, my work in the Party, was to coordinate those struggles. That was my work in the Party.

For all the years up till 13 months before the invasion, I was Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the Party, and Selwyn Strachan was vice chairman. George Louison was a member too. That's the basis on which we must understand and not be fooled by the ridiculous slander and lies that Joint Leadership had anything to do with the government. It was within the Party, internally. It had nothing to do with who was Prime Minister, leader of the Revolution and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. George Louison can only say these lies because the Yankees won't permit us to have our Party documents.

"Joint leadership has nothing to do with the Government. It was an internal NJM Party arrangement. Why did everybody vote for it? That's why there is no way those who want to kill us can afford to release our Party documents."

There has been tremendous propaganda to fool people, to confuse party and state. Although it was the Party as Party that charged the True Blue Barracks and called out the people to make the Revolution in 1979, when all the members of the NJM met in the big studio in the early days following the Revolution and we asked the Party membership to vote by secret ballot to choose who would form the PRG, the government, we said we must choose a substantial number of non-Party people too. It was important to have patriotic Grenadians in the PRG. That's why there were members of the Cabinet who were not Party members. So you can't confuse Party and Government. Obviously members of government have a relation to the Party which forms the government, but the Party and Government are different both legally and politically. For instance, among the persons in Cabinet who were not NJM members was a former President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Lyden Ramdhanny. So George Louison is a mischief maker and an ally of the U.S. propaganda when he seeks to confuse Party and State. In every country there is a relation between the Party that forms the government and the government itself, but the two are different both legally and politically. In NCNP right now the deputy leader does not act as Prime Minister when the Prime Minister is out of the country; a different person does. Because Party and Government are separate.

Those who confuse joint leadership of the NJM Party with that of the government, when it was exclusively an internal Party matter, they talk about joint Prime Ministers, two Prime Ministers! Yet this matter is clearly set out in the minutes of various Party meetings. And those minutes also show that those who proposed it did so to pull the Party out of a serious organizational crisis. Cdes. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Fitzroy Bain, as well as all the comrades here in the dock, described the Party as facing disintegration, organizational collapse, within a matter of months.

In meetings going back over months, this crisis is spoken about. At the CC, the Sept. 14-16 CC; the Party General Meeting of September 25 - everyone described the crisis and everyone involved, though they disagreed on other things, they all agreed on the nature of the crisis and they described "a party facing disintegration within months." There is no way those who want to kill us can afford to release those Party documents. Later on they will do so. The U.S. laughs at the Gulf of Tonkin incident now, the incident they invented as a pretext to bomb Vietnam. They can kick and laugh now about their other lie that worked - that the International Airport was a Soviet airbase; because the Revolution is overthrown. They now control the airport, an airport whose correct name is the Maurice Bishop International Airport - that's the only thing we agree with the MPM on! Those who made certain remarks at the opening, it was real cheek; they don't know how the airport came there! (Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement).

Unless I waved a magic wand and brainwashed every member of the Party, how do these lies explain how every member of the NJM voted for Joint Leadership as an internal organizational matter? Everything everybody said at the Sept. 25 CM is in the minutes. And the Yankees have 20 copies at minimum of each set of minutes, and yet we can't get one? Why? If the minutes had anything that they could have used against us, does anyone think they would not have provided them immediately?

"In 1983 we faced a new crisis: how to become a Party capable of using power to build the country?"

So by the time we reached the stage of 22 struggles we were organizationally ready to take power. When we take power all the people in the various Ministries have been placed there by Gaiky and most have no training - only two economists, a few engineers in the whole civil service. Not enough doctors; the schools in a deplorable state; the cost of books and school uniforms sky high; health services dreadful, in some areas no water; massive unemployment, 49% of the workforce, 79% among women and youth. Massive tasks, you have to now deliver the goods to the people - to build programmes, ministries and departments; new building projects; raise hundreds of millions of dollars - and all of this have to be led by the Party. It doesn't do itself. It happens because there is a Party and we have reached a qualitatively new state - to move from a party in opposition, one able to take power, but now having the responsibility for agriculture and health, housing, roads, education, every project. The Party has the responsibility in the eyes of the masses for everything, morally and politically. And this stretched our resources thin. It's like a juggler juggling 2, 10, 25 balls. In a sense that's what all members of the Party were saying in July to September 1985, when they said the Party faced disintegration in a matter of months. Too many projects and programmes. Every single member of the Party juggling too many balls. Too many tasks. One third of the members of the Party were on sick leave at the same time by 1983. All of them had collapsed from the sheer strain of the work. Nearly all women in the Party were threatening to resign. They can't get their housework done, no time for their children. There are letters, records of all of this that show this. It was a major crisis. Caribbean political leaders who were here in Grenada for August 1983 Carnival told us "But look, everyone is sick!"

You know the number of OC members who were themselves hospitalized in 1983? The first time in my life, on the 10 August 1944, when I was born was the only time I ever went to hospital up until the Revolution! The first time after that that I went to hospital was in 1982 when my eyes collapsed on me. A film came down; I couldn't see. I had to spend 48 hours

in the hospital in Grenada under Dr. Annette Alexis and the Cuban doctors; then, on their recommendation, several days in a hospital in Cuba for the same thing.

A number of people in the dock had the same situation. Cdes. Unison Whiteman, Fitzroy Bain, Bwart Layne had a number of operations for respiratory problems. Cde. Maurice Bishop himself, was under tremendous strain.

In addition to the strains of Party and government problems, he had problems with his child. He was in the middle of a personal crisis.

It is not easy to spend almost three years behind bars, hearing all these lies and slander - in the P.I. and now in this trial. To have to sit through this masqua. Meanwhile those who have all the backing of the state - police, clerks, lawyers at their disposal, know that what they are presenting is lies. It wouldn't take them two minutes to check out what I am saying. I am a patriot, I get very angry when I see that it's a pack of foreigners trying me and framing me. I always speak my mind. People always know where they stand with me. I'm a plain speaker. I don't shu shu and I don't like gossip. I can't take tay bay. And there are some Ph.D.'s in tay bay in this courtroom! They deal with slander, innuendo, tay bay, as their 'evidence'; not facts.

So after the Revolution we have a situation where we take power and suddenly there are tremendous demands made on us. We can now no longer go around, just going and meeting with fishermen; talking about removing taxes, saying "when we're in power." We have to implement it! We could not just talk to farmers about cheaper fertilizer, we had to do it!

The Party now was faced with a new crisis. Moving from a Party able to take power to one that was capable of using that power to build the country. There were three overriding tasks. And the work had to be organized around these.

Brief Adjournment. Defendants are abruptly handcuffed and made to sit out in the bus outside the court, to prevent their conversing with their families and friends.

Resumption, 4:20 p.m.

Bernard Coard: We saw the building of the Revolution as involving three main dimensions fundamental to the entire process. And while the process could not advance without them, those dimensions in themselves helped to create some serious problems. We couldn't develop the process without them, yet with them the strain increased. These are the tasks:

- The development of the productive capacity of the country, the economic capacity on all fronts - agriculture, tourism, fisheries. Economic development in the narrow sense, the more restricted sense.
- Ensuring the delivery of all the points of that economic development in the form of better wages, better working conditions, better health care, educational facilities, welfare services for people, better housing and more housing, for the vast majority of the people, for the poor, and the working people. The wealth produced must go to all, not just to a few at the top.
- The mobilization and organization of all the working people of the country - workers, farmers, youth, students, women, fishermen, small shopkeepers and small businesspeople - in order to achieve (a) and (b). We saw clearly throughout the process that (a) and (b) could not be achieved without succeeding in the mobilization and organization of the people. The history of all development in third world countries proves this.

"Two vital skills were required."

This required two vital skills. Enormously important to this process, indispensable to it, were the particular qualities and abilities of Cde. Maurice Bishop. He was unparalleled in the Party for his ability to

explain things to the people, to explain what we were trying to achieve, and to motivate the people to want to work harder to achieve the goals, and to distribute the fruits fairly. The minutes of the September/October '83 meetings will show that a number of CC comrades here in this dock made just those particular points about the absolute indispensability of Cde. Maurice Bishop to the process, and why this was so.

This was said in 1983, not 1986! The actual words of CC members in this dock and their making them forcefully in the meetings, can be seen in those minutes! That is how everyone in the Party saw it then and now. It was a fact of life. Anyone would have been blind not to see it.

Equally important, in the view of the entire leadership, to achieve (a), (b) and (c), was the enormous amount of organizational work which was required in order to translate (a), (b) and (c) into a reality. In other words, that was the rationale behind Joint Leadership for those who proposed it. I had my own personal position on this, which I will come to. But that was the rationale for the proposal, that was what was said at the time. The outlook and strategy of the Party was people's involvement, people's participation, people's democracy. It is in this context that we must see the tremendous work done by the Party in establishing the many mass organizations of women, youth, and so on, and secondly the formation of the embryonic organs of people's power - in the form of parish and zonal councils during the 4 1/2 years, as well as the tremendous popular participation of people in discussions as well as the decision to move to the establishment of a new Constitution to reflect the development of structure, which was taking place.

However, we have to recognize the tremendous strains on the Party as an organism and on each individual, such that it led to a large number wanting to resign, and others falling sick, including top leadership being hospitalized in the final year. We have to see that we were trying to do too much too fast, and failing to rationalize and prioritize. It's nice to do ten projects, but maybe only seven are objectively possible, otherwise all may fall down. This problem was getting progressively worse each year. The records are clear on this. This started with the problem of the NJM Party members having to assist in the running of many Ministries. Party comrades had to be distributed thinly in the Ministries, to get certain projects going, to stamp on corruption which was there from before the Revolution, to make sure necessary equipment was purchased, and cared for. Party comrades were placed one here, one there, and because of their total dedication, because they were prepared to work Monday to Sunday, they were able to motivate and stimulate many traditional civil servants to capture the dream of the Party and work that little bit harder.

On top of that came a number of specific projects, new programmes, which we decided to undertake. I want to stress, our Party is not like most others where members just pay dues and turn up for voting or to public meetings. Those kind of members are no use for building this kind of process. It needs Monday to Sunday work, mobilizing and motivating people. It needs long hours of persistent work to make sure that things get done; it needs people prepared to do the donkey work. One has to be clear that

when we talk of members of the NUM Party, we are talking about persons prepared to make this kind of sacrifice. Such persons are limited and so more and more work falls on them. For example, one of the first tasks we had, was that the Revolution had to organize a serious milk feeding programme to reach infants, school children, pregnant mothers - the people most in need of the richest of all foods, milk. Free milk was provided by the European Development Fund, but hundreds of people had to be organized to ensure that it was distributed every week, every month, every year. And people did

this voluntarily, without salary. Party comrades had to be assigned to go to homes in the parishes to recruit and mobilize people to assist in distributing milk on a regular basis, and then to monitor the distribution. It was the Party's task to set up, organize, and monitor the programme, to check any hygiene complaints, or if it's not being distributed properly. That's just one programme!

Another programme was the house repair programme. It reached approximately 6,000 households, over the 4 1/2 years. The poorest of families, those with the lowest incomes, had to be identified. It all takes organization. The logistics of selling the material, delivered, even up to Carriacou. Party comrades had the task of mobilizing people for voluntary labour to fix the homes. And again, this is just one programme.

A third programme was even more massive in conception and in organizational requirements. This was the CPE, the adult literacy programme aimed at eradicating illiteracy in Grenada. The organization responsible for it was the Party.

5 p.m. ADJOURNMENT

MONDAY, 18TH AUGUST

"The Party was paying a great cost."

Bernard Coard: At the time of taking the adjournment I was dealing with the fact that the Revolution had three broad aims: (1) Developing Grenada's productive capacity, (2) Ensuring that those gains would reach the vast majority of the people, (3) Mobilizing more and more of our people, and then finally all our people, to develop that productive capacity and to ensure that the gains of the Revolution should reach all our people.

I was dealing with the fact that while the natural process of the development of the Revolution led to great benefits for the people, at the same time the Party was paying a great cost in terms of the increasing strain on every member consequent upon the enormous work required to launch and monitor all the programmes.

I was explaining that the kind of Party was not a Party where members pay a subscription once a year and turn out to vote for the Party's candidate once every five years. In our Party, the membership worked long hours every single day and week of the year on behalf of the people of Grenada, to get things done, implemented.

It is easy to take for granted milk distribution and other benefits, but unless one is involved one may not understand the tremendous amount of work involved. This is not just a rally and then people go home. Anyone can be mobilized to do a one-shot task, but when you are calling on hundreds of people to do a task every week, and when some people fall down on the task, you have to find others to do it: and make sure the milk is hygienically distributed and that there is no corruption, and when there is a problem, to put it right; when you get a feel for how just one programme can take a toll in terms of organizational strain, then it can be understood how great was the increasing strain on the Party from the total volume of the work.

"Who was going to break bush, and walk through mud, to see Miss Joyce James? Not the traditional civil servant! This had to be done by the Party."

I now go on. The Centre for Popular Education - the CPE - literacy, adult education, and secondary education (it was going to be in three phases), required ten or fifteen times more organization than the milk or house repair programme.

There was tremendous inertia, tremendous bureaucratization in the Ministries and Departments which we inherited. There was the 8 a.m. - 4 p.m. mentality - "come late, leave early," the shoving around of paper on desks but not delivery of any benefits to the people. There were hundreds of civil servants, but the masses cannot see what they are getting; people go to government departments and no one will even say "can I help you?" The Ministries were not producing anything.

So in March 1979 one of the major problems was to develop new structures that could seriously get work going. We had to try, through one or two Party persons, through their personal example, to motivate the traditional civil servant; to energize, motivate, and stimulate the Ministries and Departments to really serve the people. We had to try to transform the attitudes of the civil service. This was a major task and strain on those who assumed power in 1979.

In respect of the CPE alone, the organizational implications were enormous. Two major national surveys had to be done, to assess how many adults could not read and write, or could only read and write very inadequately, and therefore required the services of the CPE. The survey had also to identify the specific individuals who needed the CPE programme. And having identified the number of persons, their geographic location, and who they were, to encourage, motivate and entice them to attend, and regularly. They won't improve if they go only now and then. And adults in our society are worried about people laughing at them. So they have to be motivated. And we are talking about thousands of people. Who was going to break bush, and walk through mud, to see Miss Joyce James and ask her "will you take part?" The traditional civil servant? Clearly not. This had to be done by Party members, at least in the first place. To speak to people in their homes in the evenings, on Saturdays and Sundays - that could only be implemented by Party members.

Then, after identifying how many and who would be the pupils, so you can organize the centres, you still have another enormous organizational task. You have to mobilize several hundred volunteer teachers to come out evenings and weekends, and spend time teaching people. And we had to organize also to train the teachers. If you have money to pay, it's easier, but when things have to be done voluntarily, it's much harder.

This is just to give a brief insight into the enormous tasks involved, just in one programme, a programme involving 3000 adults in classes and 800 teachers. You can't have too many to a class - that's important when you're teaching them from scratch. Then you have to mobilize professional teachers to train the programme's teachers, and it is necessary to check the teachers regularly, to keep them interested, and from losing morale. When you ask yourself how many Party members are required on the ground just to implement one programme, it gives an idea of the enormity of the total effort required for all the programmes.

"The kind of programmes we were trying to build were totally different from those of a Party which only checks the people once every five years."

Moving on to another programme, community work; this was several programmes under one heading. Thousands were mobilized on voluntary community work programmes - for instance the Community Centre in St. Paul's, a tremendous community centre which took many months to build. Many people came out. A number of persons in this dock played a prominent role in motivating the people, and in doing the donkey work itself. Grenadians know who. There were similar centres built in Birch Grove, Fir, Grand Hal, and Waltham. There was cleaning, digging, and preparation of drains, important both for the health of the people, and to avoid the destruction of the roads. Then there was mobilization over road repairs, with members of the Party and its leadership showing up, and by taking a lead, by example, motivating members of the community. It reached the stage where some of the heavy duty operators were prepared to come out voluntarily, without being paid. There were many other such voluntary programmes, including the building of medical centres, and so on.

To move on again, to the Primary Health Care Programme. This was a programme of enormous significance. The invasion came one year after it began and before the total impact could be felt. It involved tremendous work. The idea was to mobilize hundreds of volunteers, starting in St. Davids, to be trained as paramedics and for preventive medicine and pre-natal and post-natal care; working as part of a team with professional doctors and nurses, using a team approach to visit people's homes, including the elderly and infirm who could not come out, could not afford a taxi, who were being missed by the present system. To discover cases of malnutrition among young children - this was a problem we inherited and it had to be eliminated. Measures to eliminate flies and disease, public health education so every Grenadian would understand the importance of taking steps to prevent disease. And ensuring prompt medical attention. To plan out this whole operation involved a vast amount of work, to plan the programme to mobilize the volunteers, to plan the programme for health education, for public health measures - not just a one-shot thing, it had to be for every week, every year. To clean the drains all the time, to ensure an adequate diet for the children all the time, to have regular visits to the elderly all the time, and so on.

The kind of programmes we were trying to build were totally different from those of a Party which only checks the people once every five years. Our Party was in contact with the people all the time, discovering the people's needs, mobilizing the people to satisfy and meet their needs, and organizing programmes to meet their needs all the time.

"For us to understand the crisis in our Party ... it is necessary to understand the natural difficulties which the enormous workload was placing on the leadership, and on all Party members."

The more programmes, the more work, the more strain, the more house visits, the more programmes to monitor. And so the work-load in terms of both quantity and quality, grows and grows. And for us to understand the crisis in our Party, independently of the external pressures and destabilization by U.S. Imperialism, it is necessary to understand the natural difficulties which the enormous workload was placing on all of us in the leadership and on all Party members. If one reflects back on the tremendous numbers of programmes of the Revolution, one will see that these that I have mentioned are just a few examples.

"The enormous importance of the mass organizations ... of the Parish and zonal councils. The amount of work involved was truly staggering."

There was another kind of work which the Party had to be involved in. This was the work of the mass organizations, and separate but related, the mobilization of people to take part in the embryonic organizations of people's democracy, the zonal councils and the workers' parish councils.

In the case of the NYO, moving from 100 plus members to nearly 7000 within three years or so was an enormous organizational task, involving work with 150 groups islandwide. Some villages had more than one group, so

there could be more participation. The same was true for the NYO. It all meant tremendous organizational work. The groups met fairly regularly, some weekly, some fortnightly, others monthly, depending on which. This organization ran many training programmes, for instance agricultural training programmes and others organized through or with the assistance of the NYO. Then there was the enormous importance of the mass organizations for the passing of social legislation. There would have been either no maternity leave or it would have come much later if there had been no NYO. The driving force for the passage of this law was the NYO. It mobilized hundreds of people all over the country to participate in discussions towards the forming of the law. The school books and uniforms programme also would not have seen the light of day if not for the work of the NYO. The summer camps for young people would not have seen the light of day if not for the work of the NYO. The tremendous number of scholarships for University or other training programmes, a great many of them were made possible through the work of the mass organizations. (Women (WOC) & youth (NYO) groups)

Then there were the Parish and Zonal councils. The amount of work involved was truly enormous, truly staggering. Before the Revolution, organized supporters of the NUM used to gather nationally, 100, 200, on a big occasion 300, in one location. These Delegates from different Party support groups would meet once a month, or once every two months, with the leadership, to discuss various problems, various issues.

With the Revolution a transformation took place. We didn't plan for it, but once it took place we saw the importance of what was happening, and went ahead with it. We didn't start off with bringing workers, farmers, women, youths and so on together, to discuss their problems in the presence of Ministers of Government who would have to answer their questions. We didn't start off this way, it happened spontaneously. Then we consciously tried to develop it.

In the beginning, instead of bringing together delegates from all over the country into one location, one meeting, we said "let's hold the meetings parish by parish so that more people could come." Then what we discovered was that Party supporters would bring friends and other people and 200 would turn up, then 400 or 500 until, in the case of St. George's, we had to hold the meetings in Butler House, and sometimes the hall which held 800 people would be full. More and more people wanted to come, to discuss the problems of their localities, to make criticisms and proposals. In various parts of the country we found that the school buildings couldn't hold the people. We had to break down the meetings into zones, and in those zonal meetings there were as many people! Because everyone wanted to come, and since the meeting was in the locality, more people could walk to it. So as many people came. In St. George's five times as many people were coming, and it was the same in every parish. We held zonal councils so that more people could take part and raise their concerns, proposals, and

criticisms directly to Ministers, and seek to get action taken on them.
Understand the enormous organizational steps involved! With 20 to 30 zones, on any one night there might be 5 to 9 zonal councils taking place simultaneously in any part of the country. Party members had to do follow up, and work therefore had to be done in between meetings to handle the issues raised. If one considers this, one gets an idea as to the energetic organizational work which had to be done.

"The NTS was the direct consequence of a Workers' Parish Council."

The National Transport System (NTS) is the product of an off-shoot of this phenomenon, the specialised workers' parish councils, and specialized parish councils for farmers, women and youths also. This involved more organizational work and more strain, of course. In the case of a workers' parish council at Butler House at which I was present, a number of workers raised the need for a serious transport system. They said how when tourist boats come, the private bus drivers would forget the people and go for the tourists alone. They raised how there are so many times they can't get a bus at all, that the buses mostly don't run in the evenings and on weekends, and the effects of this transport problem on the development of the country. The matter was raised at Cabinet, and four weeks later we were able to report that the cabinet had agreed that there would be a national transport system set up, and that orders were already placed in Japan for buses, and so on. It was a direct consequence of the workers' parish council. Many programmes and laws emerged from these councils - pro-worker legislation, laws dealing with the rights of workers to join the trade union of their choice - all of these arose out of the specific complaints or proposals of workers, women, youth, farmers, and so on.

Again, remember the number of Party people needed to mobilize people - to prepare slips, to mimeo them, to physically distribute them, to organize transport for people to go to the meetings, to be there to take notes, to organize a public address system, chairs and so on - that is, single things we take for granted, but it all requires somebody to do it.

And remember, this is not one shot. Almost constantly the 4 week cycle is up in various areas - there are several zonal or parish councils taking place in various areas, every night, all throughout the year. This is constant work.

"To involve the people in economic planning, in the national budget and plan."

Then there was another phase of these parish and zonal councils. It was to organize the people to shape the economic development of the country - the national budget plan for the country. Nine hundred to one thousand delegates chosen by workers in their trade unions, by women and youth in their organizations, would gather at the Dome to examine the entire proposed budget and plan, to discuss it in workshops and plenary, with Party comrades and technocrats, to give their positions and opinions with respect to all issues - taxation measures, new projects and programmes proposed, and so on. The head of the workshop would read out all the conclusions of the delegates. A good bit would be put on radio and T.V., and other bits would be published. The zonal councils would be held to get the views of more people. After that, Cabinet would meet, and would examine the feedback. When the final budget was presented, I would report on which of these proposals had been accepted, which had not been accepted, where they were not accepted, why not, and what had happened during the last year, in terms of the proposals previously made.

So we didn't just wake up one morning and pass VAT* - I hear that's what people are even calling the flu that's going around (smile). The system we had was not a perfect system - it was still being developed - but its aim was to involve the people in economic planning, and to demonstrate that economics is not a mysterious process which ordinary people can't understand. I can't emphasize enough the enormous work to mobilize people which was involved. An 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. civil servant can't do this. Party members had to carry this work.

* VAT: Value Added Tax, passed by the NNP government as part of the 1986 budget, caused sharp price increases in Grenada, adding greatly to the economic hardships being suffered by the people.

"Tremendous successes ... but the other side of the coin was the tremendous pressures on the Party."

So, to get all the programmes done, and to mobilize funds, too, including funds for the International Airport and housing and other projects - while all of this was being done successfully, simultaneously the other side of the coin was the tremendous pressures on the Party that had to conceptualize, organize, and monitor these programmes.

And each year, more and more programmes were coming on stream, and there were expansions in the older ones. All this was the natural result of a poor country trying to develop.

The Party documents which the U.S. has will give details of all this, including the strengths and weaknesses of the various programmes. The minutes of the Party's Organizing Committee, the nerve centre for the organizational work for all the projects, programmes and mass organizations.

"The combination of an extraordinary work-load combined with the active, orchestrated, many-sided destabilization acts by the U.S. ... created unbearable strain. It was in this context that the whole American operation unfolded."

In addition to all the stress and strain, we had, as well, the active, orchestrated and many-sided acts of the U.S. - plots, arson, tampering with the shipments of our crops, blocking loans to Grenada, military incursions into our airspace, threats, and assassination attempts and plans, for instance, the June 19th, 1980 bomb attack, and the November-December attempts to bomb the leadership when we were passing over a bridge in St. Patrick's.

All this put unbearable strain on the leadership of the Revolution, as well as making it necessary to spend more time in organizing the defence of the country, preoccupation on the part of the leadership with the defence of the country. This was an unbearable strain ... and it was in this context that the whole American operation unfolded.

And so, we have to see this pattern of more and more work, more and more stress, falling on relatively few people - just about 500.

After the first three years of this flat out, seven days a week, 24-hour a day performance on the part of extremely dedicated people, the combination of an extraordinary work-load combined with destabilization; this combined to create within the Party certain specific phenomena, which culminated in the internal crisis of July to October, 1983.

All this needs to be looked at by anyone who seriously wants to understand the crisis, to delve below the surface. This is not a case that one

morning some crazy men get up, and - boom! But there were genuine problems of a non-minister character, causing other problems, and genuine attempts within the leadership and rank and file of our Party to grapple and find solutions.

"The 1983 crisis: Any organization in which one-third of its membership is sick at the same time, you have to know that something is seriously wrong!"

So, the growth of these organizational problems, this problem of enormous 'system overload', combined with U.S. destabilization, leads to certain things. The concrete forms which the crisis takes now - I am referring to the last 15 - 18 months before the U.S. invasion - were as follows:

Firstly, the increasing illness of Party members and leaders, including many cases of hospitalization. In this regard, the minutes of the Organizing Committee of the Party, and other committees, which are now in the U.S., will provide detailed information of a number of members and leaders whose physical system collapsed as a result of the workload, the strains and pressures. This is significant in the context of the Central Committee and Party General Meetings of September 1983.

One-third of the entire NM membership - one in every three members - during 1983 were on enforced sick leave, were in such a state of collapse that they had to either stay home, take a holiday, or visit the hospital. It was extraordinary! Any organization in which one-third of its membership is sick at the same time, you have to know something is seriously wrong! It is symptomatic of system breakdown.

We can't understand why Ode. Bishop says, at the August CC meeting, and repeats at the September CC meeting, and why it is said by George Louison and others, that the NM Party faced disintegration, unless we understand all this.

I am going to give some examples. Of the 16 persons who were members of the CC at some stage during 1983, let us take first Dave Bartholomew. He spent two months in two different hospitals, during the period April to July 1983. The hospital records of all of this can be organized in a serious trial. He had an operation for damaged ligaments, treatment for stress and strain, and for his eyes. In addition, in October 1983 itself - a number of liars see him in all sorts of locations! - he spent ten days in the General Hospital, St. Georges. He collapsed at a seminar, he had attacks of fever, and so on. The same Dave Bartholomew was given leave on four occasions to rest because of overwork, between July 1982 and October 1983. On coming home from the General Hospital in October, he was given two weeks' rest, which he spent in Carriacou.

Ian St. Bernard, who was here in the dock with us, and he is not here now because St. Paul made one mistake, in his rehearsal of his evidence he forgot to call his name! The next day he said "oh yes! I saw him directing the BJR's." This is the kind of thing that leads people to be on murder charges! Complete frame up, complete make up!

Ian St. Bernard spent one month in hospital on two occasions, in 1982, with serious eye problems. After each period, he was given sick leave at home on his release. Again, he was sick during the September-October period of 1983. He also spent five days in Carriacou in October 1983. All of this due to the tremendous build-up of stress.

Kamau MacBarnette: he spent two months in hospital during April to June 1983, despite one month's enforced sick leave in November 1982.

Hudson Austin: sick in June, July and August 1983, including for a broken instep. In early to mid October two weeks sick leave for overwork, stress and strain.

John Ventour: we used to tease him. With all his illnesses in the jail, he is vastly improved in health compared with that period! September-October 1982 - exhaustion, two weeks complete rest. October-November 1982 - exhaustion, two weeks complete rest again. February-March 1983 - a virus liver infection. May-June 1983 - specialist medical care, a special diet, and a regime of four hours work daily prescribed for him. August-September, 1983 - two weeks' sick leave for tremendous stress and strain, because of the enormous volume of work he was responsible for.

Dwight Layne: June 1983 - 1-2 weeks in the General Hospital, St. Georges. He had and still has a serious sinus problem. And for six months he had to have weekly injections in the nose for that problem. In August

1982 he spent four weeks in hospital where he had a nasal operation and treatment for ulcers, which as is known, are frequently caused by overwork. He was ordered by the doctor to sleep eight hours a night - an amazing thing in the Revolution! Party comrades slept four hours a night if they were lucky. He was never completely cured of his serious sinus problems. And here Dr. Gopaul says he has no respiratory problems! Those hospitalizations must be in the world of fantasy!

Leon Cornwall: July 1982 - one week in the General Hospital for surgery. December 1982 - enforced sick leave arising out of complications arising from that surgery. March 1983 - hospitalized in Cuba for surgery. One week's recuperation afterwards.

Bernard Coard: mid to late 1982 - General Hospital St. George's for two days of tests. Upon the recommendation of Dr. Annette Alexis here, flown immediately to Cuba, to an eye hospital for four days additional tests, and two weeks rest and recuperation. In late 1982 and throughout 1983 I was seeing a doctor and physiotherapist for severe back pain, diagnosed as resulting from gross overweight - I have done something about that! My present weight is the result of Lionel Maloney's starvation policy! (smile) - and stress and strain from overwork.

Now note - with all of us, these illnesses are the first time in our lives we are ever ill in this way! And observe, all of us are young. All but four of us are even now under 40 years.

And this series of illnesses starts in 1982. For myself, in 1983, I had to wear a special brace several hours daily! I had to do a lot of my work lying flat on my back. I had acute bronchitis in December 1981 and Dec. 1982, leading on occasion to suspected but never confirmed pneumonia.

Ode. Maurice Bishop: On six occasions between May 1982 and October 1983 he had to take one week's total rest as a result of overwork, and for a serious back injury requiring special treatment.

Ode. Unison Whiteman: serious illness several times for stress and strain associated with overwork and concrete medical complaints. I am not sure of the precise nature of the medical complaints, but it was serious. Ode. Whiteman collapsed in Cuba and was hospitalized there between May and June 1983.

Phyllis Coard: December 1982, hospitalized and recuperating for one month afterwards following emergency surgery. May - June 1983: chronic bronchitis. July 1983: exhaustion and bronchitis, one month's rest. August 1983: two infections.

Twelve of the sixteen CC members - three-quarters of us - were ill. This was the pattern throughout the Party. But while the entire Party was experiencing this phenomenon, it had graver consequences when experienced by the leadership. Because of the role of leadership in building a process, it must have grave consequences for the process.

And the U.S. and its agencies would have been well aware of all this. 45

At the U.S. interrogation camp detainees were kept in wooden crates



Socialism on Grenada crushed by US imperialism's fascist invasion



Reagan's nazi blitzkrieg to wipe out four years socialist construction on Grenada

**OPERACIONES
SICOLOGICAS
EN GUERRA DE
GUERRILLAS**

Por **Tayacán**

The "freedom fighters" assassination manual authorized by the CIA.

THE COST OF OPPRESSION

These criminals attempted to sell Grenada out to the Communists.

NOW THEY HAVE SURRENDERED

The Grenadian people will never again allow such characters to assume power and cause such hardship.

SUPPORT DEMOCRACY FOR GRENADA

Post-invasion CIA propaganda

Bernard Coard's court statement III

There has been testimony given in the U.S. Congress that the C.I.A. keeps detailed records of the state of health of leaders and prominent members of governments all over the world. The C.I.A. some years ago even broke into a private clinic in Switzerland and stole the blood and urine samples in order to obtain information on the health of President Sukarno of Indonesia. This factor must be part of the U.S.'s calculations as to when they would step up the pressure and pounce.

Thus, while this was not the primary cause of the crisis, it was a manifestation of the crisis. And by throwing down and putting in hospital beds leaders and members of the NJM, who were normally hard workers, this helped to contribute to the worsening of the crisis. There is strain, an individual collapses, the quality of his work falls, on his return from hospital there are more problems because the work may have collapsed in his

absence. He had to work harder to catch up, he becomes ill again, he collapses again. The illness is the way the crisis shows itself, and this then becomes a cause of further crisis. It becomes a case of not just juggling too many balls, too many projects and programmes, but of juggling them while ill and tired and getting worse and sometimes juggling from hospital beds! It becomes really unrealistic.

If all the above is, as George Louison says, only a "so-called crisis," I wouldn't like to see a real one!

And so, we have all this concrete data on the actual situation - all of which can be obtained.

"More and more balls go crashing!"

It in turn leads to a second phenomenon; namely, more and more the breakdown of smooth functioning and efficiency of many Party tasks and programmes of the Revolution and the work in the mass organizations. So, in the last 15 months more and more balls go crashing. Bear in mind the effect of all this - the effect it did and must have had on the morale of Party members. And I want us to see that all of this is the context in which the proposal was made for joint leadership and for the other Party re-organizational decisions. This context the U.S. and George Louison have carefully not told the Grenadian people about! Joint leadership was one of several organizational proposals. But it suits their interest not to mention the others!

We have to see the genuine basis of comrades proposing joint leadership and other re-organizational decisions, bearing in mind that all were internal Party decisions and nothing to do with Prime Minister, Cabinet, or government.

I will go into this later, because there have been deliberate attempts to confuse this issue, for instance, Cletus St. Paul talking about it being the practice of the CC to go to the Airport. I will demonstrate that that

was not just a mistake on his part between CC and Cabinet but a deliberate attempt to mislead and confuse the court and the Grenadian people.

"Members simply couldn't take the strain any more."

A third phenomenon which we had was the resignations and threatened resignations of many Party comrades, not through any disagreements of policy, but because of sheer pressure of work, unbearable strain, and so on.

Women Party members on top of all the problems of the male Party members had husbands, children and domestic duties. Their strain was double. The Party had to hold meetings to discuss this. It was estimated that the vast majority of women Party members were on the point of leaving. They simply couldn't take the strain any more. Some had young babies, they had food to cook at home, and so on. It would have been a severe blow if this were to happen. They were responsible for the work among women - and half the country are women! The documents which the U.S. has will confirm all I say. The leadership held a meeting with women members. A survey was done among women members. It has to be appreciated that everything I am saying can stand the test of History, when, as will happen, these things are published. This is why I am trying to be as accurate as possible, so whether it's a matter of months or years, when people check - when they check Chris Linton and Errol George, and the documents and so on, they will see that what I said here was correct. That is why I say, that I am speaking for History.

"Internal organizational crisis and breakdown"

Another manifestation of the crisis - and it's an area of embarrassment for us but we have to face the embarrassment - there were more and more disciplinary problems in the Party, arising from a feeling among the NJM membership that the CC was not taking the matter of overwork sufficiently seriously. Most political Parties have a disciplinary committee. I notice the NNP disciplinary committee recently suspended an NNP member for five years for some offence. Well, the NJM also had a disciplinary committee. If a member of the public complains about a Party member's conduct, for instance, the member must respond. If the complaint is correct there may be a severe reprimand, or a shift to another area of work where the member is more suited, and so on. And the records of our disciplinary committee will show the number of Party members, and senior members, appearing before the disciplinary committee was growing and growing. More people were coming before it, and the same people were coming more often. That too is a sign of organizational breakdown. If you have a police force and more and more police are not wearing uniform, and coming late, and so on, something is wrong.

When more and more people are coming to a disciplinary committee it is a symptom of the problem. It was a symptom of internal organizational crisis and breakdown. The DC had to meet more often, and for more cases, and it still couldn't get through all the cases, because the real problem was not discipline, that was only the outer manifestation.

"Tremendous dissatisfaction and disaffection among members"

Fifthly, there was more and more loss of respect by rank and file members for the Party's leadership. It is painful, embarrassing to admit. But if we are to get to the bottom of things we have to face these matters. If Party members are overburdened, and the leadership is not responding, if there are many words but no actions, you lose respect for that leadership. And so, there was tremendous dissatisfaction and disaffection among Party members.

Let us bear this in mind, when the Bajan torturers come here and torture people. I have made a list of the things they have made them say. And when we have Cletus St. Paul saying the same thing. Because the records will show that in August, September and October 1983, Odes. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, Fitzroy Bain, Selwyn Strachan and others - George Louison too - we can see in the minutes where they are all saying that there is a growing disrespect and loss of prestige and respect for the CC of the Party, and increasingly a failure to carry out the guidance, tasks, and instructions given by the leadership. Very often, Party members were saying "we're not doing it!" All members of the CC are on record in black and white making these points at the CC and General Meetings of August to October 1983. So when Cletus St. Paul says that Lt. Andrews says to him "this is a CC matter, you must not question it!" or that he hears a chant "The CC orders, we obey, we obey"; the records themselves will show that this is nonsense! Why can't they give us our documents? For nobody ain't taking what the CC says just so, especially not in that period!

"In July 1983, the CC blamed the rank and file membership ... this was intellectual dishonesty."

A sixth factor; In July a Plenary Meeting of the CC was held, followed by a General Meeting of membership in late July or early August. Again it is painful to admit but it is truthful, it did happen, in July the CC in analysing the severe crisis came to a number of analytical conclusions, and to be frank and honest, and in hindsight because it was not seen at the time, the CC was in certain respects dishonest and later had to admit this, and the General Membership criticized the CC strongly for this.

While showing all the different areas where projects and so on had collapsed - all the manifestations of the crisis, the CC proceeded to blame the rank and file membership for not working hard enough, for being too undisciplined. At the same time the CC claimed that its own work performance had improved! This was clearly hypocrisy and intellectual dishonesty; not being willing to admit to ourselves our own weaknesses and errors, and blaming it all on others.

This approach was dishonest, and following the General Meeting of July or early August, the Party membership became incensed, annoyed at the entire CC for its failure to face up to its own responsibility for the situation. This contributed to a further loss of respect. So this "CC orders, we obey!" thing is utter nonsense! I suspect the Prosecution would have found a better line if they had read our documents before they concocted this aspect of the frame-up! They would have seen this, about the loss of respect and so on, and known that this is the very last period that we would have had this "CC orders" nonsense, that had never ever happened anyway, even in the past!

LUNCHEON ADJOURNMENT

"The August and September 1983 CC meetings analyse the symptoms of collapse."

Bernard Coard: So I have reached the stage where the CC plenary is held in July 1983 and a General Meeting following it in late July or early August. This was followed by tremendous dissatisfaction at the conclusions of the CC meeting. In August, therefore, the Political Bureau decides to hold a CC meeting on August 26, during which several of its membership including Ode. Maurice Bishop state their concern at the depth of the crisis, its effects on projects and programmes, and the growing perception of the leadership by NJM members and the disintegration of the Party.

All of this is recorded in the minutes of the August 26 meeting, as well as the decision for the CC meeting of September 14-16. The August meeting also decides that the few CC members then out of the country are to be at home for the meeting; the meeting must be so timed as to ensure that that was possible.

Then we have the actual CC meeting of 14-16 September, 1983, which analysed from early morning to late evening the state of the Party and Revolution, analyses the many factors, the symptoms of collapse, which I have analysed this morning, and which makes the decision for solving the crisis which everyone had analysed, the crisis which threatened the disintegration of the Party, and of the very Revolution, since the Party had a very critical role in so many aspects of the Revolution.

"George Coard has lied. On September 17th I was not even a member of the CC then, much less joint leader of the Party. This is on record. He would know that what he said was untrue."

Then we have the September 17 meeting. I was present at this meeting. I had received reports of the other meetings, and their minutes, and I received verbal reports of the September 14-16 meeting at the meeting on September 17. But at that September 16 meeting the decision was taken that I should be brought to a meeting the next day (it was Ode. Bishop's idea) to discuss with me all the analysis, conclusions and proposals for dealing with the crisis, to seek my response to the same, and also to decide on holding a meeting of all the membership to discuss the crisis and ways of getting out of it.

Now George Louison has stated that the decision for joint leadership was implemented the following day after the decision was taken on September 16th, and therefore I would have been (this is the inference) attending the September 17th meeting in my capacity as joint leader of the Party, while Ode. Bishop was in St. Kitts at the Independence celebrations. This is what George Louison said or implied. It is not only untrue, but perhaps more importantly George Louison knows it is totally untrue. Why do I say so? He, George Louison, says that he left the country on September 17th, on that morning. So when he speaks about joint leadership being implemented "the next day," meaning at that CC meeting of September 17th, it is significant. The meeting takes place while he is out of the island, and while there is nothing to stop him speaking of it, he seems to have felt the need not to mention also the General Meeting of September 25th. However, he received the minutes of both these meetings. Also, apart from that, he received reports from Ode. Bishop and Ode. Whiteman on those meetings.

The minutes of those meetings were available within seven days, and he would therefore know that what he has said was not true. The records will show the following - and once more, no amount of lies, slander, and

propaganda will change that."

On September 17th the following persons were present as members of the CC. When there are minutes of an NJM meeting, at the top of the page will be stated the names of those who are present as members of the particular committee. The names of any persons who attend the meeting not as a member, those names will be present in the body of the minutes.

So when some day in the future the minutes of that Sept. 17th meeting are examined, it will be seen that Bernard Coard's name is not even listed as being a member of the Central Committee, but as being in attendance. I was not even a member of the CC then, much less joint leader of the Party. Bernard Coard's name is there in the body of the minutes, as being in attendance at the meeting. No amount of lies will change that.

The names of those listed as being present on September 17th are: Selwyn Strachan, Hudson Austin, Liam James, Duart Layne, John Ventour, Phyllis Coard, Kamu MacBarnette, Chris deRiggs, Leon Cornwall. The names are very important. I will show why later on.

The following persons are also listed at the top, as being absent: Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman, George Louison. They are listed as absent with an explanation, as being out of the country. Ode. Bishop and Ode. Whiteman as Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs were at the St. Kitts independence celebrations. George Louison was out of the country because he left as part of the advance delegation which Odes. Bishop and Whiteman would join later, after the September 25th General Meeting. The other three persons absent were: Dave Bartholomew, Fitzroy Bain, and Ian St. Bernard, who were all sick. The minutes will show this. (That in itself is significant, that they were sick!) Indeed, Ian St. Bernard missed all the meetings of Sept. 14-17, Fitzroy Bain missed some, and Dave Bartholomew had serious problems.

Ode. Selwyn Strachan, in the absence of Odes. Bishop and Whiteman, and with my not being even a CC member, chaired the meeting as the next most senior comrade. This had happened from time to time in the past.

The meeting was called to discuss, primarily with myself and also to a lesser extent, because of his late arrival, with Ode. Hudson Austin, the discussions of the previous three days.

Ode. Strachan started off as chairman, giving for my benefit, a summary of what had transpired between September 14-16, 1983 - the decisions taken, the proposals made which were now subject to confirmation or otherwise by NJM members at a General Meeting.

Immediately after Ode. Strachan spoke, and before others did, I spoke and raised four questions, and the minutes taken by the Recording Secretary who was present at that meeting will bear out the accuracy of what I am saying.

Firstly, I said I would like to see the minutes of the meeting of 14th - 16th September, and to read the detailed conclusions and analysis.

Secondly, I said that I would like to know the reasoning of those who abstained or opposed on the decisions, and in particular on the joint leadership matter. What were their reasons?

Thirdly, what options other than joint leadership were examined by the CC, and why were they rejected?

Fourthly, I asked why was not this meeting scheduled so that Ode. Bishop could be present?

"Did I know I would have been on trial?"

It is important to note and reflect on the composition of that meeting, and who was present. All those present, except Chris deRiggs, are in the dock right now, facing eleven charges of murder placed by the U.S., using black face cards. And the only reason Chris deRiggs is not in the dock and framed too, is that he was out of the island on the 19th October.

This is significant, because if one is to believe the hints, the innuendo of George Louison, and the propaganda, then this meeting was composed entirely of conspirators and plotters. Maybe then I asked those four questions because I knew I'd be put on trial in 1986? Remember, this was before October, before the invasion, before the further crisis and tragedy of October. Did I know at that time that there would have been this trial in 1986?

"Ode. Bishop had spoken about the growing quantity and complexity of the work, and had expressed the view that the Party's leadership had thus far been unable to rise to the task of dealing with this complexity."

My four questions were replied to in detail. Ode. Austin also asked questions. I had asked for the minutes of the meetings. I was assured that yes, I would get copies as soon as these were available. My other three questions were answered in some detail. I was given all the salient details about the September 14-16th meeting, with many of the CC members present quoting from their personal notes or diaries to give me the information until the minutes should be available. The rationale for the proposals, and so on, and also summaries of previous CC meetings at which the crisis was discussed. I also received in due course the minutes of those meetings.

On Sept. 17th, George Louison's conduct during the meeting of 14-16 September, as well as his views - the two are not the same thing - were outlined to me, as I had asked to know everyone's positions and reasons.

I was also told the following details, with many comrades reading from their personal notebooks, namely that there were three matters on which every single CC member agreed - those who voted for joint leadership, those who opposed (that was only one person, George Louison) and those who abstained. Everyone agreed that:

Firstly, there was a crisis on the Party and Revolution.

Secondly, that it was grave, and endangered the continued existence of the Party, and ultimately of the Revolution. This was a position which every single member held, based on the minutes I read subsequently, and on what I was informed.

Thirdly, the CC itself - and this included an analysis of certain serious organizational weaknesses of Ode. Maurice Bishop - the CC itself had thus far proven unable to solve the crisis.

The area of debate and disagreement, therefore, was not in respect of the crisis, but in respect of what to do about it.

I was told that at the August 26th meeting and again in September, Ode. Maurice Bishop had stated that the Party was faced with the threat of disintegration; that he also stated that there was a state of deep crisis in the Party and Revolution, that the main reason for this was the poor functioning of the CC, that the crisis in the Party was causing a crisis in the Revolution, and that the crisis was compounded by weaknesses in the objective factors, such as problems with electricity, roads, and so on.

In respect of Ode. Whiteman, his position among other things was that he was shocked by the mood in the country. And Ode. George Louison had talked about his deep concern over the continued decline of the work of the Party. Ode. Fitzroy Bain had done the same and made the point that in his opinion the strongest supporters of the Revolution were demoralized, and

that a number of Party members were showing a willingness to resign because of the demands of overwork, and were just going through the motions, so exhausted and demoralized had they become.

Ode. Maurice Bishop had also spoken of the growing quantity and complexity of the work, and had expressed the view that the Party's leadership had thus far been unable to rise to the task of dealing with this complexity.

Ode. Unison Whiteman, and many other CC members, expressed the view that the Party and its leadership were setting itself too many tasks and too many unrealistic decisions. And Ode. Selwyn Strachan also spoke about Party members being overburdened. And what comes out clearly from all the statements is the Party's failure to deal with the complexity and the increase of tasks, and the consequent overwork, exhaustion and demoralization of members, and the effects of this on members, and so on.

Those are, in summary, some of the positions which were outlined to me and which I read in the minutes regarding the crisis, its effects, and the gravity of it, and in particular the serious organizational weaknesses of Ode. Maurice Bishop which was one of the dimensions of the crisis.

"I challenge George Louison to say which CC meeting, where, when, and with who present, ever removed Ode. Bishop from the CC of the Party!"

At this point I want to say, to place on the record, that when prosecution witnesses make statements about "the CC this" and "the CC that", it must be clearly understood that George Louison and George Louison alone was the only person removed from the Central Committee on the afternoon of October 12th. I was not at that CC meeting but the records of that meeting will show that. No other member of the leadership of the Party was removed from the CC during September - October 1983. Therefore it must be clearly understood that Odes. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and Fitzroy Bain were members throughout the crisis - three comrades who tragically met their deaths on October 19th at Port Rupert. They were members of the CC throughout the crisis. And I challenge anyone, including the same George Louison, to say which CC meeting, where, when, and with who present, ever removed Odes. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman or Fitzroy Bain from the Central Committee of the Party!

"Criticism of each other, and of ourselves, collectively, was something we did in the Party from time to time. But George Louison was the only person who went so far as to state that Ode. Bishop was 'the number one problem!'"

On the question of the organizational weaknesses of Ode. Bishop, focussing on this for a moment, I want to stress that the vast majority of CC members present on September 14-16, including those in the dock, outlined the outstanding qualities and strengths of Ode. Bishop, as well as his weaknesses. This was not something new. Criticism of each other and of ourselves collectively was something we did in the Party from time to time. It helped to improve our individual and collective performance.

I should like it noted, for instance, that on this occasion, Sept. 14-16, Ode. Unison Whiteman made it clear in the meeting that the criticisms of the organizational weaknesses of Ode. Bishop, mentioned by various members of the CC, were in his view correct. He stated that unequivocally as his position.

Ode. George Louison went much further. Indeed, he is the only person in that meeting - and the Americans gave the NNP the minutes for the 1984 election campaign, but they can't give them to us for this trial! - George Louison stated that "the number one problem in the Party is the quality of leadership given the process by Ode. Maurice Bishop." In 1984 the NNP made that a road march! We can't get these same minutes for the trial, and George Louison comes, and gives a totally different impression here, and makes sure not to mention that!

Ode. Liam Jones in that meeting as the minutes would show, said that all members of the CC must be criticized for weaknesses which have contributed to the disorganization of the Party; and he also outlined his view of both the strengths and weaknesses of Ode. Bishop.

It is very important for people to read the minutes of that meeting, to see what people actually said at the time, and to compare it with what George Louison is now saying went on.

Ode. Maurice Bishop stated, not for the first time - the first time I recall that he said this was in April 1981 - he said he accepted certain weaknesses in his performance that were outlined. He agreed that he had not given adequate leadership to a number of Party bodies.

Ode. Maurice Bishop's position on the joint leadership proposal at the meeting of 14-16th September, was outlined to me and on Sept. 17th. His position as I understood and recall it was:

Firstly, he had no problem with the proposal for joint leadership of the Party. He stated that the Party was founded in March 1973 with joint leaders, not one leader. That based on the history of NJM as a Party as well as generally he had no philosophical problems with joint leadership as a proposal.

Secondly, he had no problems with a joint leadership with Ode. Bernard Coard because he and Ode. Coard go back many many years, to school days. That they had written the NJM Manifesto and the Indictment of Gairy together, and had always worked together as a team.

He had two concerns or reservations. The first was relatively speaking, a detail. It was, how concretely would the proposal of joint leadership be operationalized? Here he wanted more details and to meet with myself to work out and finalize such details. Indeed, at the meeting of 14-16 Sept. as a result of discussion, the question of specific areas of responsibility, specific demarcation of tasks, and so on, was gone into.

"Comrade Bishop's concern: was this a vote of no confidence?"

His second concern - and in my view, looking back, this was a reservation of great significance; I have a greater appreciation of this now than I had at the time - he was worried about whether to interpret this position of the CC as really a vote of no confidence in him. Comrades reported this to me at the meeting of September 17th and went on to say to me that most comrades had responded making it clear this was not the case and why it was not the case, but why they felt that joint leadership was vital at that critical juncture, with the Party facing disintegration.

On two occasions at the September 14-16 meeting, George Louison put forward a position suggesting the complete removal of Ode. Bishop. And this proposal was rejected by every single member of the CC with reasons given for their rejection. Indeed, as comrades pointed out to me, the role and contribution of Ode. Bishop to the Party and Revolution was of indispensable importance to the Revolution. They pointed out the extraordinary relationship of Ode. Bishop with the working people, his ability to communicate even complex ideas to the people in an easily understandable way, to motivate and mobilize the people, to inspire pride and a sense of self-worth in them; that his contribution was vital to building the economy, the people's militia, the parish and zonal councils. For building all the

three pillars of the Revolution, Ode. Maurice Bishop's ability to inspire, to motivate, and to mobilize the people was unparalleled. This is to be found in the minutes not only of the CC meeting but also of the General Meetings of September 25th and 26th.

"This feeling of Ode. Bishop's was used as a lever by George Louison, Cletus St. Paul, Don Rojas, and Shahiba Strongy."

This was the question: how to get across the ideas to the people, how to galvanize them, mobilize them, inspire them; and yet accomplish also the other task, to pull together the organizational tasks required to transform the liberated energies of the people into concrete achievements, concrete programmes. These were the two great tasks, the two dimensions of the struggle which needed to be married to build the Revolution. This was the basis for comrades' support for the proposal, this was also how they genuinely felt, why the proposal did not reflect a position of no confidence. But this was his genuine concern. We cannot pretend it was not.

It is my view, and this is even clearer to me today, that this feeling of Ode. Bishop's was a foot in the doorway which was used as a lever by George Louison, Cletus St. Paul, Don Rojas, and Shahiba Strongy to greatly aggravate the situation and turn it into a crisis of monumental proportions, which it was not, and ultimately of tragedy. They surrounded him, they bombarded him. All but one were present on the trip with him. They pushed plot and conspiracy lines at him constantly. They told him the joint leadership proposal was the first stage towards getting rid of him altogether as leader; and I will try to pin down why I place the morning of September 26, to October 8th, as the time this starts.

To go back to the meeting of September 17th. On September 16th Ode. Maurice himself proposed that to save time this meeting should take place the next day, while he was away, and that he would meet with me in a bi-lateral a few days later, within about 48 hours of his return from St. Kitts. The minutes will show that he proposed an immediate CC meeting with me, and that he would meet with me after. Even though many CC members felt he should be there and that the meeting could have been the following week, he insisted and said September 17 should be used to brief Ode. Bernard and other matters he would raise directly with me - the questions of the operationalization of joint leadership; and of whether this was really a vote of no confidence.

There was another matter. He, Ode. Bishop that is, wished to take one week and give careful thought and reflection regarding his main concern over joint leadership - whether this was really a vote of no confidence. He was not convinced by the assurances of all the members of the CC and therefore he wanted to reflect on this for seven days as well as to use the time to meet with myself. The other comrades all agreed, and so the next formal meeting of the CC was set for one week hence at his request and proposal. It was also agreed to set a date for the next General Meeting of the Party, which would take the final decision on joint leadership.

According to George Louison this thing was settled on September 16th, and so he can't afford to tell anyone about the September 25th Party General Meeting! But there was such a meeting, and there were many persons present, who are now living in Grenada.

"A decision such as joint leadership could not be taken by the CC. It must be approved by the General Membership of the Party."

Now I would like to say that the highest organ of the Party between meetings of the General Membership was the Central Committee or Party Executive. But the highest organ of the Party, higher than the Central Committee, is the General Meeting of members of the Party. Bear this in mind in the context of George Louison's position as to when joint leadership was decided. It is also important to remember when I go on to discuss George Louison's conduct in Eastern Europe, and the fact that members of the Party who were with him in Eastern Europe spoke about his conduct at the Party General Meeting of October 13th at Butler House.

Let us bear in mind that it was the General Meeting of the Party which elected the Central Committee in the first place, and can replace it at any time. And it was the General Meeting which elected the first PRG. The things which George Louison said took place at the General Meeting of October 13th do not and cannot make sense once you understand this. A number of things which he said happened could not possibly make sense if people understand that certain things could only be done by the General Meeting of the Party, and not by the CC. He can fool people who don't know the system of functioning of the NJM and the fact that its highest body is the General Meeting. The CC is only the highest body between General Meetings of the membership.

A decision such as joint leadership and other key organizational decisions could not be taken by the CC. This is nonsense! If the CC was to attempt something like that there would have been total rebellion! A General Meeting was necessary and that is why it was held on September 25th, and a General Meeting of Candidate Members on September 26th, also to discuss and vote on this question.

Therefore for all these reasons it is totally wrong, an attempt to confuse the Court and the Grenadian people, to create mischief and out of malice that George Louison should come here and tell people that the CC took the decision for joint leadership and that it was implemented the following day, the 17th September!

It is further disgraceful mischief-making and totally untrue for him to say that the CC removed Ode. Bishop from the leadership of the Party and government. This is extraordinary! When did this meeting take place that took such a decision! What is he talking about? If you want to cause "old mas!" among Party members, just try such a thing! He doesn't even say when this meeting took place, which took such a decision - he just asserts it!

I don't know who told him to stick it in there! Such a decision is impossible without the approval of the General Membership, and there is no way you could get even 10% of the General Membership voting for that. This is disgraceful mischief-making on the part of George Louison.

The fourth proposal of Ode. Bishop was that I should immediately re-join the CC and start working out a detailed plan for the implementation of all the other CC decisions with regard to Party organization. It was his proposal that even while the question of joint leadership was still to be resolved a little over a week later, I should rejoin the CC and meet with the rest of the CC on those four days and draw up an organizational plan, since there were many such broad organizational decisions which had been taken and which needed full elaboration, to get the Party out of the crisis.

To give four examples - and these other four I might add were also to be put to the General Membership, and that was eventually done as well:

Firstly, a decision for a massive expansion of the Party membership, from 500 to 1500 members within a specified period, by drawing in 1000 new members. One way to juggle more balls is to have more people to help with the juggling. So the idea was to go out and discover which people from

among the masses had the most energy, were already taking the most responsibility, had the most dynamism, the most leadership qualities; the people who were natural leaders - in the NWO, the NYO, the volunteer teachers working the hardest in the CPE programme, the volunteers working hardest in the milk distribution programme, the house repair programme; those persons who were already showing their willingness to work hard without pay, - and Party comrades would approach these brothers and sisters, and ask them if they were willing to join the Party,

So, joint leadership of the Party was part of a package of organizational proposals. There were also these others which the propaganda doesn't talk about at all. The propaganda mentions only joint leadership. But it was part of a package.

Another proposal was to implement greater division and specialization of labour within the NLM. Rather than two people sharing ten tasks, let each do five. Better internal organization, in other words.

A further decision was to rationalize and prioritize each Party member's work, cutting down the amount of work assigned so as to be more efficient. Take three tasks instead of ten and do them well, even though the other seven have to hold off for a while. Decide which three are most important.

And a fourth decision was to hold back on implementing or expanding some of the programmes of the Revolution in order to better implement the rest. To cut down into what we could really cope with. To try in this way to contain and control the magnitude of the crisis.

All the proposals of Ode. Bishop I outlined earlier were implemented and came off as planned and were fruitful, and that includes my meeting with him of September 21st, to discuss the issues I mentioned.

"I stated my position on joint leadership very frankly ... I was personally not in favour."

Now on September 17th, after the various members of the CC had outlined in great detail the positions of comrades at the meeting of 14th - 16th, I was asked for my position on these matters, and I stated my position very frankly and bluntly. I made it clear throughout the meeting that I was personally not in favour of joint leadership or of returning to the CC in any capacity.

I outlined my reasons at that meeting of September 17th. I reminded the CC of the reasons why I resigned from the CC in September 1982 and that nothing had changed in my opinion, to change my position on this question; that the fundamental reasons and concerns which I had then, remained.

I reminded comrades that there were two types of people in the Party, especially among the leadership, historically. I wasn't speaking of ideology but of work performance. There were those - the majority - who worked hard, who put everything into their work; and then there was a small group of people - I specifically mentioned Kenrick Radix, and his role over the years - I am a blunt speaker, and it was his activities that had led to my resigning.

I pointed out that there were those elements who liked to suck up, and bring news, and make up news, and I can't deal with that, and this was causing too much divisiveness in the Party, and that I had felt that the best way to deal with elements who feel that they can only make it through bad-talking others is to withdraw and not be part of that.

"Kenrick Radix ... was a source of great concern to me."

It is important to understand the problems one encounters in any organization. I will be concrete regarding Kenrick Radix. He was removed from the CC, the Party executive, in October 1982 despite the fact that he was close to Comrade Bishop. However, he continued to have a divisive influence within the Party. He and others like him were a source of great concern to me.

Kenrick had a pattern of doing little or no Party work. If ten people have tasks to be done, nine members will get theirs done. He will have a thousand excuses but the bottom line is that his task has not been done.

I was in charge of Party organization and I had harsh words for those who bumbled and didn't get tasks done. In addition there were other problems. He would get up and say all sorts of wild things ... once he made a statement about Innocent Belmar which caused the Party real embarrassment among the broad masses. People were mad about it! Gairy was playing it on the radio station ten times a day! And if you tried to tell Kenrick anything he would fly into a rage.

Even though Ode. Bishop and he were good friends, whenever he did things like this Ode. Bishop would draw me aside before a meeting and say to me "I want you to talk about him in this meeting!" This did not endear me to him. So there was personal animosity between us. Also he would get drunk at public functions - I don't say all the time; occasionally; but it was becoming a little too occasionally if you get my meaning - and it was embarrassing, a top leader of the Party and Revolution doing this.

Then there were various incidents which occurred with regard to the Departments for which he was responsible. All of these were the reasons for my concerns about returning to the CC, even as an ordinary member, because of Kenrick Radix and a little clique of news-carriers and rumour mongers. I made the point again and again.

We had a strict system of control over the budget. How much was to be spent for each item was fed into a computer, and how much was to be spent for each item in a particular month too, for not all months are necessarily the same. For instance, under the item 'Chief Justice,' there would be a bulge during those months when there are assizes. It was all computerized. This was unique in the Caribbean. One Caribbean Prime Minister who invaded Grenada, only weeks before the invasion he rang up and asked to send in some of his bureaucrats to study our system. And he did so. They don't say where they learned that system, now!

During the Revolution, a Minister or civil servant couldn't just go into a store and say "give me these materials." You had to produce a bill with a computer stamp on it. We informed in The Gazette that those stores which credited materials without computer stamp authorization, government would not be liable.

In this way, the government could never blow its budget. The computer would say "no, you've already spent too much!" In this way we prevented deficits, and even got surpluses of \$3 million, \$5 million, and \$10 million dollars.

If, when a claim is sent in, the computer said "no, you have already overspent on this item," any Minister or Permanent Secretary could find out on a screen how much was spent and used. Then, if you want to break your budget you have to take the matter to Cabinet. Cabinet has to decide "yes" - and where the money will come from, because money doesn't grow on trees! Then, the Cabinet Secretary notifies the computer centre and you get the additional funds. This is the only way you can lawfully blow your budget. It was one of the secrets of the economic success of the Grenada Revolution.

Kenrick Radix decided he would use the personal prestige of a Minister of Government to by-pass the computer. When a Minister says "I guarantee you will get your money," a number of businesses will break the rules and supply the goods required. And although not legally liable, it looks bad morally for government to refuse to pay; Kenrick did this. His most famous such escapade was his spending tens of thousands of dollars more than Cabinet had authorized, to set up the Crucial Factor restaurant. That's a whole story in itself.

This obviously created strains between myself as Finance Minister - for whom this was an outrage! - and Kenrick Radix.

Then there were other problems. The figures will show that the state enterprises that he was Minister for lost the most money and were the worst managed. It was an embarrassment for the Revolution. Fishing boats sank in the Carenage. Nothing was done about it by his Ministry. There were serious management problems with the agro plant. Then the fish-processing plant had to close down because it couldn't get fish because the boats were not functioning.

Some state industries were making \$2 - 3 million dollars annually in projects; his were losing. This was discussed in Cabinet, and in the Party. His record of incompetence is well documented in Party minutes. The U.S. gave these to the NNP and I, from my cell in Richmond Hill Prison, heard Alexis reading out about the performance of Kenrick Radix from the Party minutes so as to discredit him! But the very same minutes, where there are facts at issue to be decided and 18 lives at stake, a court of law can't get them! (Radix's phony MBPM bid in the US-imposed biometric elections in 1982)

"My position was that joint leadership would play into the hands of the rumour mongers and conspiracy theorists ... my concerns turned out to be prophetically correct."

Over the years Kenrick Radix was shielding himself more and more from the criticism of fellow Party leaders and rank and file members. He was more and more seeking to be protected, more and more shu-shuing [gossiping, whispering behind people's backs], and more and more relying on his friendship with Ode. Bishop. And one question which came to a head during 1982 was that elements such as Kenrick Radix and one or two others in senior positions in the Party, who did no work and were refusing to do tasks and were embarrassing the Party should be put on probation, given a time period to pull up their socks, and if they failed to improve they would be put

into a more junior position in the Party, as ordinary members. This was my position. Because a campaign of personal abuse was Kenrick Radix's response to my proposal, this led to certain strains and frictions and to increased shu-shuing on his part. And that was one of the reasons - there were others but that was an important one - why I resigned from the CC in 1982.

On Sept. 17th I made it clear that I would undertake all tasks assigned to me by the CC, diligently and thoroughly, but as an ordinary member of the Party and not as a CC member. That is also why I made it clear that my position was that joint leadership would play into the hands of the news-mongers, rumour mongers, and conspiracy theorists. And just like when the CC and Ode. Bishop wanted me to spend several months working with him to prepare for the Caricom meetings I threw myself fully into the work; just as, having made the proposal for the Constitution Commission, I spent four months during 1983 in the work to get this going; just as, having proposed that Ode. Bishop should visit the U.S., I threw myself fully into the preparatory work for that, my position was, as many tasks as are required for me to do, to get the Party out of this grave crisis, I will do, but my concern was that personal animosities and rivalries could be used to stir up confusion and divisiveness, and that the joint leadership proposal was incorrect from that perspective. On September 17th I was not addressing the merits or demerits of the proposal in its own right, but how elements like Kenrick Radix and George Louison could use it. My concerns turned out to be prophetically correct.

So the second half of the Saturday 17th meeting turned out to be a debate between myself and other comrades here who were critical of me, who felt that my position was based, not on whether the proposal was correct for the needs of the Party at that time, but on personal concerns based on historical factors.

One thing I would like to make clear at this point, and that is, that I make a particular distinction between George Louison and Kenrick Radix. Although they joined forces in 1983 in making mischief, they must be seen as different in certain respects. George Louison was one of those who proposed that Kenrick Radix be removed from the Central Committee in October 1982. George Louison was for years critical of Kenrick Radix' lack of work, and Radix in turn accused Louison of being 'part of a conspiracy' because George was one of his staunchest critics. George Louison turned out to be a mischief-maker but he was a hard worker over the years. This must be recorded. 'Give Jack his jacket.' [editor's note: 'give a man what is his due.'] In October 1983 they joined forces in mischief, but during the years George worked hard.

"I saw it at the time, but dimly, that these elements would get in at the door and create mayhem."

And so, I made it clear on September 17th that if I were to return to the CC even as an ordinary member and I heard any of this shu-shuing and back-biting behind my back I was going to immediately resign again, so let us instead have a situation in the Party where we delineate areas of responsibility and I will do any tasks as called upon but as an ordinary member of the Party. That was my position. And the records of the meeting reflect that.

The other comrades disagreed. They also pointed out the reservations which Ode. Bishop had, especially as to whether the proposal was really a vote of no confidence, and that he wanted a week to reflect. The final decision was to be taken on September 25th.

This further reinforced my concerns, because if Ode. Bishop had these reservations then this was precisely the material which could be used for serious divisiveness.

"Ode. Bishop was distraught regarding his son, and blaming himself."

On the 21st September - it was a Wednesday, I think - Ode. Bishop and myself met at his yard, at his house, following his return from St. Kitts. We rapped for about three to four hours. He outlined to me the salient features of the 14 - 16th September meeting as he saw it, his own position. He had no problems with the joint leadership proposal, he said; as well as he said that after discussion on the 16th he was clearer as to the organizational delineations, the various areas of responsibility of each of us. However, he had concerns as to whether this was really a vote of no confidence and whether CC comrades were just being too diplomatic towards him. That's what he said to me.

I want to say further that Ode. Bishop reminded me that he had raised the question in the CC meeting of October 1982 and at other CC meetings in 1981 and 1982 as well as on other occasions as to whether his areas of weakness organizationally - of lack of focus, prioritization - on these occasions he had raised doubts about his ability to lead the process. Then he had done so in October 1982 formally. Bearing that in mind, and the accuracy of the criticisms regarding his organizational weaknesses, this had contributed to re-creating self-doubts in him regarding his ability to lead the process. He was to some degree depressed, thinking of giving up the struggle, because of a mixture of factors. One such factor was his son's illness. It was his impression that it was a psychological condition and that the breaking up of the marriage situation had been a critical factor in creating his son's psychological state and illness, and this was causing him deep concern. He was experiencing difficulty in focussing on Party and government tasks. In fact, it is my understanding that this was why Dr. Mahy was in Grenada on October 12th - to discuss the matter of his son's illness with him.

Ode. Bishop was distraught regarding his son and blaming himself. The marriage break-up - this is a frequent situation in life, and these things have effects. We have to understand how much he loved his son. He said to me - I will never forget this - that his son who was living in Grenada spent several weeks with him that summer, he had taken time off to take him for drives and so on, and then when he sees him off at the airport or shortly afterwards he discovers that Johnny has lost 40 lbs. and he hadn't even noticed. Yet he had taken time off to try to make life joyous for his son that summer. This shook him. It made him realize how preoccupied he was by the burden of Party and government.

I have no doubt that all of this was the reason why Ode. Bishop wished to reflect that week. I saw him in the middle of the week, and he made all those points.

"At the Party General Meeting of Sept. 25th, Ode. Bishop was very frank ... he bared his feelings to the membership."

Therefore, when Ode. Bishop went to the General Meeting of the Party on September 25th, he was very frank and blunt in the very first speech he made. He spoke for about 40 minutes. He repeated the positions he had stated on September 16th and with me. Most of all, he repeated his reservations and concerns about whether this really reflected a vote of no confidence by CC members, whether they were being too diplomatic to tell him if he was really up to leading the process. He bared his feelings to the

Party membership. He said that in principle he had no problem with joint leadership; that the Party had started with that; that he had a good working relationship with me, that organizationally he was clearer on what would be entailed. But to him the fundamental question is, whether he still had a fundamental contribution to make to the process and that Party members thought so.

And during this meeting of 15 hours almost every Party member spoke and spoke freely, frankly, and from the heart.

One thing I mention in passing, is that at that meeting Einstein Louison openly criticized his brother, George Louison, for opportunism and said why he did not. Quotations from what he said have been published in The National, the ruling NNP's minutes; we can't get them for this trial!

The General Meeting of September 25th took the form that first of all members got copies of the minutes of the 14th - 16th CC meeting - enough copies were done and these were each numbered to ensure security, so that everyone could see the discussion and analysis of the CC. These were discussed in workshops. Then there was open debate for several hours.

ADJOURNMENT FOR THE DAY, 3:45 P.M.

TUESDAY, 19TH AUGUST

"The Sept. 25th General Meeting lasted over a 15 hour period."

Bernard Coard: Yesterday I had begun to speak of the General Meeting of the Party of September 25th, 1983. It was a meeting attended by almost all the full members of the Party who were in the country, and by the entire leadership except only Ode. Chris deRiggs who was out of the country on government business, and George Louison, who was already in Eastern Europe as part of the advance delegation for Ode. Bishop's visit there. The vast majority of members were there. It was a meeting that lasted over a 15 hour period, broken into workshops, a report to the General Meeting from the Central Committee on all aspects of the proposed reorganization some of which I dealt with yesterday, and then there was a plenary session over a period of several hours.

"Ode. Bishop deserved further reassurances."

Up to this point in time, that is, the morning of September 25th, Ode. Bishop had had serious concerns, serious reservations centering around the issue of whether the joint leadership proposal was really a vote of no confidence in him, and whether comrades were really being diplomatic with him. Up to then, despite detailed explanations from comrades regarding his vital and irreplaceable role in the process, he was not yet convinced. Given his entire psychological and emotional condition, he still desired further reassurances. That is my opinion, based both on how I read the situation then, and reinforced by more thinking over the past 2 3/4 years.

What is significant is, as member after member spoke at that meeting, making a number of points, this had a visible and profound affect on Ode. Bishop. At the beginning he spoke for about 40 minutes; he outlined his concerns, his reservations, as well as the areas in which he had no problems with the proposal. Then members spoke, making a number of different points, sounding various common themes. There were members from all over the country, from different backgrounds. Some of the themes they sounded were as follows:

"The entire membership agreed that there was a serious crisis, and chided the Central Committee for its tardiness in dealing with it."

Firstly, severe criticisms of the CC as a whole, including of Ode. Bishop, but of the CC as a totality, for its inability to cope with the stresses and strains emerging during the Revolution; and, much more seriously, with the dishonesty, as members saw it, as reflected in the July CC plenary and the Party General Meeting which followed it. There were criticisms of the CC for ducking the question of a serious rationalization and prioritization of the Party's work, and instead simply lambasting the Party rank and file members for a growth in indiscipline and for not coping with the demands of the work. They said it was time to move from analysing the problems to taking concrete steps to ensure that the problems were dealt with. The entire membership not only agreed that there was a serious crisis but also chided the CC for its tardiness in dealing with it.

"It was necessary to solve the crisis in order to prevent a U.S. invasion."

There were two main preoccupations which the leadership had and which the Party rank and file shared. These were, firstly, how to ensure that we could continue to build the process without that very process of building leading to the very stresses and strains which were, along with the U.S. destabilization efforts, leading to collapse. How could we stave off Party disintegration leading to the disintegration of the Revolution? And further, that it was absolutely necessary to solve that first preoccupation in order to prevent a U.S. invasion. I stress, that this is the period in which Ronald Reagan had stated unequivocally, using a map of Grenada and a pointer, that "Grenada is a threat to United States' National Security." NPM members, both rank and file and leadership, were under no illusions that the concrete statements and activities of Reagan, Bush, and Weinburger were leading inexorably towards a U.S. invasion. My own assessment is that the completion of the International Airport which was due to be finished within six months - with all the implications for the development of Grenada's tourism and economy and therefore for the consolidation of the Revolution - that the U.S. took this very seriously into consideration.

"One could feel the electricity, the profound impact, which the speeches were having on Ode. Bishop."

Another theme struck by the members - and here we must note the frankness of their speeches - this was their criticisms of Ode. Bishop, which he himself had made about himself on a number of occasions, and at the same time the fact that they made clear their deep love, respect and admiration of him.

And one could see, sitting close to Ode. Bishop in the meeting right there, as member after member from all Parishes spoke, and could feel the electricity, the profound impact, which the speeches were having on him.

The members spoke about his weaknesses - and also dealt with his strengths. And they implored him to consider the results if he were to go into a mood of depression and throw in the towel. They said this directly to him - at a certain point they stopped addressing the Chair, and spoke directly to him, and they said "you must not see these criticisms of you, and this proposal for joint leadership, as a vote of no confidence in you." They approached the problem frontally.

All Parties, no matter in what country, must have rules and regulations. After frank, thorough and open discussion a democratic decision must be taken, and every member has a duty to carry it out.

"Why was George Louison cursing?"

At that meeting concerns and criticisms were expressed, concerning George Louison's behavior in the meeting September 14-16. Questions were asked by the membership: why was he cursing? Why did he pick up his briefcase to leave the meeting, until he had to be asked by Ode. Bishop to resume his seat?

"The General Meeting voted almost unanimously for joint leadership. Ode. Bishop said he would work to ensure its implementation."

I have stressed, that with respect to Ode. Maurice Bishop and his role and contribution to the struggle, the contributions of members were vital. They said it would be a disaster, were he to give up the struggle.

The depth of members' feeling and emotions had a visible, profound impact on Ode. Bishop. At the end of the meeting he spoke again. He made it clear how moved he was by all that the comrades - the rank and file party members - had had to say; and that he was deeply reassured. He particularly admired the frankness and bluntness with which comrades spoke, the fact that they did not shirk from discussing his areas of weakness but he was also moved by the fact that the entire membership also spoke and supported all the organizational proposals including the proposal for joint leadership, but also made it clear that they were appalled to think he might interpret this as a no confidence vote. He said he would work to ensure implementation of all the meeting's decisions.

In keeping with the principle that the General Meeting of the Party has to take the final decision on all important matters, the General Meeting voted - and everyone voted unanimously except for one member who abstained, and this included Odes. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and Fitzroy Bain - all voted for a joint leadership of the Party. This is a record, in the minutes of the meeting.

"The General Meeting of September 25th is a highly inconvenient meeting for George Louison."

It is because it is necessary for George Louison's entire fabric of lies, and those who put him up to it or aided and abetted him in it - it is because it is important for him to lie and say that joint leadership was implemented from the 17th September, that is why he studiously avoided mentioning the General Meeting of September 25th. It is a highly inconvenient meeting for him. He can't mention it, because it doesn't fit in with their conspiracy theory.

Immediately after the September 25th General Meeting, a number of Party members went with Ode. Maurice Bishop to his home for drinks - what Cletus St. Paul refers to as a semi-function. Later I will deal with why he refers to this. In fact, the mood was a high one as members now see the organizational problems as being basically solved and so everyone is in good spirits, Ode. Maurice Bishop included.

In fact, the meeting had ended with singing, and with Ode. Bishop embracing everyone. So a number of members, myself included, went home with him afterwards.

"The real question is: what happened out there in Eastern Europe?"

Very early the next morning, myself and Ode. Strachan travelled to the airport with Ode. Bishop to see him off for Eastern Europe. Indeed, myself and Ode. Bishop travelled in the same car, which was a serious breach of security. We sometimes did this and the Personal Security Officers were repeatedly threatening, whenever we did this to discuss matters, or get work done, to report us to the Defence and Security Committee! In late 1980 there had been an attempt to put a bomb under a bridge in St. Patrick's over which the leadership were expected to travel - this was in the Duck and Ayoub period - so whenever we did this they would get into a flap and insist that we must not travel in the same car.

So this is the mood, the high mood, in which Ode. Bishop leaves. This is important because the objective of those who primed Cletus St. Paul and put him up to his dirty work - they say "look, there was a high mood before Ode. Bishop's departure, and look how he is received when he returns!" But the question I want to ask, the real question, is this: given all

those meetings, and the position of Maurice Bishop in the meeting of Sept. 25th, and his vote, and the spirit with which he leaves, the real question is, what happened out there in Eastern Europe?

"This is why the Prosecution could not bring Errol George."

This is yet another reason why the Prosecution could not bring Errol George, even though his name appears on the back of the indictment, even though he was the very first prosecution witness called at the Preliminary Inquiry. Because Errol George talks about that period in Eastern Europe and says that during all that period George Louison was at Ode. Bishop ... at him, at him, at him, trying to sow seeds of confusion between Ode. Bishop and the rest of the leadership. Errol George said that in his Preliminary Inquiry testimony, under oath. The Prosecution has refused to bring him to testify in this trial. But Errol George will be checked by people. He is a Grenadian, and a number of other Grenadians were also on that trip and know of the activities of George Louison on that trip, and of the activities of Don Rojas, Shahiba Strong, and Cletus St. Paul.

Observe what I have previously said about those same people. Remember, Don Rojas was not jailed like the other Caribbean workers in Grenada. He was flown out of Grenada in a military helicopter, while fighting was still going on, and thousands of people were being rounded up after the invasion, while the process of the invasion was in full march, on October 28th Don Rojas, Prime Minister Bishop's press secretary, is taken out of Grenada in VIP style, and holds a press conference in Barbados. The CANA release dealing with his press conference is dated October 29th. We have a copy of it here.

Think too of Shahiba Strong, and how she was treated. And they were all there, day and night, with Ode. Bishop.

That's the kind of question the Prosecution 'fraid! They can't deal with that! In any free and fair trial Errol George would be called as he was called at the P.I. He would be asked "what did you yourself see and hear, while in Eastern Europe?" They 'fraid that!

"At the October 13th Party General Meeting NJM members who were part of the delegation outlined in detail what George Louison did out there."

The first time I hear the details, some of them, is at a Political Bureau meeting on October 12th; and then from NJM members who were part of the delegation. At the October 13th Party General Meeting they outlined in detail what George Louison did there and also some of what Cletus St. Paul was observed doing out there.

So it is significant that George Louison talks about the October 13 General Meeting at Butler House, and makes up a pack of lies about what was said there, and fails to mention that several people spoke at length about

what he did out there. And it is because of what he did out there, combined with what he did during the few days following his return, that he was removed from the Central Committee and Political Bureau. And at the October 13 General Meeting dozens of members got up and insisted that he should be expelled from the Party, and not just from the CC and PB, the Party executive.

Their reasoning when they spoke was, that "here is a man, a leader of the Party; Ode. Bishop and Ode. Whiteman join him in Eastern Europe after the 25th September and they informed him of the decisions of the 25th (this came out at the PB meeting of October 12th and the General Meeting of October 13th; and on October 12th George Louison lied about this and Ode. Bishop had to point out that what he said was not true and George admitted that Ode. Bishop did tell him); and what George Louison then proceeds to do is to call a meeting of all Party members on the delegation who were with him and therefore not at the September 25th General Meeting, as well as some Party members who were students out there at the time, and - this is their report held on September 25th; he told them the Party had not yet taken a decision on the matter - (Ode. Bishop's back, Ode. Bishop is not present) - he implies to them that Ode. Bishop is really opposed to joint leadership, and that this is a conspiracy of some of the Party leaders to get rid of Ode. Bishop as leader, and that they must fight against it. Note: this is all done behind Ode. Bishop's back.

All of this came out on October 13th. So when George Louison tried to lie, several members of the Party who were out in Eastern Europe with him and who were in Butler House got up and said "this is simply not so!" And then they outlined in detail what actually occurred!

After this, dozens of members said he should be expelled from the Party, for lying to Party members, for trying to create havoc, and at a time when the Party was facing mounting pressures from Imperialism.

"In whose interest is it to have a complete breakdown in communications?"

Another feature of great significance is the total lack of contact and communication from Ode. Maurice Bishop and his delegation, throughout their entire two-week period abroad, with myself and Ode. Strachan. This was totally unprecedented in the history of the Revolution. Never, ever before, in all the dozens of trips Ode. Bishop had made abroad, had we not been in contact, usually several times. And when I was not in my office, or at home - when I was on the road - he would contact Ode. Strachan, to let us know how things were going abroad and to find out how things were going at home. This can be checked by talking with the many persons who travelled abroad with him on various delegations. I did the same whenever I travelled. Why is this non-contact significant?

I understand that Cletus St. Paul and George Louison and those others who have committed perjury here are making a big song and dance that only Ode. Strachan met Ode. Bishop on his return on October 8th. Let us bear in mind how these things happen in practice. While on a trip abroad Ode. Bishop will turn to Cletus St. Paul, his chief of security, and say "St. P, try to get B for me." Sometimes this takes hours. Sometimes, in some parts of the world, the telephone operators don't even know where Grenada is! Obviously, Ode. Bishop would not personally do this. He might say "St. P" or "Don" or "Shahiba", "try to get B or Sello for me." I can't say this actually happened; I was not there. But this is the usual pattern - Ode. Bishop would be extremely likely to ask St. Paul, his chief personal security officer, or Don Rojas, his personal press secretary, or Shahiba Strong, his chief protocol officer, to try to get through to home.

Understand the significance of this. Understand who are the three people I just mentioned, whom he would ask - Cletus St. Paul, Shahiba Strong, Don Rojas - probably in that order. Bear in mind the job they are doing on Ode. Bishop - as members confirmed when they returned home! In whose interest is it to have a complete breakdown in communication between Ode. Maurice Bishop and myself and Ode. Strachan? In whose interest is it to keep reporting "we're trying, but we can't get through."

Who were these people working for?

I have no doubt that these elements would have seen to it that there were no contacts, and I cannot blame Ode. Bishop for that.

"Ode. Bishop was at his most vulnerable."

I already mentioned what tremendous stress and strain Ode. Bishop was under, like all the other members of the leadership; and also specific and concrete problems which Ode. Bishop had. Add to that the concerns which Ode. Bishop had, regarding whether the joint leadership proposal really represented a vote of no confidence, and one can understand that George Louison and others had fertile ground to work on. Ode. Bishop was at his most vulnerable; in a period of the greatest self-doubt regarding his capabilities, deeply worried about his son, and under the additional stress of the U.S. threats. All of this was a crack in the door, was fertile ground which the agents of U.S. imperialism could use to create and strengthen doubts and confusion within Ode. Bishop. He was there, wondering whether to throw in the towel, whether other people really think he's not capable of leading the process. In fact, he said so at the Political Bureau meeting of October 12th, and he said that his concerns about whether this was really a vote of no confidence had re-surfaced while he was in Eastern Europe, and he admitted that this was partly due to discussions with George Louison. So, there was confirmation from Ode. Maurice Bishop's own mouth regarding the effects of George Louison and other's work in Eastern Europe.

"George Louison has 'forgotten' the heart and core of our discussions!"

In my opinion the major form the crisis took was finding ways to persuade Ode. Bishop against this conspiracy obsession which was being pushed at him, and therefore not to take the position of opting out of the struggle. Not to succumb to the lies and slander of George Louison, Kenrick Radix and company but instead to play a positive, fundamental and vital role in the many respects in which he was most fitted, including starting the monumental task of the reorganization of the Party at all levels to stave off Party disintegration, and invasion. This was the number one task as I saw it at the height of the crisis. My reason, my motives for initiating discussions with Odes. George Louison, Unison Whiteman, and Selym Strachan during this critical period of October 15 - 17th, was to seek to persuade George and Uni as to what my objectives were, why it was so important to have Ode. Bishop operating at full blast again so that instead of taking an unhelpful and even destructive position they would join in persuading him to get back fully into the struggle in a positive way.

This was my aim. Not the lies and slander that George Louison talks, about my trying to persuade him to join me in supporting the removal of Maurice Bishop from Party and state posts!

At these four main meetings various matters were discussed, including firstly the effect the rumour spread on October 12th had had on the country, and what were the best ways to combat it; secondly the dangers of whipping up people, using false data, and thus causing widespread divisive-

ness. This was aimed at checking the activities of George Louison and others mobilized by him.

I further discussed with Odes. Louison, Whiteman and Strachan the importance of restoring unity in the Party - that this was the only basis on which the crisis would be resolved.

And fourthly, we discussed concrete evidence then available regarding the serious threat of an impending invasion - and the need for unity in the face of that coming U.S. invasion.

All of that discussion George Louison has forgotten - conveniently. Just as he has completely forgotten the September 25th General Meeting! He has 'forgotten' the critical context in which all these discussions took place, as well as the heart and core of these discussions. It was emphasized and re-emphasized by myself to George and Uni the absolute necessity to put aside all personal differences in the face of this threat from U.S. imperialism - that any other position would be madness! This was stated over and over at these meetings at my house. The meetings were all held at my house because I never left my house after the October 13th General Meeting until October 19th. The reason I did not leave my house was because I was so instructed by security. Because of the rumour and the anti-Coard propaganda being played for all it was worth, security felt it was dangerous for me to be going about. Indeed, in an incident on October 12th in St. Paul's a number of people sought to seize weapons there. Security interpreted this as a situation which could get out of hand, because of the rumour, and the weapons there were removed to prevent people taking acts based on passions aroused by rumours. This led personal security officers to take the position that until the situation cools I should not leave my home.

"Trade union and political leaders on the left offered to assist in resolving the crisis ... one met with Ode. Bishop and other members of the CC on October 18th ... discussions were to continue on the 19th ..."

Between 14 - 19th October, certain trade union and political leaders on the left contacted myself and Ode. Bishop and Ode. Strachan, offering to assist in resolving the crisis, using their personal prestige in trying to establish unity in the face of external aggression. Ode. Bishop personally and myself and a number of other comrades including Ode. Strachan, accepted willingly and gratefully their efforts to assist in resolving the crisis. A couple such Caribbean personalities came into Grenada, and one in particular actually met with Ode. Maurice Bishop and some other members of the CC - this Caribbean left leader was from Trinidad and Tobago - on October 18th. It was agreed that discussions would continue on October 19th. And that particular Caribbean leader had just arrived at my house on the morning of October 19th, and was waiting to go over to Ode. Bishop's together with a number of us, and he personally witnessed the arrival of the crowd and was stunned and shocked by it, and greatly disappointed.

It is therefore for me a very sad, an extremely sad experience, when I think of just how close we all came to completely resolving the problems ... and then this tragedy and trauma hit us like a ton of bricks. Because I know when one or two members of the CC came by my house on the morning of October 19th, and the Caribbean leader came there, and these comrades told me how well the meetings had gone the afternoon and evening before, and then in the midst of finding out all of this, and in the midst of a mood of high expectations, the crowd arrives.

I remember seeing Leon Ormwell and Dwart Layne going from somewhere in the yard - either from Ode. Bishop's yard or mine. They went to speak to the crowd. I saw Vince Noel mashing up a placard, and some people were agitating the crowd, and then I saw the crowd smashing down the security barriers, sweeping past an armoured car, smashing down the next security barrier and the gate, and sweeping in to Ode. Bishop's house.

Now when one reflects on what this means, and puts it together with other information received, including even from reading books and the press after the invasion, certain things become very clear.

I remember saying to this Caribbean person then at the house - somebody made some remark with respect to Mao and Mao's China and so on - and I remember making this point both to this Caribbean person and others there, 51

that the main objective at this time must be to save the Revolution at all costs and that it's a million times better to have Mao Tse Tung than Chiang Kai Check, so I cannot accept the point. Better to have a situation where the Revolution has a chance of survival, and that can only be with Maurice Bishop leading the process, even if it means breaking all the rules and decisions of the Party. Because the Revolution must come first.

I had made the same point earlier, I'm not sure if it was to Leon Ormhall. It was made to a CC member to abandon if necessary the proposal of joint leadership, to ensure that the crisis is resolved.

"There were U.S. troops in Barbados before October 19th. I had deep concerns when the crowds smashed through the barriers."

Many people don't fully appreciate that this invasion was planned, decided on, before October 19th. People need to get hold of the speeches of Tom Adams. Already they were taking the decision to invade Grenada between October 12th - 19th. At that time they were already talking of landing troops in Grenada. There were U.S. troops in Barbados before October 19th, and in Barbados meetings were taking place between officials of the Barbados government and U.S. officials.

U.S. battleships on their way to Lebanon were diverted to Grenada. Before October 19th there were already battleships steaming towards Grenada. Decisions were taken by them, steps were taken by them, prior to October 19th. We know of some of these steps. Only if that is understood would one understand my state of mind. I had deep concerns when they smashed through the barriers.

"The spreading of the rumour, the false reports and slander of the propaganda by the U.S., and the regional puppets, had a profound effect on me."

I had taken a decision to resign as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, Trade, and Planning, to resign from all State Offices, some time during the evening of October 13th. It was formally announced on the 14th October. The spreading of that rumour and the effect it had in causing mayhem and divisiveness among the people had a profound effect on me. It is significant that I spent time discussing with George Louison and with Ode. Unison Whiteman my resignation and the reasons for it. Yet George Louison has nothing to say of it.

I was also very upset and negatively affected by the false reports and slander of the propaganda by the U.S. and their puppets in the region which started to come out between October 14 - 18. It was becoming clearer and clearer as those days unfolded that despite my resignation, certain people were continuing to send out reports that Ode. Bishop had been removed as Prime Minister, and that I was now Prime Minister, and so on. I heard all this on the radio. These reports came over several regional radio stations. I now have copies of the actual CANA reports which formed the basis for those newscasts. I was profoundly affected by all this, and by its effect on the people.

The final straw was the chanting of the demonstration and seeing the placards ...

"The only way to lay to rest the whole propaganda campaign, was for Bernard Coard to leave the country."

What had been growing on me for some time, and which I had previously mentioned to some other comrades .. as the crowd was leaving I took a decision. Having witnessed the tremendous propaganda campaign, the content and character of the demonstration, I took the decision which had been growing on me over the previous few days, and that was that there was only one way to put to rest the tremendous propaganda campaign: that was, to leave the country. And I actually announced that decision to leave the country to the person from the Caribbean who was present at my house to help us with the discussions, as well as to one or two other comrades.

Not only did I take that decision and communicated it to my wife but also to my children. And I want to stress that lots of people who were in my house - personal security comrades, party comrades, the Caribbean personality who was there - lots of people know that I was going to be leaving the country within a matter of hours.

What I say here I say for history. There is nothing that can't be checked.

My wife and I packed ... We packed their passports for our children - and that was the last time we saw them until we saw them in court last week. Many persons observed and know all this.

One of the greatest ironies is, that the person I asked to get my passport for me and who brought it to me at Fort Frederick is an official attached to this court! It is so easy to check, by those who want to kill me.

That was my mood, my spirit. You have to imagine the effect on me of the most vitriolic attacks on me, the activities of the crowd, the chanting, the attacks of the crowd. The only way to lay to rest the whole campaign and to prevent the invasion, to cut their feet from under them, was for Bernard Coard to leave the country. What then would be their propaganda line? How would they proceed? They would have to build a whole new campaign.

"Personal security officers advised me to go to the nearest secure location, at Fort Frederick, and I went there with them."

Personal Security officers with me over the years and assigned to me that morning advised me that my wife and I - remember we were the target of the rumour campaign - bearing in mind the mood in the country, the breaking down of the security barriers - for these reasons they insisted that I should go as well as my wife to the nearest secure location in the opposite direction from which the crowd had gone. They advised me to go to Fort Frederick and I went there with them. I was taken there in a jeep, with a car in front, and a back-up car at the back. All these people - drivers and security officers - can attest which vehicle I went in, when I left Mt. Weldale, and when I arrived at Fort Frederick. No doubt, if the Prosecution were interested, they could find out all that.

LUNCHEON ADJOURNMENT

Bernard Coard: I was taken to Fort Frederick by personal security officers assigned to me. There was a car in front, one behind; I was placed in back of a jeep. None of these vehicles were ever used previously either by

myself or Ode. Bishop. I make that statement in the light of the statement of Cletus St. Paul.

There were people with me; people who know all this; all this can be checked out.

"My wife travelled separately, not even in the same vehicle, much less this foolishness about Maurice Bishop's car."

What is also very important, and can also be checked out, is that my wife, both because of having to make the arrangements for the children, with the phones not working, and having to find a security officer and a car, to send the children to a friend to stay until we could leave, and also because of the usual last-minute domestic things a housewife has to do before leaving the house, my wife did not travel with me but joined me at Fort Frederick a minute or two after I got there. Her vehicle, her driver, the personal security officers who travelled with her, are also living in Grenada. They can also be checked by anyone who wants to know the truth. As a result she arrived a minute or two behind me, and not in the same vehicle, much less this foolishness about Maurice Bishop's car.

"I was taken, as was my wife, into a tunnel, placed in a room on the right ... while in there I heard shots."

I was taken, as was my wife, into the Fort, into the extreme right end of the Fort - if you are facing it from the road - about 200 yards from the mental hospital entrance in the area very close to where there are T.V. aerials. I was taken directly there by personal security officers accompanying me - my recollection is that there were six - and there I was taken into a tunnel. I estimate that there were either 2 or 3 rooms leading off it. I am not sure what the arrangement on the left hand side of that tunnel is, but I think there were two rooms on the right. I was placed in a room on the right, a room about 10' x 12' or 12' x 12'. Chairs were brought in. One or two personal security officers were outside the tunnel, one or two were outside the room I was in, and one or two were in the room.

Shortly after arriving I asked for a bunk bed to lie down - I was having problems with my back - and shortly after that one or two soldiers obliged; they brought a bunk-bed, and it was placed there for me.

While in there I heard shots. I asked a personal security officer to investigate. Shortly afterwards he came back. He said something is happening at Fort Rupert. Some time later, the first I know of Ode. Bishop's death was from one of the personal security officers. I asked him to personally check it out because I was stunned. What was his source of information? I was stunned. Some time in the middle of the afternoon I was officially informed that Ode. Bishop and a number of other comrades had died at Fort Rupert.

"In my opinion no event in this century has been more tragic, more devastating for the development of our country, than the death of Ode. Bishop ... no greater blow could have been struck."

One has to understand that the death of Ode. Bishop was not only a personal trauma for myself, but for all the comrades in our Party, all the comrades close to him, and to the people. In my opinion no event in this century has been more tragic, more devastating for the development of our country, than the death of Ode. Bishop. It was not only a stunning blow for me, but an event which I personally have yet to recover from, if indeed I will ever recover from it. The only way to understand that is to understand the depth of feeling, the electricity, between Ode. Bishop and the vast majority of Grenadian people. Only if we understand his ability to communicate the ideas, goals and inspiration of the Revolution, only if we understand that it was impossible to defend the Revolution and to build the Revolution in the face of U.S. aggression without Ode. Bishop, only then do we understand therefore that those who have suffered the most, personally, from his tragic death are precisely those who supported the Revolution most, and those who worked for it and wished to see it go from strength to strength. Those who gained the most are those who wished to smash and crush it.

The memories of that afternoon and evening and of the days following are painful ones for me, tragic ones. No greater blow could have been struck than that. With it, all hopes of preventing, of repelling an invasion, died also.

What made that day even more of an emotional trauma was precisely because expectations were so high that the problems and the crisis were about to be resolved. Then this series of stunning events - the crowd charging through, smashing down the security barriers, then going not to the Market Square but to Fort Rupert, the disarming of soldiers there, the arming of civilians, the sending of armed civilians out from Fort Rupert ... a series of rapidly unfolding, shocking events, one event moving into another in a most shocking manner, a most unpredictable manner, in a manner no one but those who planned to smash Mt. Weldale and undertake all those other actions, could have foreseen.

It is hard to describe the sense of paralysis, of despair, of hopelessness one felt that day. But it was deep.

"Let us look at the evidence. Firstly, there is a pattern of lies by George Louison."

It is completely untrue and dishonest for St. Paul to say that it was normal for all CC members to be at the airport to greet Ode. Maurice Bishop. The reality was that as many Cabinet Ministers as could go used to meet him whenever possible. The people you would see whenever Ode. Bishop arrived were Odes. Selwyn Strachan, Bernard Coard, Hudson Austin and also people such as Kenrick Radix, Lyden Ramdhanny and so on, specifically Cabinet Ministers.

If it was Political Bureau, you have to say John Ventour, Liam James, Burt Layne and so on, and if CC, all CC members, all sixteen! The main point is that George Louison is lying. They know better. They know the difference between the CC and Cabinet. This is not a mistake, it is deliberate lying. They want people to believe that something funny was up because those now in the dock didn't all go to meet Ode. Bishop!

Throughout, George Louison's so-called testimony, in particular dealing with the P.B. meeting of October 12, he completely ignores the September 25 meeting. He speaks of what was claimed that he did out in Eastern Europe, without telling the court that members, who were out there with him, spoke on October 13 and described their personal experiences and what he did out there.

In describing the October 13 meeting, he says it started after 6 p.m., in fact it started after 5 p.m., a small point. More importantly he makes a big song and dance that the meeting was chaired by Ode. John Ventour.

Over the years Ode. Maurice Bishop never chaired General Meetings. He usually spoke, he was often the main speaker, but he never chaired. George Louison said he arrived ten minutes late and that Selwyn Strachan was speaking. He has Selwyn Strachan giving a rationale for the basis of arriving at a decision on joint leadership. This is nonsensical because the Party membership, who he was said to be addressing, spent 15 hours on September 25 and candidate members more hours on September 26th, discussing

that question. I did not hear him say what George Louison says. Neither Ewart Layne, John Ventour or Liam James! Significant that George Louison is the only person brought to say these things. He has Selwyn Strachan as explaining to the membership the background of joint leadership. He can only get away with that if people don't know of the Sept. 25 and Sept. 26 General Meetings. He has Ewart Layne as saying that Ode. Bishop has already been removed from the leadership of the Party and country. Extraordinary! by whom? where? when?

He says "also of course Ode. Maurice Bishop and I ... by that time both of us were no longer CC members." This is October 13. The previous meeting of the CC he himself had described as being on October 12. Now he has Layne announcing this decision, and he is not even pretending that took place on October 12. So when and where did that CC meeting take place to remove Ode. Bishop? George Louison is silent on that while he as a rank and file member on October 13 had to sit in the audience, Ode. Maurice Bishop was sitting in his normal place on the podium together with the other CC members. All the other Grenadians who were there know that. That is why only George Louison can be brought as a witness.

Then he says Ventour was chairman: "He introduced the matter and pointed out in summary that the CC had called the meeting to tell the Party members of Ode. Maurice Bishop's arrest and to get the view of Party members." [George Louison's words]

He is saying as a witness that Chalky Ventour was chairman and that he, Ventour, introduced the matter. But George Louison said the previous day, he said he arrived ten minutes late and when he arrived Ode. Selwyn Strachan was addressing the meeting. George Louison was giving testimony of what he claims Ventour said to the members at the beginning of the meeting, "introducing the matter." But the day before he says that he arrived ten minutes late and that Ode. Strachan was addressing the meeting.

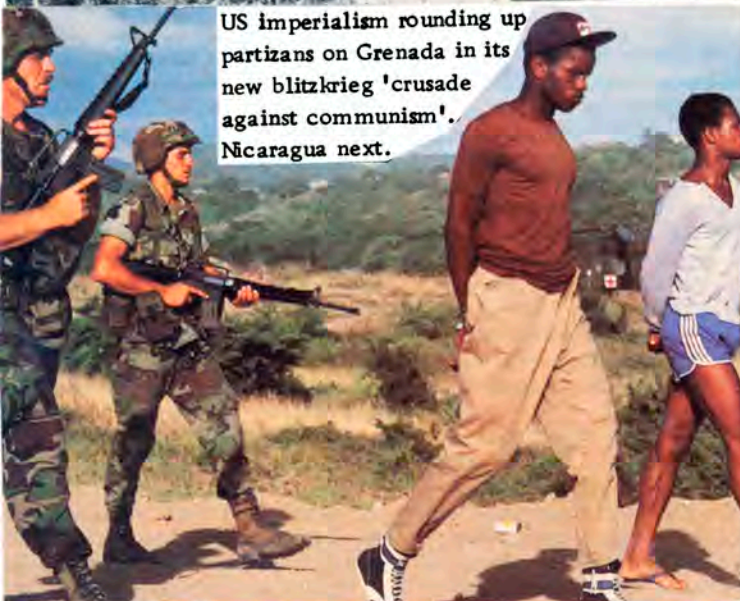
One has to observe George Louison closely to catch him! George Louison says Chris Stroude supported Ode. Bishop's arrest and also called for his arrest - that is not so. I was at the meeting throughout. Forget Chris Stroude! I do not recall a single member calling for George Louison's arrest. Many members called for his expulsion from the Party.

He said no final resolution or decision was taken at the meeting. But George Louison knows that there is no way at all that Ode. Bishop could be removed from the leadership except by a General Meeting decision after thorough discussion. And George Louison knows that even the joint leadership decision had to go to the membership for approval. That is why George

German imperialism, the last 'bulwark against communism' rounding up Soviet partizans.



US imperialism rounding up partizans on Grenada in its new blitzkrieg 'crusade against communism'. Nicaragua next.



Union couldn't say when, where and who take the decision to remove Ode. Bishop, because it's a pack of lies! #Political Bureau

Then he says, at the meeting of the P.B. on the morning of October 12, a resolution which was said to have been passed by the Party Branch in the army was "attempted to be introduced" onto the agenda for discussion. Nowhere does he say precisely the contents of the resolution - and he lies about it. He conveniently does not say that his brother Einstein Louison was a signatory to the resolution. He has to leave that out to give a sinister character to the meeting, and the resolution.

He lists the people who were at this P.B. meeting. He lists 12 persons who were at the meeting. P.B. members and the CC members who he says were there as observers.

Seven of the twelve are in the dock - right now. In addition he specifically says that I was the Chairman of the meeting. He also lists these comrades - six of the seven in the dock - as being the ones insisting on putting the resolution on the agenda. Even in the Parliament in Grenada it has been known to happen many times, including the last few weeks, that items not on the agenda are put there later. Check the records of the NUM, any member of the Party, of a committee, can always ask to put an item on the agenda. It's no problem to do this. The song and dance he is trying to create about "defeated on procedural grounds" is nonsense.

But there is something he is hoping that people would not see. He says there are 12 persons in the meeting - six of the twelve in the dock - and these are the six who were fighting to have the item on the agenda. And the seventh person in the dock, Bernard Coard, is the chairman, but the matter is defeated. The chairman rules against its discussion, on "procedural grounds." The chief conspirator, as Louison's evidence aims to prove, rules against his co-conspirators. Most significant of all, he can't find his copy of the resolution. Is it because his brother's name is on it? or because the contents don't suit him? When he is asked about his copy - "my copy is lost." Even more significant is that the Yankees have our copies and would not return them!

I have already addressed the part about the phone call to meet with him. The part about returning his call is a lie. He did not say that in the P.I. He made it up between the P.I. and the Trial! He says that at the first of these meetings on the morning of 15 October, very shortly after the meeting started he said that Liam James burst into the room and announced that Fitzroy Bain is organizing a demonstration of agricultural workers. "Coard became frantic" he says. Meeting mash up ...!

Further down he says, in order to say openly that Ode. Bernard Coard was determined not to make any compromise or find any solution to the crisis, he says that Coard was saying that "if the people demonstrated, the Party and military would just allow them to demonstrate for days after days and after some time they were bound to get tired and hungry and go back to work in order to get money!"

On the one hand Bernard Coard is saying "let them demonstrate, they must get tired" because it suits him there, yet earlier he says Bernard Coard gets frantic when he hears of demonstrations!

So at one time to create one impression I'm "frantic." That at another time to create an impression of unconcern he puts a different set of words in my mouth. Also significant is the three days of meeting with George Louison, Odes. Unison Whiteman, Bernard Coard, and Selwyn Strachan. He does not even in one occasion mention my resignation, nor Kenrick Radix's resignation even though those were discussed. But is it reasonable to believe that, with that news all over the radio station, etc., we could have met and the matter not discussed?

George Louison simply states a series of bold-faced lies about Ode. Maurice Bishop's removal which fits in with the U.S. propaganda. What would be the reason of the three days of meetings? Just to discuss the nonsense that he has invented?

From time to time George Louison gets mixed up and befuddled. Frequently he is saying that Ode. Maurice Bishop is removed and at other times he is saying that I was operating in the meeting as joint leader. Then at one time he speaks of Bernard Coard as a next in line, then other times he says that Bernard Coard and Selwyn Strachan were numbers one and two in the country. Which is true? All are said in describing the same meetings.

On the one hand George Louison carries these lies. At one stage he says that Bernard Coard says that they have the support of the Party and military. Totally untrue but he just sticks it there because it suits the Yankees' case. He says three hundred plus and six hundred plus. He gives the impression that 900 persons in all - 2% of the adult population.

He wants to give the impression that the people who worked with Ode. Maurice Bishop over the years overnight have become his bitter enemies, prepared to go to any lengths to get him! Straight Yankee lines.

George Louison puts words in my mouth saying that the Party needs a psychiatrist ...!

"George Louison feared that the crisis was about to be resolved ... his status in the Party was threatened by the resolution of the crisis."

George Louison also has nothing to say not only about Bernard Coard's and Kenrick Radix's resignations, but also nothing about the offer of the Caribbean left leaders who came to assist in the crisis. He also has nothing to say about the Caribbean Trade Union leader who met with Ode. Maurice Bishop and some members of the CC on the evening of October 18. Also that I told him in advance of that meeting. Are we to believe that none of these matters over the three days were discussed in the meetings? Is that conceivable? Then what reason for all these meetings?

And he talks about the views of Ode. Unison Whiteman and George Louison to "restore Ode. Bishop to full membership of the CC." But George Louison on this question, lies about Ode. Maurice Bishop not being on the CC. He can't say when he was removed. And he says nothing of Odes. Unison Whiteman and Fitzroy Bain who were members of the CC. So he knows that what we were doing was trying to reach all members of the CC, including Ode. Maurice Bishop, Unison Whiteman and Fitzroy Bain, to meet with the Caribbean leader. But he clearly leaves that out, but talks about me hanging up the phone on him, when that information was actually given to him on the phone. But it is not possible of course for him to admit this. He also says that joint leadership took only one day to be decided. That is also a lie.

And he carries the line (and it is clear to me now why certain things happened) about the phone call with myself - "meeting for four days and can't get an answer from me" etc. He claims, far more importantly, that I slammed down the phone on him. This is a lie. What I said to George Louison in that phone call was that not only had a Caribbean left leader come in to Grenada but he had met with Ode. Maurice Bishop and some CC members. Also that a delegation of four CC members were to meet with Ode. Bishop later that evening and that things looked promising in terms of a solution. And it is now clear to me in hindsight that George Louison became frantic when he heard that a resolution of the crisis was imminent, and influenced Ode. Whiteman in particular to resign, immediately. That's

the precipitate resignation by Unison Whiteman and Ode. George Louison on the evening of 18th October despite the fact that they were told what was happening and asked not to resign. That was precisely why they did this. So by 18th October seven Cabinet members resigned and one was out of the country - no government - accelerating the crisis - so that all Grenadians hearing that - it must cause more crisis!

Those resignations were the surest way to accelerate the crisis and to create maximum psychological stress and strain in the country. They occur at the same time that George Louison gets the information that the problem will be solved - to fuel the crisis and bring down the government! And this happened right after I spoke to George Louison on the phone late that evening and before he claims he was arrested some time around 5:30 to 6 p.m. that evening. I do not know whether his claim is correct, but I did speak to him to "hold on - situation about to be resolved." And they resign - escalating the psychological and political unrest in the country and region. This was done by George Louison to fuel and escalate the crisis, because he feared the crisis was about to be resolved and because his status in the Party was threatened by the resolution of the crisis. He was earlier, on October 12th, removed from the CC and the vast majority of the Party members at the October 13 General Meeting following this had called for his expulsion from the Party.

So he didn't want to resolve the crisis. And I stated earlier, if you will remember, that George Louison was the last person known to speak to Ode. Maurice Bishop for about two hours before the crowd stormed Mt. Weldale and the situation deteriorated.

"Not one of those 500 persons has been brought by the Prosecution to confirm what George Louison says!"

George Louison claimed that he arrived at Fort Frederick late on the afternoon of October 19. He mentions seeing me at Fort Frederick that time. I was at Fort Frederick at that time, but it was impossible for George Louison to see me. Why? Why always pretend you know this person and that person and you don't? And George Louison says that he is taken into an underground tunnel which was "pitch black," but he is able to tell the dimensions of the place and see a pool of water!

Specifically, in relation to the October 13 General Meeting 1983, there were dock workers, workers from factories in St. Georges, from commercial houses; people from every parish and every village; farmers, small shop keepers, teachers, workers from the International Airport; and Personal Security comrades present with the leadership and among those nearly 500 people - not one of all those people has been brought by the Prosecution to confirm or corroborate what George Louison says. Doesn't that smell? Remember that George Louison has personal hatred for CC members in the docks, because of his expulsion from the CC. He is active politically at this time, he has a lot to gain from us being off the scene - physically.

And not only does the prosecution not present any evidence that the CC put Ode. Maurice Bishop under house arrest, because it is not true. But the only person to claim that four people say this at the October 13 meeting in the presence of CC members is George Louison! That is how they want to get other lies in as evidence. They don't want to bring the minutes, because that will establish the opposite of what they say. They don't want to bring disinterested witnesses. That is why George Louison has difficulties in explaining how a man under house arrest can come to a meeting about a mile away from his home, and be sitting on the podium as a CC member and be given a standing ovation at the beginning of the meeting.

But these are questions that Grenadians must ask themselves. George Louison does not even claim that Ode. Maurice Bishop said anything about his having been removed from the Party and government and his being under house arrest. Isn't that strange? For Ode. Maurice Bishop spoke for about 45 minutes. And you mean to say he had nothing to say on that subject when he speaks, even to condemn it?

George Louison himself says that he spoke at the meeting of October 13, but he, George Louison, says nothing about Ode. Maurice Bishop's so-called arrest? Isn't that strange? Can you imagine George Louison there at that meeting, claims that these things are happening, all these things are said and he says nothing about it at all?

Apart from Chris Stroude, he does not even state what a single member of the hundreds of rank and file Party members have to say about this question. Apart from the lie on Chris Stroude because he is in the dock. I find that strange.

He says also that Ode. Fitzroy Bain was at the meeting as well and spoke and does not say what Ode. Fitzroy Bain said. That is also strange. Because he was in the presence of the CC. And anyone who knows Ode. Fitzroy Bain would know that he would have been thrown in a fit, if these things were said! But the prosecution brought no one else but George Louison with a deep axe to grind. Why no one else?

They need to have George Louison say these things on October 13 to fall in line with the Yankee propaganda being pushed, before October 19 and in the last three years, - about "house arrest" and "removal from Party and government". They have to say that. It is critical to their frameup. Because if George Louison does not say that, they won't be able to say what CC meeting took those decisions, when, where, and who voted, abstained and opposed. They know that this did not happen.

They can't even concoct another Cletus St. Paul ansani story, so they use George Louison to just assert that it happened! Very convenient, but they did not think about these problems. Like what do Odes. Maurice Bishop, Fitzroy Bain, George Louison and other Party members have to say about all this? But they are so desperate to frame up the CC, so they have no choice but to use George Louison.

In any event, they are confident that they have done so much propaganda against comrades in the dock, that people will believe anything that is said. And they are also relying on the corruption in the judicial process to see this through. That people will not see this clearly because their minds are made up.

George Louison was lobbying for a particular position. He wanted to be Minister of State Enterprises.

But it is very important to be aware of one important fact, in relation to George Louison, and the September 14 - 16 meeting of the CC, and the previous six months. George Louison was lobbying for a particular position. He wanted to be Minister of State Enterprises, a new Ministry. He was lobbying with Ode. Maurice Bishop and myself. That also is in the CC minutes of the 14 - 16 September 1983. Forty four state enterprises, involving tens of millions of dollars of assets were involved - a "super ministry" of tremendous prestige. I personally and a number of CC members thought that someone like Mr. Lyden Ramdhanny was the person with the right experience, to run that Ministry. But George Louison was angling for that job.

In fact his behaviour on September 14 - 16 changed dramatically - and

what he had to say - after several members of the CC pointed out that George Louison was having difficulty running his Ministry, the Ministry of Agriculture, with grass growing between tractors, etc. Although a very hard worker, he had not been able to come to grips fully with the problems of the Ministry of Agriculture. And he had previously been assigned to the political work in St. Andrews. When it was pointed out that he couldn't manage the State Enterprises work, his behaviour changed, he started cussing, threatening to leave the meeting, and so on.

We have to understand George Louison's motivation. It is in that frame of mind, that he left Grenada on September 17th for Eastern Europe, and it was then that he does his dirty work.

2800 Grenadians were admitted by the Yankee invaders to have been arrested by them and interrogated after the invasion. Six in every 100 adults spent days and weeks in the concentration camp, etc. I have already mentioned how Chris deRiggs was treated as opposed to George Louison. But look at how ordinary Grenadians were treated. A number had their passports seized. They were told that in order to get their passports they

had to promise not to be involved in politics for two years. Yet an experienced politician and organizer - a man such as George Louison who based on what you expect his views to be - to oppose foreign occupation - and who would expect to organize political resistance to occupation - he doesn't get detained. The U.S. kept him for only 20 hours, releases him with his passport. He holds press conferences, visits the U.S. and holds meetings with U.S. Congressmen, also travels to the other Caribbean islands - while other Grenadians were getting problems to visit CARICOM countries (Jamaica, Trinidad) - to get visas.

Notice the difference in treatment of George Louison with ordinary Grenadians. For this is someone who for several years was a member of the CC and PM of the NJM and a full Cabinet Minister of the PRG. And when the U.S. puts us on trial in the P.I. with occupiers surrounding the court house - who comes gleefully? Of course, George Louison! And who takes part in Yankee-rigged "Elections" under foreign occupation? George Louison. All other NJM members are banned from political activities for two years as a condition for their release from detention. But George Louison and Kenrick Radix see nothing wrong with participation in those "elections." At that same time the occupation forces refused even to put our names on the voters list. But George Louison takes part in elections under foreign occupation.

"What panicked George Louison and the CIA agents on October 18th was the fear that an agreement to solve the crisis was imminent."

And therefore in retrospect I say that what panicked George Louison and the CIA agents on October 18th and forced them to escalate their activities on October 18th and 19th was the fear that an agreement to solve the crisis was imminent. Their actions were designed to prevent an agreement on the crisis from being reached. For the first time ever a demonstration goes to Mt. Weldale, takes the Prime Minister, and then seizes Fort Rupert. In the light of all the above, what did George Louison say to Ode. Maurice Bishop on the morning of October 19, 1983? That remains one of the most unanswered questions in this case.

"Cletus St. Paul's evidence: Because they have to kill us they have to have some ansani story to tell."

I will now move to Cletus St. Paul. Firstly there is what he says about arrangements at the airport on Ode. Bishop's return, when Cletus St. Paul and George Louison both conveniently failed to tell Grenadians in this court that lack of communication and contact between the delegation and home while in Eastern Europe was a major problem. So that no one knew for sure except at the last minute when Ode. Maurice Bishop was returning. I remember ringing the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jimmy Emmanuel, to inquire what route Ode. Maurice Bishop was using to return - London or Cuba. And indeed an extra day was spent in Cuba, that was not scheduled.

And so they came in one day late. And what Cletus St. Paul and George Louison do not conveniently tell - is why it is, that on the 8th October at the airport the following persons were also not present to meet Ode. Maurice Bishop - namely Kenrick Radix, Jackie Creft, Lyden Ramdhanny and Norris Bain, who were also Cabinet Ministers. They don't do that because their objective is not to speak the truth, that reception at the airport was done by Cabinet Ministers and not CC. That's why they can't explain why Lyden Ramdhanny, Kenrick Radix, Norris Bain, and so on weren't there.

The second reason why they can't tell the truth is they would have to reveal that lack of communication from the delegation led to information being sent late, so that there was no time to contact them.

Anyone working at Pearl's Airport would tell you that whenever Ode. Maurice Bishop returned, apart from myself and Ode. Selwyn Strachan, the people who would be there would be Norris Bain, Lyden Ramdhanny, Hudson Austin, Jacka Creft and Kenrick Radix - as many as could make it.

In addition to those problems when I finally heard (and I put it on the record because it is the truth) about the imminent arrival of Ode. Bishop, I received a call from security who informed me that the Chief of Personal Security of the entire leadership, Lieutenant Ashley Folkes, had reported to his superior about receiving a phone call from Cletus St. Paul, the night before, October 7th. During that phone call, Cletus St. Paul issued a number of threats against Ode. Bernard Oard personally, and security felt that until that was carefully checked out and Cletus St. Paul questioned, I shouldn't go to the Airport where he would also be. The following persons can testify to this: both Lieutenant Folkes and his superior officer.

When we examine the many roles and guises of Cletus St. Paul including what Cletus St. Paul said to Alister Hughes, and Alister Hughes reported to CANA and the world, and what he didn't say, and what he now comes here and says and doesn't say!

Cletus St. Paul after 8th October said he received "certain information as security chief." when you examine what he says, you would believe there are no structures, that he is a saintly officer operating by himself! Then he makes "certain phone calls to Bernard Oard and Selwyn Strachan" on the 9th October. At Selwyn Strachan's residence "he is not allowed to enter." He didn't say anything about that in the P.I.!

What kind of integrity do people have who can say completely different things at P.I. and Trial, both times under oath, and the presiding Judge doesn't say anything about it?

Any Personal Security comrades, or telephone workers who installed the telephones, can testify that there were four different telephones between my bedroom and Ode. Maurice Bishop's bedroom. There was a buzzer, where you need only press a button; there was a hot line which connects all Cabinet Ministers' homes and offices. Then apart from that an unlisted phone, and finally a regular phone number. But Cletus St. Paul cannot and doesn't say this, because the sinister plan will collapse. That's why they can't

any Personal Security comrades. The lie would be exposed. During this very period myself and Hudson Austin were in discussion with Ode. Maurice Bishop over alleged corruption at the International Airport and at Ode. Bishop's request we set up an investigation under the Acting Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Construction.

Then he says that on the night of the 11th October "I slept downstairs, Ode. Maurice Bishop's house." When Cletus St. Paul is on duty he always sleeps downstairs Ode. Maurice Bishop's house! If you have any doubt call Errol George and ask him about that - your prosecution you are afraid to call!

Then on October 12th he said he went to Fort Rupert and then he saw "certain persons" come out of the Operations Room. Not only didn't George Louison see Einstein Louison, but Cletus St. Paul also says that he, St. Paul, was "not invited to that meeting."

George Louison does not mention that two members of the PB pointed out that they were not informed and had not received word of that Party Branch meeting. This happened occasionally. Their complaint was recorded in the minutes of the October 12th PB meeting. The two people are in the dock - one of them is Liam James who was not informed of the meeting. But Cletus

St. Paul said he saw Liam James come out of that meeting! I was present at the PB meeting when Liam James complained about not being informed. He says also that he saw Dave Bartholomew come out of the meeting. The name of the game is, just call everybody's name! And all those who were present at that meeting were recorded and so were all those who signed the resolution which George Louison has conveniently lost! And which the Yankees don't want to hand back.

Then St. Paul says that on October 19th he saw myself and my wife arrive at Fort Frederick in car #5750, Ode. Maurice Bishop's car, driven by Chris Linton. Not only is that a total lie but it is said for a purpose - to cause immense prejudice and at the same time in the hope that people will not delve and think further about it. That on a day like that, with crowds shouting my name, and my wife's - hostile - thousands of people in demonstrations all over St. George's - that the car Personal Security would choose for me to drive in is Ode. Maurice Bishop's car? Why don't they bring Chris Linton to corroborate this and ask him if it is true or a lie? All the points I make about my movements on October 19 can be checked by several people - security escorts, soldiers at my home at Mt. Weldale who would have seen me if this was true. Also soldiers at Fort Frederick. None of these the Prosecution calls at all. And on the basis of this concocted evidence, they want to frame people for murder. And hear their reasons:

"Bernard Coard had a gun in one hand and a briefcase in the other. Bernard Coard had a makavor on his side. Like Bernard Coard preparing for war. Like Ronald Reagan." But I'm the wrong person - it does not fit my personality. Anybody who knows me would know that this is not true.

Anyone who knows me will know that several Personal Security officers were always with me. Usually there were six - three with me and three in a backup car - and they were always inches away from me wherever I was. What does this mean? That if in fact the CC according to St. Paul was to hold a public meeting for Cletus St. Paul to hear, right in front of him - because they have to kill us and so they have to have some anansi story to tell - if in fact, as Cletus St. Paul says "Then Leon Cornwall breaks away and says in the hearing and presence of the CC, 'Businessmen and counters have taken over Fort Rupert! Go and liquidate them!'" If he said that, if all that happened, then my six Personal Security officers must have heard this also. They must have heard! But not one of them is called at this trial. And not one of the many soldiers who were around that day.

The first time I hear that chant: "CC orders, we obey, we obey!" is when St. Paul said it in the P.I. that day. But he did not tell Alister Hughes that when he saw him on October 20th, 1983. And that Bernard Coard and Phyllis Coard arrived in Ode. Bishop's car on Fort Frederick; and what Leon Cornwall said. None of this is said to the world in 1983. But when he gets together with Karl in 1984 he makes this up. "Ah afraid Karl!" But even though "Ah afraid Karl", Karl afraid the truth more!

Then after this shouting he says he sees CC members on the second level of Fort Frederick. Then he has Gen. Hudson Austin leave where he claims he was and comes down, to say "Mission accomplished" and then goes right back up. The General comes down to address the Security Chief! But he has to come down, because Cletus St. Paul is under arrest and can't move, and Cletus St. Paul has to hear that, so as to be able to recount it at this trial!

"There are two different anansi stories; Joseph St. Bernard sees and hears completely different things from Cletus St. Paul."

I now move to Joseph St. Bernard. He says he saw five cars come up to Fort Frederick by the Mental Hospital entrance. Four persons got out of those cars whom he knows - Hudson Austin, Bernard Coard, Selwyn Strachan, and Bernard Coard's wife.

Every Grenadian could identify Hudson Austin, Bernard Coard, Selwyn Strachan - you don't have to be on Fort Frederick to identify me! But he could not identify "Mr. Coard's wife." He pointed out a white American woman diplomat in the P.I., then after "a long look around the court" he finally points to Mrs. Phyllis Coard, even though she was the only woman in the dock! But now in the trial he talks about "Phyllis" - not "Mr. Coard's wife" anymore; he knows her name now! - and he says he knows her because he used to bring messages to her office! He tries to solve the P.I. problem in this way!

When asked about Mr. Layne - at the P.I. he said at first that he got out of a car too - he looks around and says "Mr. Layne is a puzzle for me." But Lt. Col. Layne for three years of the Revolution was at Fort Frederick as Regional Commander! In the trial he does not talk about Mr. Layne. Because he can't identify Mr. Layne. So the only people he identified are Hudson Austin, Selwyn Strachan, Bernard Coard. Any Grenadian could do that, so that identification is totally meaningless. And of course, Joseph St. Bernard sees and hears completely different things from Cletus St. Paul. He claims that he was close enough to hear and see three CC members - they say "Long live the PRA"; "Forward Ever, Backward Never" and soldiers reply and right afterwards they leave and go up to the water-works. But Cletus St. Paul has a different version. He sees a meeting take place. Joseph St. Bernard also says that those cars come up at about 9:00 a.m. that morning. Joseph St. Bernard differs from Cletus St. Paul in many apparently small but significant differences.

He claims he sees Hudson Austin, Selwyn Strachan, Bernard Coard and others, but only five cars. The implication is that the entire CC arrives together. Three for Bernard Coard (two cars, one jeep), leaving only two for the rest of the entire CC! If as Cletus St. Paul claims, Liam James arrives alone in a car, that leaves only one car for the rest of the CC - eight persons here in the dock.

Joseph St. Bernard says he sees CC members immediately on arriving go up to the water-works section. Ten minutes later he hears a whistle blow and soldiers run up to the water-works on Fort Frederick and shortly after-

wards they came back down and then leave. That's his story. But Cletus St. Paul talks about "meeting" of the CC near the Mental Hospital entrance as soon as they arrive.

One has to understand how those different versions come about. Joseph St. Bernard was the only witness against the CC for most of the P.I. Cletus St. Paul was a later witness. The Bajans were harassing and threatening and terrorizing people to come and say that the CC met and took a decision to execute Ode. Maurice Bishop. Just like how they tortured Kamau MacBarnette to sign a statement. And they had planned to get a witness to talk about a meeting in a room, to fit in with MacBarnette's torture statement. But when they realized that they were failing to suborn people to fit in with Kamau MacBarnette's statement, they had to get Cletus St. Paul to come and say this anansi story - 200 yards away from where Joseph St. Bernard says "the CC" was. It had to be a "public meeting" 200 yards away, because Cletus St. Paul was under arrest that day, and couldn't move from the bottom section of Fort Frederick. So that's why there are two different

versions, two different anansi stories. And they hope that with the three years of propaganda people won't question that.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH AUGUST

"This C.I.A. agent St. Paul wants us to believe that the CC held a public meeting and took publicly a decision to kill Ode. Bishop!"

Bernard Coard (continues): Yesterday I was dealing with the 'evidence' of Joseph St. Bernard, and making comparisons with that of Cletus St. Paul. I will not repeat those points but go straight on.

Joseph St. Bernard could only identify three members of the leadership of the Grenada Revolution, three that the Yankees wanted and still want very badly to kill, three leading personalities whom everybody in Grenada knows. However, he was unable to identify either Lt. Col. Burt Layne, or Mrs. Phyllis Coard, or in fact any other member of the CC. Therefore he is no use in framing the CC as a whole.

The United States' aim was - and still is - that every single member of the CC who did not die tragically at Fort Rupert or was not out of the country - with the exception of their collaborator or colleague George Louison - must be killed. Every member therefore must be named. Joseph St. Bernard can't do that job for them, that's why they need Cletus St. Paul - because he knows all the CC members.

It is to get all the CC - every last one - that the Prosecution must place all CC members at Fort Frederick, and all there together moreover. So all must essentially arrive together, and the Prosecution must construct a meeting of some sort, so that they can persuade a jury filled with 2 1/2 years of propaganda that the CC held a meeting and voted unanimously to kill Ode. Maurice Bishop. And all of this must take place yards away from St. Paul. How very convenient! How far can you take the law of coincidences?

This is the essence of the entire plan to use the fig-leaf of the judicial process to murder the remainder of the leadership of the Grenada Revolution. So it is important for them to frame up the entire leadership. That's why the Bajans tortured Chris Stroud for 23 hours to say that Chris deRiggs was there - it must be a "unanimous CC decision," you see! But you see, at this time Chris deRiggs was not interrogated yet. So the Bajans didn't know he was out of the country on October 19th. Later on, when the Bajans were piling licks on to Ode. Kamau MacBarnette, they say "no, no, no!" don't make him put deRiggs name in, he was out of the country at the time."

And the records will show that Chris deRiggs was picked up after Chris Stroude was tortured and shortly before Kamau MacBarnette was tortured. It's important to note this. It is part of the pattern of frame up.

That's also why all the torture statements of different comrades say "the CC ordered." They know, the Prosecution knows, this is not only untrue, but also of no legal effect. But its prejudicial value is enormous when combined with 2 1/2 years of propaganda.

The question must be asked again: all these things that Cletus St. Paul says he hears, says he sees - people arriving together, this nodding of heads and so on - all this is in contradiction to the anansi story of Joseph St. Bernard, and also to the evidence of Errol George, the Prosecution witness which the Prosecution has chosen not to bring back from the Preliminary Inquiry. How come not one soldier, not one Personal Security Officer who was there at Fort Frederick was called? How come the only person who is called is one of if not the chief spreader of the rumour of

October 12th? And he is identified as such by Errol George, Errol George identified St. Paul as such, both at the General Meeting of the Party on October 13th and again on oath at the P.I. Hence, Errol George is not brought at this trial!

This Cletus St. Paul is a man who says one thing in court and tells Alister Hughes quite another thing when he sees him in the early hours of October 20th, 1983.

How come no one else, not one single person, is brought to give evidence of this "meeting" - because it's a public meeting you talking about, you know! That's what this C.I.A. agent St. Paul wants us to believe: that the CC members held a public meeting at Fort Frederick and took publicly a decision to kill Ode. Bishop and other persons!

And on the basis of this so-called "evidence" - if you can dignify it so - they wish to hang ten leaders of the Revolution: Trade Union leaders, leaders of the women's and youth movements, comrades who helped to build the economy, the programmes of the Revolution, and so on.

"In real life, the way things really unfolded causes problems for the Yankees in their frame-up: it was totally impossible for any "CC meeting" or "CC decision" to have taken place."

You see, in real life, the way things really unfolded causes problems for the Yankees, using their black face-cards and their frame-up. The totally unexpected nature of events; the speed with which they unfolded; the fact that no one had a clue as to what was going on, what would happen next; the nature of the huge, excited crowd and therefore the sudden turns and shifts in its actions - the enemy knows that all of this makes it totally impossible for any "CC meeting," and "decision to murder Ode. Bishop" to have taken place.

"They bring this cooked-up evidence to consolidate their neo-colonial order, and to justify their invasion."

The enemy knows also, that this is the last thing the rest of the leadership of the Revolution would want; that it would spell the end of the Revolution."

But they bring this cooked up evidence now, in order to consolidate their neo-colonial order over Grenada.



19. September 9, 1987
(Bulletin 410)

The future of the fight for revolutionary socialism can only be one of ever-increasing aggravation.

The wretched reformist past of class-collaboration behind 'free world' imperialism is being bust wide open by the capitalist system's own incurable social & economic crisis, and by a growing understanding for, and insistence on, proletarian dictatorship as the only possible way to finally rout colonial exploitation, and to put a stop to CIA subversion and reconquest.

Bogus charges of 'disruption' have been resorted to by successive generations of challenged reformists for more than 100 years in the international labour movement.

Reformism's petty-bourgeois complacency and conformity cannot possibly tolerate being told that its smug, smug 'opposition' to capitalist reaction & imperialist outrages is a treacherous part of the problem rather than any solution.

A sample of the essence of the insufferable fraud which is bourgeois 'democracy' is summed up by Parliament, organised specifically & solely to utter routine futile 'protests' (provided enough fake 'lefts' can be found to

support a motion or question, - provided, of course, that this luxury club on the Thames is not off completely on its 5-months-a-year holidays), - 'protests' which merely give a bogus legitimacy to what the capitalist-state dictatorship was going to do anyway.

What needs challenging in reality, however, is precisely this very 'legitimacy' of the imperialist ruling class. How well it manipulates the capitalist press, state propaganda, and the electoral bribery system, - all of which it invented specifically for the purpose of maintaining control of the state machine & the economy in practice, - come what may, - is irrelevant.

But the one thing which the 'respectable' reformist 'opposition' will never do, of course, - is to actually try to stop the latest imperialist outrage.

What 'protests' were heard in Parliament, here or elsewhere, about US imperialism's naziblitzkrieg invasion of Grenada in 1983 is now barely remembered, and is even less relevant. The only reality worth remembering is that Grenada's heroic socialist experiment, - the admiration of the whole Caribbean, and even further afield, - was cynically & brutally crush-

ed like an insect by the 'world's greatest democracy', loyally aided & abetted (by silence) by the 'Mother of Parliaments' and by the rest of the 'civilised free world', - and that no one lifted a finger to do anything about it.

The trade union & labour movements everywhere all showed their 'decorum' and 'respect' by mouthing what 'protests' they could muster (which were few because reformism quickly latched onto an 'excuse' to do with events inside Grenada as to why they should wash their hands of the invasion problem, - see further on), - and then agreeing to 'abide by the chairman's ruling' in effect, or to 'accept the verdict of democracy', - in other words that since 'elected governments' could be persuaded to do nothing, then there was nothing more that anyone could or should do.

This 'decorum' and 'respect' immediately played its greatest treacherous role inside the international labour movement itself.

Some of the most cowardly, defeatist, and ignorant confusion in history was imposed on the international labour movement to allow imperialism to re-colonise Grenada without any real opposition by any 'Opposition', - without any fight.

Some of the worst treachery, stupidity, and

ignorance came from some of the most admired (correctly so) and influential forces in the international labour movement, - Havana and Moscow.

But at once, these disastrous mistakes in perspective, understanding, and resolve by Havana & Moscow were covered up in a blanket conspiracy of silence imposed over the whole world about how, in effect, Havana & Moscow had used a sickly little 'excuse' to deliberately turn a blind eye to US imperialism's grotesque fascist aggression in order not to 'provoke any confrontation', etc.

The cowardly mice of reformist & revisionist labour & trade union movements everywhere, - but particularly in Britain, - warmed up all their slimiest tricks of 'no more questions', 'next business', 'too political', 'not genuine union business', 'I didn't see your hand up', 'You can't make a speech now', 'We are now out of time for the rest of the agenda', or 'no, that's not really an emergency motion', etc., - all to ensure that the international conspiracy of silence did not get challenged.

This protected (a) the ludicrous nonsense that since a split had opened somehow in the New Jewel Movement, and that some fighting had occurred on the island, 'therefore' nothing could (or should) be done about the US imperialist invasion; and (b) the foul garbage from Castro about 'unknown Pol Pot criminals staging a coup' - from too much questioning.

Infamously, this conspiracy of censorship & silence (to cover up the appalling mistakes and revisionist cowardice which permitted the imperialist invasion to be successful and the recolonisation to succeed) is still being treacherously continued with. Speeches on this crucial matter for mankind's fight against imperialist warmongering aggression are still not being encouraged, hands raised in question are still 'not being seen', - and 'next business' is still being hurried on to deliberately. Why?

At bottom, it is essentially a class question. There is an unbridgeable gulf separating the communist revolutionary approach to life from the eternal petty-bourgeois-minded wish to 'be nice', to 'fit in comfortably', to 'get on with people', etc.

Putting the emphasis on 'respect' and 'decorum' when imperialist ropes are still round the necks of NJM leaders on Grenada waiting to hang them, and when the real questions (of international political understanding which allowed US imperialism to get thus far with its programme of re-colonising aggression) remain unasked & unanswered, - is a nonsensical irrelevance and a dangerous diversion.

Sheer reformist & revisionist inertia has a long & rotten role to play in this whole century of imperialist colonial treachery & slaughter, and of glaringly mistaken failures by would-be 'revolutionary' forces to take the appropriate action at the appropriate time to rescue the situation.

The pro-Soviet world revolutionary socialist movement (the only revolutionary movement there can ever be) has particularly suffered, - precisely because of its huge successes in developing a group of 25 or so socialist states now, and in administering some colossal defeats for imperialism, - from this inertia-wish not to examine more closely the rarer mistakes.

This led to pointless decades of setback, frustration, & suffering, - labouring under the influences of some of Stalin's theoretical mistakes which were all the time crying out to be honestly challenged, debated, and corrected. (See ILWP Books vols 3, 4, 6, & 7).

This ridiculous 'respect' and inertia has now created a new cult of the individual around Castro whereby no one dares to raise publicly what every honest revolutionary thinker in the Caribbean (as opposed to 'revolutionary' posturing fat-heads) knows to have been appalling mistakes by Havana on the Grenada que-

tion.
And this is not, of course, a question of merely 'waiting patiently' while people 'get accustomed' to this 'new situation'.

Better leadership and sharper understanding is needed right now. The insoluble imperialist worldwide crisis driving the 'free West' to warmongering and military re-conquests (Gulf, Grenada, Nicaragua, Lebanon, Mozambique, Angola, Chad, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc) can only get worse, not better, as the scale of communist revolution against capitalism spreads ever wider, -now threatening the loss of the Philippines, El Salvador, South Korea, Haiti, Chile, Guatemala, Namibia, etc, as well.

Better leadership and sharper understanding were needed in 1983 (see ILWP Books vol 6 on Grenada). But the place to take the next step forward in better understanding (always needed) was immediately on the basis of learning from the mistakes of the Grenada tragedy, all round.

That means, above all else, that the cringing embarrassment at having Castro's role (in all this) publicly challenged has got to be overcome. No more stifling of debate and avoiding of questions over Castro's infamous idiocy, still current, of describing Coard & Co as "unknown Pol Pot criminals who deserved to be put on trial".

This monstrous big-power-chauvinist arrogance towards tiny Grenada as though it had no right to leadership conflicts (inevitable under the difficult conditions of trying to build socialism against imperialist subversion, as all socialist states have discovered; -and while regrettably resolved in Grenada's case, -no different from similar tragic leadership-split experiences in China, El Salvador, USSR, East Europe, Afghanistan, etc), -needs exposing & denouncing.

The young black nationalists around the British labour movement demanding that 'respect' be shown to their meetings want to turn their attention to the real insult to Car-

ibbean dignity in Castro's 'excuses' as to why nothing could or should be done about the imperialist invasion, -not pick fights with those who seek to challenge the retreats & confusions of revisionist defeatism in the interests of the entire international revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The people of Grenada cannot hope to go forward again until the continuing question of US imperialist aggression is resolved. There is no way that Washington is going to allow another socialist revolution to be constructed on Grenada after investing so much international prestige, so much money, and so much military risk in getting rid of the first one.

But neither can any other people go forward confidently until this threat of re-colonising fascist reaction is destroyed once and for all. Nicaragua has been much more living on a knife edge following the huge 'success' of US imperialism's Grenada invasion, and the 'popularity' it brought Reagan from backward US petty-bourgeois public opinion, and from cowardly reformist regimes in the Caribbean. US re-colonisation obviously threatens the growing communist revolution on the Philippines, in El Salvador, etc, etc. And it remains a very real potential theoretical threat to any moves towards socialist revolution in Britain, too. Warmongering imperialist reaction heading inevitably towards World War III has hardly got into its stride yet (see Perspectives p 5).

Learning of the lessons of the Grenada tragedy is crucial for all workers everywhere. The daft revisionist retreats and confused perspectives must be raised wherever the implications of US imperialist aggression are discussed. It is as vital for people in Britain that this invasion tyranny (and the 'excuses' offered for allowing it) be repudiated by the people of Grenada & the Caribbean, as it is vital for the socialist future

of Grenada & the Caribbean that US aggression be repudiated in Britain and elsewhere by workers.

The question of 'respect' and 'decorum' just does not come into it. It is a complete irrelevance.

The real question is the role of conscious revisionist & reformist labour-movement circles which want to keep things jogging along as they are without any real show-downs on revolutionary perspectives & theory. And these elements exist in every labour & trade-union movement, -and not just in the British labour movement (so badly corrupted by class-collaboration through Britain's murderous-fascist imperialist past).

Elements who do not want Moscow & Havana's appalling mistakes over the Grenada question to be raised publicly are in a long line of revisionist-reformist tradition which has retreated a very long way from the high standards of constant theoretical polemic & struggle of the Leninist era. Lenin's line on the crucial importance of the international revolutionary movement publicly examining its mistakes in front of the working class (see Left Wing Communism) has long been forgotten.

And all Gorbachev's huffing & puffing about 'openness' has done nothing to remedy this deadly revisionist defeatism of refusing even to discuss the possibility of international policy errors. There is much shallow posturing 'liberalism' about the 1930s crimes of Stalinism, but not a scrap of really worthwhile analysis at all (as of yet) about the real crimes, -the nonsense of the 'popular front' tail-ending of Republican hopelessness in Spain; the 'after Hitler, our turn' illusion in Germany; the out-of-date and out-of-touch policy of 'all power to the General Council of the TUC' in Britain; the later retreat from even that nonsense into the even barmier and more cowardly idiocy of the non-existent 'peaceful road to socialism'; the failure ever to analyse the final

degenerate mess of that hopeless policy in the ruins of Allende's non-existent 'Chilean parliamentary socialism', -i.e. opening the door to fascism; etc, etc, etc.

On all of the real crimes of revisionism, -especially including the many that Gorbachev has directly continued with, such as the continued anti-Leninist attitude towards Allendeism, the cover-up of Castro's anti-Leninist nonsense about Grenada, etc, etc, -not one word of polemic or debate is permitted or exchanged. The safe old labour movement traditions of censorship & silence rule on undisturbed. The safe old cowardly, decrepit, and utterly counter-revolutionary CPGB with all its 'nice' Labour MP and trade-union movement contacts & co-siness is what is preferred, -not Leninism, nor even any debate about Leninism.

And there is as much labour-movement petty-bourgeois opportunism around the black sections of the 'left' scene in Britain as around any other sections.

Chairing a 'revolutionary' meeting on Grenada dressed for a part in Dynasty while keeping out questions embarrassing to the Havana establishment is not proof of middle-class bureaucratic leanings but it is a fair warning sign.

Support for this attitude from all sections of the British labour movement (except Leninism) who all played their usual cowardly paralysed role at the time of the Grenada invasion and did absolutely nothing, -just as they have done nothing during whole generations of criminal British colonial acts and general Western imperialist tyranny (particularly under Labour Governments, which have the worst record of all, -see ILWP Books vols 6, 7, and 9), -is further evidence of the anti-revolutionary cynicism, cowardice, and conformism which is at the heart of this issue.

There is no way that the 'painfulness' for the revisionist-reformist tradition (at being challenged for its hopeless mishandling of the Grenada tragedy and of all the burning the-

oretical questions about the revolutionary way forward arising from that US imperialist aggression), -can be reduced or avoided by 'more patience', or 'greater control', or by 'less arrogance'.

The proneness to aggravation is inherent in the complacent half-truths, confusion, and lies of the revisionist-reformist tradition coming into juddering conflict with revolutionary reality. Silence & censorship just won't get by for much longer anywhere in the labour movement. There is turmoil, upset, and challenge throughout the labour movement now, -and properly so. But it is not caused by Leninism, or by 'awkward personalities'. It springs from the deadly threat to all revisionist-reformist tradition, however newly-established, -by the future of revolutionary truth. (Paradoxically, only the Leninist movement itself can battle through the most exhaustive questions of revolutionary understanding & struggle, -including the most painful correctives (in damaged self-esteem) when proved 'wrong' by collective experience, -while observing the very strictest 'respect' & 'decorum', -because scientific enlightenment is the aim, not subjective advancement.)

It is a daft illusion that revolutionary understanding can advance via 'clever', cosy sophisticated labour-movement relations. Class-collaborating reformist illusions, rife among workers, can only be shattered in the most painful conflict with trade-unionist (bourgeois) consciousness. Even so, no individual and no type of personality within Leninism could ever approach any matter other than with the aim of pursuing 'sweet reasonableness'. The aggravation always begins when what is rational begins to disturb the comfortable illusions of the old revisionist-reformist-Trot traditions. They all hate Leninism like death. They must so hate it. It means the end of their role. Keep up the challenge. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

20. January 1988
(Bulletin 425)
Vile Trot stooges
for Castro's anti-
Leninist failings

The American counter-revolutionary group SWP (Socialist Workers Party) which has at times been riddled with up to one thousand FBI agents (on its own & official admissions) is asserting itself as the chief anti-communist baiter of Bernard Coard & the NJM majority (New Jewel Movement overthrown & incarcerated by the 1983 US imperialist invasion of Grenada); the chief champion of Maurice Bishop's weaknesses; and the chief apologist for Havana's revisionist failings on the key issue of world socialist revolution.

These petty-bourgeois reptiles have never accounted for their decades spent in the service of the CIA Cold War running down the socialist camp as deserving "revolutionary overthrow".

In more recent years, a few of these comfortable Western middle-class sects have adapted their "everything is rotten" Trotskyite poison to tail-ending the obviously popular socialist revolutions on Cuba, Nicaragua, & elsewhere, and restricted their counter-revolutionary propaganda to an arbitrarily-isolated period of socialist camp development called "Stalinism".

This childish trick may fool a few philistine anti-theorists in Havana who wish to be flattered, but it collapses in contradiction

at the first serious examination.

Despite the fact that Cuba encourages this swamp of Trot turds & agents around 'Pathfinder', 'New International', and other ex-4th International groups to act as 'solidarity' representatives in Europe for Havana, Managua, the FMLN, and other socialist regimes, their ideology remains viciously anti-Leninist, understanding nothing of how or why the world socialist camp has made the advances it has since 1917.

These Trots' counter-revolutionary biliousness pours out in their latest 'justification' for Bishop's treacherous indiscipline on Grenada and Castro's part in backing it, which opened the door to the US invasion triumph.

Called 'The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop', this book of slimy deceit effectively seeks to take the pressure off US imperialism's clumsy efforts to see Coard & the NJM majority hanged by the West's new stooge 'courts' on Grenada.

Totally unconcerned about the imperialist ropes around the necks of 17 leaders of Grenada's 1979 NJM socialist revolution which so devastated Washington, the Trots merely show their belief that the oldest dirty tricks are the best, and

use the Goebbels Big Lie technique to get round the difficulty of why the CIA should so want to hang so-called 'wreckers of socialism' in the Trots words.

In this case, the Big Lie appears as the Big Omission. The Trots get round the glaring contradiction by simply ignoring it. Their degenerate gamble is that if everyone turns a blind eye to the strange phenomenon of Reagan & Co rigging courts blatantly to ensure that Coard & Co - "wreckers of socialism on Grenada" are hanged, --- then the 'problem' will go away.

The Trots are, as usual, free with countless outrageous, unproven, & abusive references to the NJM majority as 'Pol Pot-ists' in a filthy attempt by mere innuendo & mud-slinging to establish the alleged 'anti-Leninist' character of Coard & Co, --- but then, of course, refuse to touch with a bargepole the blinding inconsistency of why the CIA now helps arm and feed the Pol Potist gang on the Thai dictatorship's border, --- but still insists on hanging the NJM majority in a rigged Kangaroo court.

These snivelling little Trot worms, - now approved Castro 'groupies', - commit themselves naturally to little more than slimy innuendo in their depraved character-assassination of Bernard Coard. But where they do dare venture back into their old posturing Trot tricks of a bit of 'the-

ory' (in the footnotes, of course), they once again immediately make consummate cretins of themselves.

Footnote 122 declares: "Coard also insisted that Bishop acknowledge the 'subordination of the state to the party'. This is a revealing insight into Coard's perversion of Leninism". Is it, indeed?

Lenin, on the contrary, always placed Bolshevik authority ahead of that of the Soviets, as the following passages demonstrate, - keen to establish the Soviet state structure as the supreme state authority in the long run, but unmistakably clear that the power to build up, fill out, and authenticate such a desirable mass-participation state structure only flowed out of the original Bolshevik Party clarity, determination, & unity to impose its will as the crucial vanguard of the historic emancipation of working people. Only through correct revolutionary theory could the 'party of a new type' be built to lead the transformation of mankind's development, and what distinguishes Communists from the 'left' swamp and all other would-be reformers & muddleheads (like the Trots) is the relentless insistence on a total scientific understanding of all social change, - particularly its revolutionary essence to the background of the international balance of class forces.

There has never been

any doubt that Lenin & the Bolsheviks were fully conscious of their total power and of their determination to keep it, nor of their eventual wish to educate a fully self-governing communist society without party or state structures ultimately.

The SWP Trot trick here of challenging their understanding of the Party's supreme authority is doubly foul. (a) With the obvious rarity with which Lenin went round shouting "We're in charge", and assuming that their own ignorance of the record of scientific socialism was standard, the Trots obviously thought that only echoes of their own diffident humbug in favour of "the working-class" would be found in Lenin, but no quotes could be found admitting the reality of proletarian dictatorship essentially by the Bolshevik Party.

And (b) they are deliberately misinterpreting Bernard Coard as wanting to "subordinate" the state, - and everything else, - for its own sake, when in reality, - as will be seen below, - Coard was merely trying to assert (against Bishop's treacherous indiscipline of refusing to abide by Central Committee decisions) that the NJM Party was the supreme authority in the Grenadan revolution, inevitably so, - just as Lenin's party had been in the Bolshevik Revolution and throughout the subsequent building of socialism in the USSR.

Let us consider the means of establishing organisational links between people who are so different. In principle, we cannot for a moment doubt the need of the Communist Party's primacy. Consequently, the purpose of political culture, of political instruction, is to train genuine Communists capable of stamping out falsehood and prejudices and helping the working masses to vanquish the old system and build up a state without capitalists, without exploiters, and without landowners.....

Every Party Committee now has to look from a new angle upon every propagandist, who used to be regarded merely as a man belonging to a definite circle, a definite organisation. Each of them belongs to a ruling party which directs the whole state, and the Soviet Russia's world struggle against the bourgeois system. He is a representative of a fighting class and of a party which runs, and must run, an enormous machine of state. Many a Communist who has been through the splendid school of underground work and has been tested and steeled in the struggle is unwilling or unable to understand the full significance of this change, of this transition, which turns the agitator and propagandist into a leader of agitators, a leader in a huge political organisation.

When we are reproached with having established a dictatorship of one party and, as you have heard, a united socialist front is proposed, we say, "Yes, it is a dictatorship of one party! This is what we stand for and we shall not shift from that position because it is the party that has won, in the course of decades, the position of vanguard of the entire factory and industrial proletariat. This party had won that position even before the revolution of 1905. It is the party that was at the head of the workers in 1905 and which since then—even at the time of the reaction after 1905 when the working-class movement was rehabilitated with such difficulty under the Stolypin Duma—merged with the working class and it alone could lead that class to a profound, fundamental change in the old society." August 1919

FIRST CONGRESS OF WORKERS IN EDUCATION

On this point there is complete unanimity on the Central Committee, and I hope that the Congress will pay the closest attention to it and endorse the instructions that the Political Bureau and the Central Committee be relieved of minor matters, and that more should be shifted to the responsible officials. The People's Commissars must be responsible for their work and should not bring these matters up first on the Council of People's Commissars and then on the Political Bureau. Formally, we cannot abolish the right to lodge complaints with the Central Committee, for our Party is the only governing party in the country. But we must put a stop to the habit of bringing every petty matter before the Central Committee; we must raise the prestige of the Council of People's Commissars.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) March 1922

Comrades, yesterday, November 4, several members of the Central Committee of our Party and of the Council of People's Commissars—Kamenev, Zinoviev, Nogin, Rykov, Milyutin and a few others—resigned from the Central Committee of our Party, and the three last named from the Council of People's Commissars. In a large party like ours, notwithstanding the proletarian and revolutionary line of our policy, it was inevitable that individual comrades should have proved to be insufficiently staunch and firm in the struggle against the enemies of the people. The tasks that now face our Party are really immense, the difficulties are enormous, and several members of our Party who formerly held posts of responsibility have flinched in face of the onslaught of the bourgeoisie and fled from our ranks. The bourgeoisie and all its helpers are jubilant over this fact and are maliciously rejoicing, clamouring about disintegration and predicting the fall of the Bolshevik government.

Comrades, do not believe these lies. The comrades who have resigned have acted as deserters, since they not only quitted the posts entrusted to them, but violated the direct decision of the Central Committee of our Party binding them to delay their resignation at least until a decision was taken by the Petrograd and Moscow Party organisations. We strongly condemn this desertion. We are profoundly convinced that all class-conscious workers, soldiers and peasants who belong to or sympathise with our Party will condemn the actions of the deserters with equal severity.

November 1917
FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.)

At the centre we must find about half a score of men to exercise the functions of the central procurator authority represented by the Procurator General, the Supreme Tribunal, and the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Justice (I leave aside the question as to whether the Procurator General should be the sole authority, or whether he should share his authority with the Supreme Tribunal and the Collegium of the People's Commissariat of Justice, for this is purely a secondary question, and can be settled, one way or another, in accordance with whether the Party will delegate vast authority to one person, or divide that authority among the three aforesaid bodies). These ten should work at the centre, under the closest supervision of and in closest contact with the three Party bodies which provide the most reliable barrier against local and personal influences, viz., the Organising Bureau of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and the Central Control Commission. The latter body, i.e., the Central Control Commission, is responsible only to the Party Congress, and is constructed in

such a way that no member of it can hold a position in any People's Commissariat, government department, or any organ of the Soviet government. It is clear that under these circumstances we have the greatest guarantee so far devised that the Party will set up a small central collegium that will be really capable of resisting local influences and local, and all other, bureaucracy, and which will establish real uniformity in the application of the laws throughout the Republic, and throughout the Federation. Hence, any mistake that this central legal collegium may make can be at once rectified on the spot by the Party bodies, which determine all the fundamental concepts and lay down all the fundamental rules for all our Party and Soviet activities throughout the Republic.

"DUAL" SUBORDINATION AND LEGALITY May 1922

The Party, which holds annual congresses (the most recent on the basis of one delegate per 1,000 members), is directed by a Central Committee of nineteen elected at the Congress, while the current work in Moscow has to be carried on by still smaller bodies, known as the Organising Bureau and the Political Bureau, which are elected at plenary meetings of the Central Committee, five members of the Central Committee to each bureau. This, it would appear, is a full-fledged "oligarchy". No important political or organisational question is decided by any state institution in our republic without the guidance of the Party's Central Committee.

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER

Compromise by a section of the Bolsheviks in October-November 1917 either meant that they feared the proletariat seizing power or wished to share power equally, not only with "unreliable fellow-travellers" like the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, but also with the enemies, with the Chernovists and the Mensheviks. The latter would inevitably have hindered us in fundamental matters, such as the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the ruthless suppression of the Bogayevskys, the universal setting up of the Soviet institutions, and in every act of confiscation.

Now power has been seized, retained and consolidated in the hands of a single party, the party of the proletariat, even without the "unreliable fellow-travellers". To speak of compromise at the present time when there is no question, and can be none, of sharing power, of renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, is merely to repeat, parrot-fashion, words which have been learned by heart but not understood.

"LEFT-WING" CHILDISHNESS May 1918

Actually all these tyrannised, shocked and scared bourgeois, petty bourgeois and "those in the service of the bourgeoisie" are frequently guided, without realising it, by that old, absurd, sentimental and vulgar intellectualist idea of "introducing socialism", which they have acquired from hearsay and scraps of socialist theory, repeating the distortions of this theory produced by ignoramuses and half-scholars, and attributing to us Marxists the idea, and even the plan, to "introduce" socialism.

To us Marxists these notions, to say nothing of the plans, are alien. We have always known, said and emphasised that socialism cannot be "introduced", that it takes shape in the course of the most intense, the most acute class struggle—which reaches heights of frenzy and desperation—and civil war; we have always said that a long period of "birth-pangs" lies between capitalism and socialism; that violence is always the midwife of the old society; that a special state (that is, a special system of organised coercion of a definite class) corresponds to the transitional period between the bourgeois and the socialist society, namely, the dictatorship of the proletariat. What dictatorship implies and means is a state of simmering war, a state of military measures of struggle against the enemies of the proletarian power. The Commune was a dictatorship of the proletariat, and Marx and Engels reproached it for what they considered to be one of the causes of its downfall, namely, that the Commune had not used its armed force with sufficient vigour to suppress the resistance of the exploiters.¹⁴⁴

These intellectualist howls about the suppression of capitalist resistance are actually nothing but an echo of the old

"conciliation", to put it in a "genteel" manner. Putting it with proletarian bluntness, this means: continued kowtowing to the money-bags is what lies behind the howls against the present working-class coercion now being applied (unfortunately, with insufficient pressure or vigour) against the bourgeoisie, the saboteurs and counter-revolutionaries. The kind Peshkhnov, one of the conciliating ministers, proclaimed in June 1917: "The resistance of the capitalists has been broken." This kind soul had no inkling of the fact that their resistance must really be *broken*, and it *will* be broken, and that the scientific name for this breaking-up operation is dictatorship of the proletariat; that an entire historical period is marked by the suppression of capitalist resistance, and, consequently, by systematic application of *coercion* to an entire class (the bourgeoisie) and its accomplices.

The grasping, malicious, frenzied filthy avidity of the money-bags, the cowed servility of their hangers-on is the true social source of the present wail raised by the spineless intellectuals—from those of *Rech* to those of *Novaya Zhizn*—against violence on the part of the proletariat and the revolutionary peasants. Such is the objective meaning of their howls, their pathetic speeches, their clownish cries of "freedom" (freedom for the capitalists to oppress the people), etc. They would be "prepared" to recognise socialism, if mankind could jump straight into it in one spectacular leap, without any of the friction, the struggles, the exploiters' gnashing of teeth, or their diverse attempts to preserve the old order, or smuggle it back through the window, without the revolutionary proletariat responding to each attempt in a violent manner. These spineless hangers-on of the bourgeoisie with intellectualist pretensions are quite "prepared" to wade into the water provided they do not get their feet wet.

The drooping intellectuals are terrified when the bourgeoisie and the civil servants, employees, doctors, engineers, etc., who have grown accustomed to serving the bourgeoisie, go to extremes in their resistance. They tremble and utter even shriller cries about the need for a return to "conciliation". Like all true friends of the oppressed class, we can only derive satisfaction from the exploiters' extreme measures of resistance, because we do not expect the proletariat to mature for power in an atmosphere of cajoling and persuasion, in a school of mealy sermons or didactic declamations, but in the school of life and struggle. To become the ruling class and defeat the bourgeoisie for good the proletariat must be *school*ed, because the skill this implies does not come ready-made.

December 1917

FEAR OF COLLAPSE OF THE OLD AND FIGHT FOR THE NEW

Compare Lenin's attitude on proletarian dictatorship with Bishop's reformist retreat—as freely admitted by Bishop's SWP Trot apologists (—even allowing for the farcically distorted & exaggerated

words they falsely put into Coard's mouth (from the memoirs of his opponents) to try to make Coard's line look stupid,—a task in which these cowardly class-collaborators fail miserably.)

Bishop was convinced that the revolution would emerge stronger if the PRG could avoid closing the paper down, or do so only as a last resort. Among the PRG's first measures had been repeal of Gairy's antidemocratic newspaper law — aimed at the *Torchlight* as well as the NJM's *New Jewel* — requiring the payment of \$20,000 in order to publish. Grenadian workers and farmers treasured this and other political freedoms that they had conquered in overthrowing the Gairy dictatorship. While shutting the *Torchlight* might have been unavoidable at some point if its publishers aligned themselves with forces engaged in counterrevolutionary acts, the big majority of Grenadian working people, given the evidence, would have understood the need for such defensive measures to preserve their revolution and its gains.

In line with this approach, Bishop made the following public response to the *Torchlight* editor's rejection of the PRG's request not to publish photographs of the prime minister's security guards:

Because of the People's Revolutionary Government's well known desire to encourage a free press, we did not prevent [the reporter] from taking photographs. We had hoped that he would have put patriotism and concern for the safety of the leadership of the country above cheap journalism. We have certainly noted the irresponsibility of the Acting Editor and his newspaper in publishing these pictures.³⁶

To help raise the political consciousness of Grenada's working

people, Bishop unmasked the reactionary aims, class exploitation, and social inequalities that lay behind the *Torchlight's* hypocritical championing of "freedom of the press." He pointed out that the political conduct of the newspaper's owners had nothing to do with freedom of the press, but instead with their determination to resist revolutionary change that threatened their minority class interests. He explained that the *Torchlight's* publishers were facilitating efforts by U.S. imperialism and Grenadian and other Caribbean reactionaries to destabilize the PRG. To these ends, these exploiters were abusing the vastly disproportionate control over means of communications and information made possible by their wealth.³⁷

Bishop's opinion on how to deal with the *Torchlight*, however, was not shared by Bernard Coard, who was anxious to shut it down, the sooner the better. He viewed Bishop's approach as reluctance "to take firm decisions on key issues."³⁸ In October 1979 Bishop traveled to New York City to address the United Nations General Assembly. In his absence, Coard used his position as acting head of state to scuttle Bishop's policy.

A few days after Bishop's departure, the *Torchlight* appeared with the front-page headline: "Rastas to Protest." The article reported plans for an antigovernment protest announced by Ras Nang Nang, a follower of the Rastafarian religion....

The article in the October 10 *Torchlight* falsely claimed that the PRG was barring Rastas from school and tracking them down at gunpoint around the island. The article said that "massive numbers" of Rastas were planning to demonstrate against the government to protest these policies.

This article fit into the *Torchlight's* pattern of counterrevolutionary provocations aimed at destabilizing the PRG. Nothing about the circumstances surrounding this one particular article, however, posed such an emergency that action could not have been postponed until Bishop's return a week later. Nonetheless, Coard took advantage of his powers as acting prime minister to order the closing of the *Torchlight* on October 13. When Bishop arrived back in Grenada on October 18, he was confronted with the fait accompli.

Bishop then sought to make the best of the bad situation created by Coard's preemptive action. The front-page article on the shutdown that appeared in the *Free West Indian*, Grenada's prorevolution weekly, two days after Bishop's return stated:

Government sources say the *Torchlight* newspaper, banned last weekend by the PRG, will return to the streets in a few weeks but with a different management and ownership structure. Government does not plan to take over the newspaper but will insist that its ownership structure be broadened. . . . The plan is to 'democratise' the paper with limits placed on the number of shares individuals or organizations can hold and to outline guidelines that would ensure that *Torchlight* publishes the views of all sections of the Grenadian society. It is also expected that there will be a change in the management structure.³⁹

On October 26, the PRG issued a new law restricting newspaper ownership to citizens of Grenada and barring any shareholder from owning more than 4 percent of the total. A reorganized *Torchlight* was never reopened, however.

WITH POPULAR support growing for the social and economic programs of the PRG, U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries in Grenada stepped up their efforts to destabilize the government. In October and November 1979, the PRG discovered an arms cache and documents outlining a plot to assassinate government leaders; more than thirty people were arrested in connection with this plot.⁴⁰ In the spring of 1980 a small group of former NJM members sought to undermine support for the PRG among Grenadian youth by stirring up opposition to the government's moves against marijuana growers and traders. In June 1980 counterrevolutionaries set off a bomb under the speakers' platform at a mass rally, killing three young women and injuring almost 100 other people.⁴¹ Later in 1980 a soldier and a militia member were shot and seriously wounded, a militia camp was fired on, and there were arson and bombing incidents.

Washington was stepping up its economic sabotage and military pressure against the PRG, as well. U.S. officials sought to block loans and aid to Grenada by Washington's European imperialist allies and international lending institutions. As part of its Ocean Venture '81 war games in the Caribbean, the U.S. Navy staged a thinly veiled mock invasion of Grenada.

At the same time, opponents of the revolution inside and outside Grenada were stepping up propaganda efforts to discredit the PRG. "In 1981 counterrevolution, fueled by the CIA, was moving in certain areas in terms of the Rastafarians . . . business sectors . . . the dockworkers and in the trade unions, and the church," Kendrick Radix explained in a 1985 interview. "They were probing to destabilize the country and to overthrow the revolution internally. The question was how we were to deal with it."

In this political context, Radix continued, "Coard again proposed

some very draconian measures, which led to a great debate inside the party on how to deal with the situation." In the opinion of Bishop, himself, and others in the NJM leadership, Radix said, Coard's proposals "would have fueled the counterrevolution and caused the revolution to collapse in 1981. The more mature elements within the party managed to hold sway."⁴²

The first clash between Bishop and Coard took place following the appearance in mid-June of a mimeographed newspaper calling itself the *Grenadian Voice*. Its owners — listed in the paper as the "Committee of 26" — were wealthy Grenadian landowners, businessmen, and professionals. These included former shareholders of the *Torchlight*. Lyden Ramdhanny was present at the cabinet meeting in June 1981 when Bernard Coard proposed, in response to the appearance of the *Voice*, "to confiscate all of the large holdings in St. George's . . . to nationalize everything as a lesson to the bourgeoisie and that strata."⁴³

Given the tremendous weight of St. George's in Grenada's overall commerce and industry, Coard's proposal would have meant the expropriation of virtually the entire Grenadian capitalist class. This would have reversed over night the course carried out by the PRG and NJM since the March 1979 victory, without any political preparation or involvement of the nation's workers and farmers.

Coard's proposal confirms the later assessment of George Louison that

the Coard clique . . . had the idea that the party could do anything, declare anything, and that the rest of the society had to fall in line on 24-hours' notice. In other words, they lacked an appreciation of the genuine need of the masses of the people to be in tandem with the activities of the party. They must understand those actions so they can carry them out also.⁴⁴

Coard's proposed expropriation measures could have been implemented only administratively, largely by government authorities. While some Grenadian workers and farmers would have backed such a measure if PRG leaders convinced them it was necessary to preserve the revolution, most would have soon concluded from experience that this had been a disastrous mistake. Conditions did not yet exist in Grenada for a nationalized and planned economy.

Moreover, other layers of workers and farmers would have been disoriented and made more vulnerable to counterrevolutionary appeals, while middle class and professional layers supportive of the PRG would have turned against the revolution in unnecessarily large numbers. The flames of anticommunism would have been fanned.

At the conclusion of the June 1981 PRG cabinet meeting, Ramdhanny was convinced that Coard's proposal was going to be implemented. Following that meeting, however, Ramdhanny never heard anything more about Coard's plan. Only after the overthrow of the revolution did Ramdhanny learn that Bishop had successfully defeated the proposal in the NJM's leadership bodies.

The NJM leadership, however, did decide to bar further issues of the *Voice* or of any other new publications for one year. . . .

The New Jewel Movement justified the shutdown of the *Voice* by explaining that the paper's shareholders had previously issued pamphlets calling for counterrevolutionary violence; that one shareholder was involved in a plot to kill militia members and soldiers; and that the group was linked to the CIA. A few weeks after the banning of the *Grenadian Voice*, four of its sponsors — attorneys Lloyd Noel and Tillman Thomas, businessman Leslie Pierre, and union bureaucrat Stanley Roberts — were arrested for involvement in CIA efforts to topple the PRG. No formal charges were ever brought in connection with any of these matters, however.

ON JUNE 24, 1981, three top PRG defense officials — Majors Ewart Layne and Einstein Louison, and Deputy Minister of Defence and Interior Liam James — came before the Political Bureau. They were there "to discuss the present threat being posed by the rasta elements — particularly since it was learnt that they are planning to attack one of the PRA camps on Friday — and possible measures to deal with that situation. . . ."

The minutes indicate a wide-ranging discussion. Even Liam James, one of Coard's leading supporters from OREL days, expressed reservations about the proposal. He said that he had raised the matter with the Cuban ambassador, who "showed concern about the issue and felt that we would be isolated regionally and internationally. . . ."

The matter was discussed further at a Central Committee meeting later that day.

Neither Maurice Bishop nor Bernard Coard were present. Unison Whiteman initiated the discussion, explaining that "there is evidence that the rastas are planning to go on an offensive in the Northern part of the country within days and that we must consider preventative measures." Whiteman acknowledged, however, that "one of our greatest weaknesses is the lack of precise information."

Phyllis Coard, a prominent leader of the Coard faction, repeated the

proposal "that the key rasta leaders should be picked up." She proposed "about 50 rastas," instead of the 300 raised earlier that day at the Political Bureau meeting. According to the minutes of the meeting, Phyllis Coard stated her opinion that

we have to handle the situation with "manners" [firmness]; should look at not only the reaction of the rastas, but also at the rest of the masses; the rasta movement has weakened our support base; should not play up the line that this is a move against the rasta movement generally; we don't have the capacity to hold all the rastas in the country. . . .⁴⁷

After some discussion, there was agreement to move ahead with the arrests. There is no reference in the Central Committee minutes to Bishop's opposition to the proposal that had been raised in the Political Bureau that morning. Recognizing the adverse political ramifications of this measure, Vincent Noel urged the establishment of "a propaganda team for the dissemination of the news regionally," and said that the NJM "must consider the possibility of a national address" by Bishop to explain any detentions.

The arrests began the following day. A list of these detainees dated July 22, 1981, indicates that seventy-six people in all were picked up. Fifteen were held for only a few days; of the remaining sixty-one, thirty-three had "declared themselves avowed Rastafarians" and another six had dreadlocks "but disclaim any connections with Rastafarians." The list said that nine of those with dreadlocks "have elected to cut their hair since detention and have done so"; of these, five had been released and four were still being held.

No charges were ever brought against the Rastas who were arrested, and the detentions and reasons for them were never publicized or explained to the Grenadian people. Nevertheless, a subsequent list of detainees, dated January 1, 1982, indicates that most of those picked up remained in jail at that time.⁴⁸

Even if on a more limited scale than originally planned, the Rasta roundup had been carried out. And the revolution was the weaker for it.

In late July Coard and his backers engineered the removal of longtime NJM leader Vincent Noel from the Central Committee and Political Bureau. This proposal originated in the NJM's Organising Committee, which had been chaired by Bernard Coard since its establishment in 1977. The Organising Committee brought in a report to the July 22, 1981, Central Committee meeting on inadequacies in the work of the NJM's Workers Committee, chaired by Noel.⁴⁹ The report stated that Noel "had failed to push the work forward" and that he himself acknowledged that his work had been indisciplined.⁵⁰

Commenting on the Organising Committee report, Bishop said that the functioning of the Workers Committee had come up "time and time before" in the party, but that no serious attention had been given to this work. He said that "the Central Committee and the Political Bureau should shoulder some of the blame in this respect."

Coard, striking the theme that he and his backers would raise with increasing frequency over the next two years (and would level ever more directly at Bishop in particular), condemned the leadership's "timidity, unprincipled[ness] and softness in dealing with such a situation."⁵¹

Coard's supporters also organized the ouster of Don Rojas as editor of the *Free West Indian* in December 1981. Without prior notice, Rojas was called before a meeting of the assembled staff of the newspaper, subjected to a "criticism" session, and informed that he was being replaced as editor. Although Bishop was head of the Ministry of Information, which was responsible for the *Free West Indian*, he was not informed of the decision to remove Rojas. This decision was organized behind Bishop's back by Coard supporter Kamau McBarnette and cadres from Trevor Munroe's Workers Party of Jamaica who were functioning in Grenada.

Rojas, who had edited the newspaper for two years since being appointed by Bishop, was replaced by McBarnette and then, several months later, by a WPJ cadre. Rojas was put on probation in the NJM for a few weeks, but was reinstated after Bishop took the initiative to ask Rojas to serve as his press secretary.⁵⁴

AT AN April 21, 1982, meeting of the Central Committee, supporters of Coard's secret faction began to call attention to a "petty bourgeois" trend in the NJM leadership. Under the discussion of a report on the "State of the Party," Phyllis Coard listed as the number one problem "the petty bourgeois attitude still existing in a number of comrades, including the leadership."⁵⁵ No specific names were cited at this point.

At this Central Committee meeting, Bernard Coard also called attention to "a crisis in party organisation" affecting the NJM. Although this would emerge as a major axis of the campaign against Bishop over the next eighteen months, all that Coard is recorded as saying in the April 1982 minutes was that, "Our main problem is that we are trying to do too much."⁵⁶ . . .

There is no indication of opposition to Bishop's report in the minutes of the August 1982 Central Committee meeting (prior to September

1983 the NJM's minutes never recorded votes). Nonetheless, Bishop's report itself refers to "some confusion" inside the NJM on the character and tasks of the revolution. "It is extremely important for us to get a better understanding of where we are, of what we are trying to build and of how we will be able to build it," Bishop stressed.⁵⁸

The Grenada revolution, Bishop said, "is a national-democratic, anti-imperialist Revolution." He continued:

I did not say a socialist revolution as some comrades like to keep pretending that we have. Obviously we do not have a socialist revolution. . . . We cannot proceed straight away to the building of socialism but must first pass through a stage where we lay the basis, where we create the conditions, including the socio-economic and political conditions, for the building of socialism and the creation of the socialist revolution, that is, for the full coming to power of the working class.⁵⁹

The Grenada revolution, Bishop said, necessitates class alliances — "an alliance in the first place between the working class and the petty bourgeoisie, in particular the rural peasantry, and in the second place an alliance with those elements of the upper petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who, for different reasons, are willing to be involved in building the economy and the country at this time."⁶⁰

The NJM's task during the national-democratic stage of the revolution, Bishop said, is to

ensure the leading role of the working class through its Marxist/Leninist Party backed by some form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But please note that I said *some form* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because obviously at this stage we cannot have the dictatorship of the proletariat or the working class, but the form we should have at this first stage is the dictatorship of the working people.⁶¹ . . .

The minutes record that the October 12-15 meeting had been called by Bishop as "an extraordinary plenary to discuss a letter of resignation [from the CC and Political Bureau] from Cde. Bernard Coard . . . and to examine the issues raised in the letter related to the state of the Party and the crisis in the work of the higher organs."⁷⁹

Coard did not attend the meeting. Instead, say the minutes, NJM leader Selwyn Strachan "was asked to summarize his discussions with Cde. Coard in relation to the matter of his resignation." According to Strachan, "Cde. Coard had indicated that his decision to resign from PB and CC was taken 6 months previously."

Key to Coard's decision to resign, Strachan said, was the "strain" caused, among other things, by "the undermining of his authority" as chairman of the party's Organising Committee. Coard "made reference to the slackness of the CC and its unwillingness to speak up on issues, the lack of preparation for meetings by CC comrades, and the unwillingness of the CC to study."

"In order to take corrective action," according to Strachan's summary of Coard's views, "it would result in personality clashes" with Bishop. So Coard instead proposed his own resignation, which he presented as "not negotiable." Nonetheless, according to Strachan, Coard said that, "In the final analysis stringent Leninist measures are required" to resolve this crisis in the party.

At the very top of Coard's list of such "Leninist measures" was to "change Chairmanship of CC" — *that is, to remove Bishop from that position*. Coard also proposed to "chop dead weight from CC" and "expand the Political Bureau." . . .

Following Strachan's report, "The meeting agreed to address itself to the issues raised by Cde. Coard in his conversation with several CC members." The Central Committee "concluded that the Party stood at the crossroads," the minutes record. One direction "would be the petty bourgeois route which would seek to make [Bernard Coard's] resignation the issue" — a not-too-subtle reference to Bishop, who had convoked the meeting to discuss that resignation and its political ramifications. "This would only lead to temporary relief," the minutes continued, "but would surely lead to the deterioration of the Party into a social-democratic Party and hence the degeneration of the Revolution."

"The second route," according to the minutes, "is the Communist route — the road of Leninist standards and functioning, the road of democratic centralism, of selectivity, of criticism and self-criticism and of collective leadership." In other words, the "Communist route" corresponded to the "stringent Leninist measures" proposed by Coard.

This outcome to the October 1982 meeting shows how far the Coard faction had already gone toward its goal of capturing control of the NJM's Central Committee. . . .

To justify these measures, the Coard faction pointed to the "low level of ideological development" of those they were trying to push out of leadership bodies. Radix was berated for his "bad attitude to study," and Whiteman was among five Central Committee members singled out for a "crash course in Marxism-Leninism." Coard, although no longer a Central Committee member, was assigned to teach the course.

IN EARLY 1983 Washington intensified its political and military pressure against Grenada. In March the U.S. government carried out a provocative, large-scale military maneuver in the Caribbean. Over a period of a few months, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush, Secretary of State George Shultz, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger all leveled widely publicized attacks against Grenada. In particular, they beat the drums against the international airport being built, with Cuban help, to facilitate tourism and trade, raising the charge that this project was in fact a military installation for Cuban and Soviet armed forces.

The Grenadian government responded to these threats by increasing the political mobilization and military readiness of the population. At the same time, it sought opportunities to answer and expose the imperialist lies about Grenada. Upon the invitation of the liberal U.S. lobbying organization TransAfrica, Bishop visited the United States in June 1983. Reagan and Shultz snubbed the Grenadian government, rejecting its request for them to meet with Bishop while he was in the country. Nonetheless, Bishop met briefly with White House officials to reaffirm the PRG's oft-stated desire for normal, peaceful relations with the U.S. government. . . .

Not long after Bishop's return to Grenada, a six-day Central Committee meeting was held from July 13 to 19. Coard's supporters were unable to make much headway at this meeting. Coard was not satisfied with its outcome and raised his displeasure with members of his faction. A one-day Central Committee meeting, on August 26, thus opened with a report by Coard supporter Leon Cornwall on "the concern expressed by a senior party member" that "some conclusions of the [July meeting] are not correct." These "concerns" were immediately seconded by a couple of more recent recruits to Coard's clique — Ian St. Bernard, who explained what "he had picked up," and Tan Bartholomew, who reported on "what had reached him."

Liam James then spoke, urging that another Central Committee meeting be convened in September, since the "last assessment was not deep enough." Labeling the committee's July decisions "opportunist," Selwyn Strachan added that while the October 1982 meeting had "held back the party from a social democratic path, the situation is now qualitatively worse." He too urged the rapid convening of another meeting.

Speaking at the conclusion of the meeting, Bishop stated that it was clear that the party was facing a serious internal situation and that another Central Committee discussion was called for. . . .

IT WAS at this September 1983 Central Committee meeting that the Coard faction made its open move to displace Bishop from party leadership. The meeting opened with an orchestrated challenge to the agenda proposed by Bishop.⁸³ One after another, Liam James, John Ventour, Ewart Layne, Selwyn Strachan, and Phyllis Coard each raised objections. Bishop expressed willingness to alter the agenda, and the meeting agreed to a counterproposal by Ventour. The proceedings then got under way with a report by Layne on "the present state of the party and revolution."

Layne's report was apocalyptic in its evaluations. The revolution "now faces the greatest danger since 1979," he said. The "party is crumbling." All the "mass organisations are to the ground." The "organs of people's democracy are about to collapse." The internal state of the party "is very dread." Members say that "democracy is dead in the party."

All these developments, Layne said, indicate that the Central Committee "has proven its inability to give leadership to the process." Openly rejecting Bishop's view that the primary immediate tasks of the party and government still remained anti-imperialist and democratic in character, Layne said that the Central Committee had shown that it "cannot determine the stage the revolution is at."

The Central Committee, Layne said, "is on a path of right opportunism." If not corrected, he concluded, these problems "will lead to the total disintegration of the party and the collapse of the revolution." One by one, other Coard supporters then took the floor to repeat Layne's charges.

The dire picture painted by the Coard faction was grossly overdrawn. Grenadian workers and farmers certainly faced big problems. Grenada's centuries of colonial oppression had bequeathed a legacy of lopsided agriculture, little industry, ramshackle transport and communications, and poor living and working conditions. The U.S. government's international campaign to deny loans and aid to Grenada, and to cripple its tourism, put a squeeze on national income. Washington kept escalating its military pressure and aid to local counterrevolutionary forces.

Nonetheless, the PRG's social and economic advances were winning the revolution broadening support among workers and farmers on the island. Grenada's economic growth rate was among the highest in the Caribbean, and joblessness had fallen sharply. The island's first interna-

tional airport — the revolution's largest single development project and a source of great patriotic pride — was only a few months from completion. When completed, the airport would have represented a big step forward in trade prospects, as well as tourism, and would have lessened Grenada's isolation from the rest of the Caribbean and the world. In mid-1983 the PRG had set in motion the drafting of a new constitution to further institutionalize the workers' and farmers' democratic gains and lay the basis for island-wide elections.

Despite these big advances, there had been erosion in the organization and mobilization of workers and farmers during the year prior to the September 1983 Central Committee meeting. And the NJM — too narrow to reflect new popular forces being drawn to the revolution — clearly was in crisis. On both counts, however, the bureaucratic practices and secret factional activity of the Coard group bore heavy responsibility.

AT THE SEPTEMBER meeting, the exaggerations in Ewart Layne's opening report were challenged by George Louison and Maurice Bishop. While acknowledging big difficulties, Louison contested the claim by Coard's supporters "that the ideological levels of the masses have gone backwards." He said that "sufficient weight has not been given to the objective situation and problems in the economy." Some comrades, Louison concluded, "give a panicky impression in the way they make their points."

Bishop, too, pointed to many serious problems, but cautioned that some of the proposed conclusions were "a bit premature." Bishop's remarks reflected his conviction that problems facing the party could be dealt with only as part of confronting the broader relationship between the government, the mass organizations, and the workers and farmers. Unlike Coard and his followers, Bishop saw party cadres as leaders, not administrators, of the masses.

The Central Committee's main problem, Bishop said, was that it was "paying no significant attention to the views of the party and the masses." Due to this, he said, "we became bureaucratic and formalistic in our approach." He cited the fall-off in participation by NJM leaders in village and neighborhood council meetings, visits to workplaces, and public political activities. These problems, Bishop said, have "been compounded by the weakness in the material base" of Grenadian society.

But the Coard faction did not back off. Liam James opened the next agenda item (a "collective and individual analysis of the C[entral] C[ommittee]") with the judgment that "this is the last chance for the C.C. to pull the party out of this crisis and onto a firm M[arxist]-L[eninist] path." The "most fundamental problem," James said, "is the quality of leadership of the Central Committee and the party provided by Cde. Maurice Bishop."

James hypocritically praised Bishop's "great strength, his ability to inspire and develop" party members, his capacity "to raise the regional and international respect for the party and revolution," his "charisma to build the confidence of the people." Nonetheless, James said, Bishop lacked the "qualities which are essential" for leadership of the party. These qualities were: "A Leninist level of organization and discipline"; "Great depth in ideological clarity"; and "Brilliance in strategy and tactics."

According to the Central Committee minutes, Liam James proposed "a model of joint leadership, marrying the strengths" of Bishop and Coard. He defined the division of responsibilities as follows:

Cde. Maurice Bishop

- (i) Direct work among the masses, focus on production and propaganda.
- (ii) Particular attention to the organs of popular democracy, working class, youth masses, visits to urban and rural work places.

(iii) Militia mobilisation

(iv) Regional and International work

Cde. Bernard Coard

- (i) Party organisation work Chairman of the O[rganising] C[ommittee]
- (ii) Party organisational development and formation [education] of Cdes.
- (iii) Strategy and tactics.

Bishop said that he needed time to think about the political and organizational ramifications of James's proposal, and he too objected to trying to settle the matter that day. The vote was rammed through, nonetheless. The motion was adopted with Louison voting against and Bishop and Whiteman abstaining. (Hudson Austin also abstained, explaining that he had not been present for most of the meeting.)

Coard's supporters then proposed that the Central Committee meeting — originally scheduled to adjourn that evening — continue the following day with Bernard Coard's participation. Bishop said that he felt that the Central Committee's new leadership proposal was going to be "counterproductive." Given the situation, he said, he would not attend another meeting the next day, since he needed time to consider the matter. Despite Bishop's objections, however, the meeting was scheduled to reconvene on September 17.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE remained in session throughout much of the following week, with Coard now openly functioning as its leading figure. Bishop did not attend. Neither did George Louison, who left for Czechoslovakia and Hungary to prepare a visit scheduled for Bishop later in the month to discuss important aid and trade arrangements.

Fidel Castro has aptly characterized Bernard Coard as an "alleged theoretician of the revolution who had been a professor of Marxism in Jamaica." Coard sought to establish himself and his faction as "a kind of a priesthood of the doctrine, guardian of the doctrine, theoretician of the doctrine, philosopher of the doctrine," Castro explained.

The Coard group "didn't work with the masses; it worked among the party members . . . and with the cadres of the army and the Ministry of the Interior," Castro said. Coard "was the scholar of politics, the professor of political science; while Bishop was the man who worked with the masses, worked with the people, worked with the administration, and was active internationally."⁹⁰ That was what established Maurice Bishop as the central leader of the Grenada revolution and of the New Jewel Movement.

The demagogic atmosphere of the September 25 general membership meeting was set by Ewart Layne. In his opening report, Layne sought to blackmail the membership with the following ultimatum: "He had spoken to all C.C. members who voted for the Majority position," and all of them "agreed that if the road of opportunism is chosen, they would have no alternative but to resign from the C.C. on the ground of principle. The membership is then free to choose a new Central Committee." The issue before the meeting, Layne said, was

Are we going to build a petit bourgeois social democratic party with one man above everyone, where people fulfill decisions they like and do not fulfill those they do not like, where there is one discipline for some and a next set for others, where some can be criticised and others are above criticism? . . . What faces us is the road of opportunism or Leninist principles.⁹¹

At the opening of the meeting, Bishop was not in attendance. After a visit from a delegation elected by the meeting, however, he agreed to attend and present his views. Bishop expressed serious reservations about the way the Central Committee decision had been arrived at, its workability, and its impact among the Grenadian people. During the discussion, however, only Whiteman and Fitzroy Bain spoke in opposition to "joint leadership."

Under intense political and personal pressures, and wanting to hold the party together and preserve the equilibrium of the leadership, Bishop said at the conclusion of the meeting that "his desire now is to use the criticism positively and march along with the entire party to build a Marxist-Leninist Party that can lead the people to socialism and communism." He "pledged to the party that he would do everything to erode his petit bourgeois traits." Bishop repeated that "he had never had difficulties in working with Cde. Coard," and said that "joint leadership would help push the party and revolution forward."⁹²

ON SEPTEMBER 26, Bishop and Whiteman left for Hungary and Czechoslovakia on the aid and trade visit that Louison had gone there to prepare the previous week. Three of Bishop's aides traveled with him: Don Rojas, press secretary; Shahiba Strong, chief of protocol; and Cletus St. Paul, chief of security.

ON THE WAY back from Eastern Europe, the Grenadian government delegation spent a few days in Cuba for meetings with Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders.

Bishop's views of the situation shortly after his return to Grenada are described in the letter by Vincent Noel:

We spoke first of all about his trip to Eastern Europe and then my trip to Jamaica. We also spoke about the local and regional Trade Union situation and especially the upcoming C.C.L. [Caribbean Congress of Labour] Congress. Finally I introduced the discussion of the Party stating that I had picked up from various comrades that he had not accepted the decision of the Party on Joint Leadership.

Maurice denied that he had any problems with Joint Leadership and went into a long history of his acceptance of that principle dating back to the formation of the Movement. He stated he himself had voted for Joint Leadership at the [September 25] meeting of full members of the Party, but at that time and at the meeting of the Central Committee he had expressed certain reservations. These reservations were reinforced during his trip and by certain developments since his return.⁹⁸

Bishop had already informed the Political Bureau of these reservations and asked that they be placed on the agenda of a meeting previously scheduled for October 12.

To this day, Coard and his supporters continue to seek to justify their counterrevolutionary course in the name of "democratic centralism."⁶³ This is a constant theme of Coard's apologists such as Richard Hart

(Bishop violated "a fundamental principle of the NJM — democratic centralism") and Trevor Munroe (Bishop's error was his "reluctance to accept collectivism, majority decision and democratic centralism").¹¹⁵

And in an April 4, 1986, letter smuggled out of prison in Grenada, Coard faction leader John Ventour insists that there "was no power-struggle, no ideological split, within our Party. The issue which precipitated the crisis was that... the entire Party leadership and membership was deeply concerned by the flouting by P[rime] M[inister] Bishop (pushed by a tiny group of opportunists) of decisions taken at General Meetings of the NJM in September, by the unanimous vote of all NJM members."¹¹⁶

True, the Coard faction had captured a majority in the NJM. But they used this majority against the Grenadian people and their revolutionary government. "Democratic centralism" is nothing to the Coard faction but a slogan (like "Marxism-Leninism") invoked to justify their criminal course.

But Lenin viewed the relationship between the masses and the dictatorship by the ruling party of revolutionary theory very differently.

The abolition of classes means, not merely ousting the landowners and the capitalists—that is something we accomplished with comparative ease; it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they cannot be ousted, or crushed; we *must learn to live* with them. They can (and must) be transformed and re-educated only by means of very prolonged, slow, and cautious organisational work. They surround the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat, and constantly causes among the proletariat relapses into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternating moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralisation and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the *organisational* role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully and victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force. Without a party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralised big bourgeoisie than to "vanquish" the millions upon millions of petty proprietors; however, through their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive and demoralising activities, they produce the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to *restore* the bourgeoisie. Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER

Our Central Committee has grown into a strictly centralised and highly authoritative group, but the conditions under which this group is working are not commensurate with its authority. The reform I recommend should help to remove this defect, and the members of the Central Control Commission, whose duty it will be to attend all meetings of the Political Bureau in a definite number, will have to form a compact group which should not allow anybody's authority without exception, neither that of the General Secretary nor of any other member of the Central Committee, to prevent them from putting questions, verifying documents, and, in general, from keeping themselves fully informed of all things and from exercising the strictest control over the proper conduct of affairs.

January 1923

HOW WE SHOULD REORGANISE WORKERS' & PEASANTS' INSPECTION

I repeat that we, as the militant organ of a militant party, in time of civil war, cannot work in any other way. If we did, it would be only a half-measure, or a parliament, and in the era of dictatorship questions cannot be settled, nor can the Party, or the Soviet organisations, be directed by

parliamentary means. Comrades, now that we have taken over the bourgeois printing-presses and papers the importance of the Central Committee's circular letters is not so great. We send out in the form of circular letters only such instructions as cannot be published, for in our activities, which were conducted publicly in spite of their vast dimensions, underground work nevertheless remained, still remains, and will remain. We were never afraid of being reproached for our underground methods and secrecy, but on the contrary were proud of them. And when we found ourselves in a situation in which, after overthrowing our bourgeoisie, we were faced with the hostility of the European bourgeoisie, secrecy remained a feature of our activities and underground methods a feature of our work.

EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.) March 1919

All the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries offer us an "alliance" on condition that we make concessions to the capitalists and their leaders, Kolchak and Denikin; as, for example, that we "renounce terror" (when we are faced with the terror of the multimillionaires of the whole Entente, of the whole alliance of the richest countries, that are engineering plots in Russia), or that we open the way for freedom to trade in grain, and so on. What these "conditions" of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries boil down to is this: we, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, are wavering towards the capitalists, and we want a "united front" with the Bolsheviks, against whom the capitalists taking advantage of every concession are fighting! No, my Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary gentlemen, look no more in Russia for people capable of believing you. In Russia class-conscious workers and peasants now realise that the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries are abettors of the whiteguards—some deliberate and malicious, others unwitting and because of their persistence in their old mistakes, but abettors of the whiteguards nevertheless.

Fifth lesson. If Kolchak and his rule are to be destroyed and not allowed to recur, all peasants must unhesitatingly make their choice in favour of the workers' state. Some people (especially the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries—all of them, even the "Lefts" among them) are trying to scare the peasants with the bogey of the "dictatorship of one party", the Party of Bolsheviks, Communists.

The peasants have learned from the Kolchak regime not to be afraid of this bogey.

August 1919

LETTER APROPOS OF THE VICTORY OVER KOLCHAK

But Castro's stooge Trots are contemptuous of the NJM's attempts to build a similar disciplined revolutionary party dictatorship.

They casually describe the infamous counter-revolutionary treachery by Bishop (on his arbitrary individual authority), totally ignore the catastrophic consequences it led to, and dismiss without a word (in the most arrogant, academic, anti-communist reactionary way) the remarkable proletarian revolutionary reality that the NJM majority quickly had matters on Grenada back under good order and control again in spite of the criminal attempted damage done to the socialist state by Bishop's outrageous

one-man mob-putsch. The Trot Castroites show their lofty disdain for Grenada and their interest only in personal sycophancy by echoing Castro's degenerate disinterest in the fact that the NJM majority were already firmly in position for important new revolutionary developments on Grenada, having quickly overcome Bishop's ludicrous reactionary insurrection, which would have gone down in history as merely a trivial bizarre act of an ill-advised conceited & unbalanced individual, — had the subsequent US imperialist invasion (to which it opened the door) not completely shattered all sense & perspective on the Grenadan affairs.

Bishop then asked Rojas to lead a contingent to the central telephone exchange and communicate several messages to the world. He asked Rojas to call on Grenadians overseas and on trade unions and progressive forces throughout the Caribbean to make known their support for the mass outpouring that day. Bishop was concerned by efforts on the

part of pro-imperialist forces both inside and outside Grenada to exploit the events there to spread anti-Cuban and anticommunist propaganda. According to Rojas, Bishop "wanted the point made very clearly that President Fidel Castro and the Cuban people had absolutely no involvement in this crisis," and that nothing that might happen in Grenada that day should serve as a justification for U.S. military intervention.¹²³

But that is exactly what Bishop's Havana-inspired putsch-attempt did lead to,—as this guiltily-worded cover-up paragraph is lamely conscious of, once again clearly far more concerned with Castro's "great reputation" than with the actual tragic consequences of Bishop's counter-revolutionary indiscipline which opened the door to US imperialist blitzkrieg.

Bishop and the crowd that liberated him then marched to Fort Rupert, the army headquarters. They appealed to the soldiers there to turn over their weapons, and many did so. Bishop organized a small security squad from members of the militia in the crowd. He dispatched a detachment under the command of Peter Thomas, an immigration officer, to the central telephone exchange with orders to "get the lines connected to speak to Radio Grenada and to the rest of the World."¹²⁴ Bishop wanted to appeal to working people, including members of the armed forces, to refuse to cooperate with the illegitimate Coard regime so that the revolutionary government could be restored to power.¹²⁵

Thomas succeeded in opening the lines at the telephone exchange and returned to Fort Rupert with additional arms to defend Bishop and the others.

Even the sketchy attempt-filled resume of Coard's version of events (which the SWP Trots give) reads better than the Castroites own miserable self-justification.

Coard now portrays Bishop as a well-intentioned revolutionary, but a weak and subjective individual who fell under the evil personal influence of those surrounding him. "On his own," Coard said in his trial statement, "there is no way Cde. Maurice Bishop would have taken such a decision [to go to Fort Rupert on October 19]. It was completely out of character, both for him personally and for the NJM."¹³¹

Whispering in one ear, according to Coard, were the power-mad George Louison and Kendrick Radix, who swayed Bishop to resist Central Committee decisions. Whispering in Bishop's other ear were CIA agents who, having wormed their way into his confidences, lured him into a provocation on October 19. These CIA agents, Coard charges, were Don Rojas, Shahiba Strong, and Cletus St. Paul — Bishop's press secretary, chief protocol officer, and chief security guard.

"Some do it because of personal reasons — because they have an axe to grind," Coard says. "Others do it for bribes, others because they are professional agents." But whatever their motivations, this cabal "surrounded him, they bombarded him. All but one were present on the trip [to Eastern Europe] with him. They pushed plot and conspiracy lines at him constantly." As a result, Coard claims, these individuals were able "to greatly aggravate the situation and turn it into a crisis of monumental proportions, which it was not. . . ."¹³²

Bishop was under "tremendous stress and strain" as a result of his son's illness, according to Coard, as well as his concerns about "whether the joint leadership proposal really represented a vote of no confidence." Given this personal situation, "one can understand that George Louison and others had fertile ground to work on," Coard says. Bishop was "at his most vulnerable; in a period of the greatest self-doubt regarding his capabilities, deeply worried about his son."¹³³

Coard says he tried "to persuade Cde. Bishop against this conspiracy obsession which was being pushed at him" and urged him to become part of "the monumental task of the reorganization of the Party at all levels to stave off Party disintegration, and invasion. . . . That was my aim."¹³⁴

But Coard just couldn't get Bishop's ear, he says. As a result, Coard claims, by October 18 he and his supporters were ready to give in to Bishop's refusal to accept the party's majority decision. "Better to have a situation where the Revolution has a chance of survival, and that can only be with Maurice Bishop leading the process, even if it means breaking all the rules and decisions of the Party. Because the Revolution must come first." Coard was even planning "to leave the country" in order "to put to rest the tremendous propaganda campaign" that he was trying to grab power.¹³⁵

But Louison, Rojas, and others intervened with Bishop on October 18 to block this peaceful solution, according to Coard.¹³⁶ They organized

the demonstration on October 19 and convinced Bishop, once released, to go to Fort Rupert. According to Coard, the crowd that poured into the streets that day was composed of "three elements": (1) "many decent, law-abiding supporters of the revolution," some of whom "got carried away with excitement"; (2) those such as Vincent Noel who "were not consciously acting as agents" of the CIA but were "acting as they saw best for whatever their reasons"; and (3) the CIA agents "which the United States had in place" and right-wing, pro-imperialist Grenadians.¹³⁷

"We have to examine closely the real possibility," Coard states, "that on October 19 the link between the Vincent Noel group in the demonstration and the 'God Bless America', 'We love America', C.I.A. group, could be an individual working on the one hand for the C.I.A. — Don Rojas — and ingratiating himself with the Party and Revolution. He may very well be the chemistry that led to the attack and seizure of Fort Rupert. It is worth careful study and investigation."¹³⁸

"The only thing the U.S. government and its agents didn't do on October 19 was to pull the trigger," Coard states. "They did everything else."¹³⁹

Coard and his supporters invoke the charge of CIA responsibility for the October 19 events for a reason. They hope to gain a hearing among radical-minded fighters around the world, who know that the CIA is the deadly enemy of workers and farmers everywhere, and that it expends vast resources to destabilize governments that refuse to do Washington's bidding.

But Coard's new version of events is only a more subtle slander against Bishop himself. It was Bishop's "weaknesses" that caused him to surround himself with CIA agents and other suspect types, Coard suggests, thus opening the road to destruction of the revolution.

Another Castroite departure from Leninism is on this very issue of how crucial it is for revolutionaries to face up to their own mistakes. The Trot Castroite stooges in the SWP twist themselves in knots trying to prove that Coard's insistence on higher standards for party membership amounted to attempted exclusivism, and a conspiracy to "get Bishop". The Trots sneer:

50. Coard was a past master at the use of the Stalinist practice of individual "criticism and self-criticism" to advance the goals of his secret faction within the NJM leadership. To justify this practice, Coard supporter Ewart Layne cited the following passage from Lenin at a September 1983 meeting of the NJM membership:

"A political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it fulfills in practice its obligations towards its class and the working people. Frankly acknowledging a mistake, ascertaining the reason for it, analysing the conditions that have led up to it, and thrashing out the means of its rectification — that is . . . how it should perform its duties; and how it should educate and train its class and then the masses." [The quotation is from Lenin's 1920 article, "Left Wing' Communism — An Infantile Disorder," in Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 31, p. . . . 57.)

The Bolshevik Party under Lenin's leadership never had this kind of institution of personal "criticism and self-criticism." The institutionalized practice of confessional "criticism and self-criticism" was begun under Stalin as one method to purge those in the party who resisted his headlong flight from Lenin's internationalist and communist course, and was further honed by Mao Zedong. It is the method of a self-perpetuating leadership cut off from democratic accountability to the membership and to the masses of working people.

This kind of "criticism and self-criticism" was put to similar uses by Coard's faction in the New Jewel Movement. Coard's Organising Committee and its subcommittee, the Discipline Committee, chaired by Selwyn Strachan, oversaw this practice. Supporters of Coard's faction sometimes acknowledged mild and innocuous failings, occasionally being subjected to a slap on the wrist. Meanwhile, others in the membership and leadership were mercilessly "criticized," bullied into self-deprecation, and then meted out harsh penalties, including expulsion from party bodies.

Lenin saw things differently, as the quote clearly shows when read soberly, ignoring the SWP's hysterical commentary which completely misses the point that wrong policies influencing a party have at one stage inevitably been the prime responsibility of some leader or other, or group of leaders. It is admitting to mistakes at this level that is precisely the problem, (— as has been tragically demonstrated by Bishop's and then Castro's part in the Grenada tragedy). Lenin also added elsewhere:

That great beginning, the "communist subbotniks", must also be utilised for another purpose, namely, to purge the Party. In the early period following the revolution, when the mass of "honest" and philistine-minded people was particularly timorous, and when the bourgeois intellectuals

to a man, including, of course, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, played the lackey to the bourgeoisie and carried on sabotage, it was absolutely inevitable that adventurers and other pernicious elements should hitch themselves to the ruling party. There never has been, and there never can be, a revolution without that. The whole point is that the ruling party should be able, relying on a sound and strong advanced class, to purge its ranks.

We started this work long ago. It must be continued steadily and untiringly. The mobilisation of Communists for the war helped us in this respect: the cowards and scoundrels fled from the Party's ranks. Good riddance! *Such a reduction in the Party's membership means an enormous increase in its strength and weight.* We must continue the purge, and that new beginning, the "communist subbotniks", must be utilised for this purpose: members should be accepted into the Party only after six months', say, "trial", or "probation", at "working in a revolutionary way". A similar test should be demanded of *all* members of the Party who joined after October 25, 1917, and who have not proved by some special work or service that they are absolutely reliable, loyal and capable of being Communists.

The purging of the Party, through the steadily *increasing demands* it makes in regard to working in a genuinely communist way, will improve the state *apparatus*

A GREAT BEGINNING June 1919

It is precisely the dictatorship of the proletariat, exercised basically by the authoritative party of revolutionary theory, which Trotskyism always hated about Leninism, and fought against in the crucial years of the building of the Party of revolutionary leadership between 1903 & 1917,--and which the SWP Trots of today snivellingly cannot bring themselves to discuss,--or even mention,--in the dispute between Coard's view of party discipline, and Bishop's anarchic dilettantism.

But by refusing to discuss the dictatorship of the proletariat, the modern 'left' swamp,--backed by the revisionists in Moscow & Havana,--abandons Leninism completely.

In this way, the ignorant counter-revolutionaries of the Trot sectarian middle-class swamp are being given a new lease of life by the philistine inability of the socialist camp leaders to understand Stalin's real crime,--his revisionist retreat from the understanding of the world socialist revolution as the only final solution to the problem of imperialist warmongering.

The socialist camp's exaggerated stress on (Lenin's mere temporary diplomatic tactic of) peaceful coexistence as a 'solution' to imperialist warmongering (when all Lenin intended by it was to gain time for the Soviet Union before

the next outbreak of imperialist warmongering and to split the imperialist forces against each other to give the USSR a better chance of survival),--leads Moscow & Havana to fear the spread of proletarian dictatorship as much as the Western Trotskyite middle-class do. Hence the disgusting liaison between Havana and the SWP Trots, the stooges of US imperialist anti-communism.

Hence this vicious Pathfinder book singing the praises of Castro's Cuba (which the Trots once denounced as 'Stalinist' as well), of Maurice Bishop, of revisionism in general in the socialist camp,--and spewing out hatred of Bernard Coard (and many other heroic revolutionaries not to the Trots taste) as 'Stalinists'.

"Coard demanded the subservience of the state to the party" these opportunist Trot worms go on. "Bishop wanted the subservience of the state to the working people" continue these sanctimonious hypocrites,--as if Trotskyism had ever done anything for working class power anywhere in the world other than try to stab it in the back.

But apart from tendentiously exaggerating Coard's position (see above), the Trots also have this wrong too,--as the Lenin quotes amply demonstrate

Within the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the trade unions stand, if I may say so, between the Party and the government. In the transition to socialism the dictatorship of the proletariat is inevitable, but it is not exercised by an organisation which takes in all industrial workers. Why not? The answer is given in the theses of the Second Congress of the Communist International on the role of political parties in general. I will not go into this here. What happens is that the Party, shall we say, absorbs the vanguard of the proletariat, and this vanguard exercises the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship cannot be exercised or the functions of government performed without a foundation such as the trade unions. These functions, however, have to be performed through the medium of special institutions which are also of a new type, namely, the Soviets. What are the practical conclusions to be drawn from this peculiar situation? They are, on the one hand, that the trade unions are a *link* between the vanguard and the masses, and by their daily work bring conviction to the masses, the masses of the class which alone is capable of taking us from capitalism to communism. On the other hand, the trade unions are a "reservoir" of the state power. This is what the trade unions are in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. In general, this transition cannot be achieved without the leadership of that class which is the only class capitalism has trained for large-scale production and which alone is divorced from the interests of the petty proprietor. But the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised through an organisation embracing the whole of that class, because in all capitalist countries (and not only over here, in one of the most backward) the proletariat is still so divided, so degraded, and so corrupted in parts (by imperialism in some countries) that an organisation taking in the whole proletariat cannot directly exercise proletarian dictatorship. It can be exercised only by a vanguard that has absorbed the revolutionary energy of the class. The whole is like an arrangement of cogwheels. Such is the basic mechanism of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the essentials of transition from capitalism to communism. From this alone it is evident that there is something fundamentally wrong in principle when Comrade Trotsky points, in his first thesis, to "ideological confusion", and speaks of a crisis as existing specifically and particularly in the trade unions. If we are to speak of a crisis, we can do so only after analysing the political situation. It is Trotsky who is in "ideological confusion", because in this key question of the trade unions' role, from the standpoint of transition from capitalism to communism, he has lost sight of the fact that we have here a complex arrangement of cogwheels which cannot be a simple one; for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be exercised by a mass proletarian organisation. It cannot work without a number of "transmission belts" running from the vanguard to the mass of the advanced class, and from the latter to the mass of the working people.

Both Trotsky and Bukharin failed to think out this term theoretically and ended up in confusion. "Industrial democracy" suggests things well beyond the circle of ideas with which they were carried away. They wanted to lay greater emphasis and focus attention on industry. It is one thing to emphasise something in an article or speech; it is quite another to frame it into a thesis and ask the Party to choose, and so I say: cast your vote against it, because it is confusion. Industry is indispensable, democracy is not. Industrial democracy breeds some utterly false ideas. The idea of one-man management was advocated only a little while ago. We must not make a mess of things and confuse people: how do you expect them to know when you want democracy, when one-man management, and when dictatorship. But on no account must we renounce dictatorship either-. . . .

After all, these opposite terms can be combined either into a cacophony or a symphony. Priority implies preference for one industry out of a group of vital industries because of its greater urgency. What does such preference entail? How great can it be? This is a difficult question, and I must say that it

will take more than zeal to solve it; it may even take more than a heroic effort on the part of a man who is possibly endowed with many excellent qualities and who will do wonders on the right job; this is a very peculiar matter and calls for the correct approach. And so if we are to raise this question of priority and equalisation we must first of all give it some careful thought, but that is just what we fail to find in Comrade Trotsky's work; the further he goes in revising his original theses, the more mistakes he makes. Here is what we find in his latest theses:

"The equalisation line should be pursued in the sphere of consumption, that is, the conditions of the working people's existence as individuals. In the sphere of production, the principle of priority will long remain decisive for us"... (thesis 41, p. 31 of Trotsky's pamphlet).

This is a real theoretical muddle. It is all wrong. Priority is preference, but it is nothing without preference in consumption.....

The fourth point is disciplinary courts. I hope Comrade Bukharin will not take offence if I say that without disciplinary courts the role of the trade unions in industry, "industrial democracy", is a mere trifle. But the fact is that there is nothing at all about this in your theses. "Great grief!" is therefore the only thing that can be said about Trotsky's theses and Bukharin's attitude, from the standpoint of principle, theory and practice.....

Lenin repeatedly stresses that the proletariat, emerging ignorant from Tsarist capitalist/feudal backwardness, would be in no position for a long time to assume full authority in the Soviet Union without being guided & led by the supreme power of the Party dictatorship.

It is significant that at the heart of confusion in the Soviet Union on this point should be the anti-Leninist Trotsky (see Lenin quotes).

And on the real situation that Coard and the NJM majority were trying to deal with (as opposed to the lies spread by Castro & the Trots), this SWP diatribe is even more wide of the mark. On the simple matter of whether Grenada could proceed simply ignoring totally the decisions of its revolutionary party, it is blatantly obvious that only complete counter-revolutionary philistines (on that issue, but not necessarily on others such as the taking of power in Cuba) could support Bishop's anarchic indiscipline. There is no room even for any discussion on this with serious-minded workers. It is the ABC of Leninism.

Much could be written about the lying evasions about the actual issues between the Coard NJM majority and Bishop (for which this Trot character assassination merely substitutes disgraceful innuendoes about Coard's

"ambition", etc., but never once, of course, addressing the hard facts about decisions taken in the Central Committee on real problems facing Grenada, - all of which Bishop arbitrarily flouted.)

In distorting the record to spin their web of slimy innuendo & falsehood, the Trots cannot resist, of course trying to justify their own indiscipline & anarchic counter-revolutionary past-treachery by lashing out at old 'enemies'. Coard immediately becomes a 'Stalinist', but without the slightest realistic reference by the Trots either to policy disputes on Grenada, or the actual revisionist theoretical mistakes made by Stalin. There is only infantile polemics on the level of "Stalin was a brutal bad man. So was Coard", etc., as the following trivial SWP summation of theoretical difficulties of building world communism indicates:

"Coard shares the heritage of Stalin, Mao, Escalante, Pol Pot, Carpio, and the practitioners of the 'Afghanistan solution'. Maurice Bishop's uncompromising refusal to back off from a revolutionary course made it inevitable that Coard would not stop short of house arrest and murder. Those are the methods that Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot, and Carpio have used. Had Escalante's faction triumphed, he would have employed such repress-

ive measures against Fidel Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries. What was not inevitable in Grenada, however, was the outcome. Bishop and his supporters were correct to lead a popular insurrection on October 19. That was the only chance to restore the revolutionary government to power".

It did nothing of the sort of course. It unleashed the counter-revolutionary mob on Grenada, and opened the door to Havana's paralysis, and to the US imperialist invasion.

These criminal slanders stand everything on its head. Patiently for three years, the majority in the New Jewel Revolutionary party, - the vanguard of the revolution on Grenada, - had struggled to have higher standards of work, discipline, and discussion of difficulties accepted by the ruling party. When finally insisting that majority Central Committee decisions be adhered to, Bishop replied by leading a counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois mob onto the streets of St Georges, coinciding neatly with US imperialist preparations for invasion.

ILWP Books vol 6 outlines some of the issues dividing the Grenadan party. In an entire book, the SWP Trots refuse to discuss most of them, - reducing everything to the above style of muck-raking about "Coard's ambition", etc.

By these childish lights, Stalin was just a

The war weariness is terrible, and the needs have increased, but production has increased insufficiently or not at all. On the other hand, as I said in my report to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, our application of coercion was correct and successful whenever we had been able to back it up from the start with persuasion. I must say that Trotsky and Bukharin have entirely failed to take account of this very important consideration.

ON THE TRADE UNIONS January 1921

Was it all a windfall? No, it was all won by the Party in decades of hard work. Everybody believes the word of the Bolsheviks, who have had twenty years of Party training.

To govern you need an army of steeled revolutionary Communists. We have it, and it is called the Party. All this syndicalist nonsense about mandatory nominations of producers must go into the wastepaper basket. To proceed on those lines would mean thrusting the Party aside and making the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia impossible. This is the view I believe it to be my Party duty to put to you. It is, in my opinion, enunciated in the form of practical propositions in the platform called *Draft Decision of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.* and signed by Lenin, Zinoviev, Tomsy, Rudzutak, Kalinin, Kamenev, Lozovsky, Petrovsky, Sergeev and Stalin. January 1921

THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF MINERS

"murderer", his titanic achievements in defending the proletarian dictatorship against Trotsky's hoped-for liquidation of it conveniently forgotten. Mao was just a "murderer", his historic leadership of the second greatest event in human history, - the Chinese communist revolution, - totally obliterated. Ditto Cayetano Carpio, who contributed some brilliant theoretical (not to mention practical) leadership to the defeat of CP-induced revisionist anti-revolutionism in Western proletarian movements: - Now just a "murderer". Coard's contributions to the Grenadan revolution all now dismissed as non-existent because the NJM majority have become so-called "murderers".

And what did the revolution's leadership do in Grenada? Merely insist that its majority Central Committee decisions be carried out. What else did the NJM majority do? Put up with three years lackadaisical idleness from Bishop's cronies patiently before finally insisting that Bishop no longer go around deliberately frustrating Central Committee decisions. What did Bishop then do? On the SWP Trots' own admission (above), Bishop "led a popular insurrection". Some insurrection. What was it in reality? An outrageous piece of petty mob violence, - seizing arms

to stage an illegal & provocative occupation of the army's Fort Rupert headquarters, aided & abetted by all kinds of middle-class anti-communist riff-raff which the SWP Trots (and Castro) choose to keep silent about, and then broadcasting a public appeal for international intervention. It arrived just hours later in the form of the US imperialist invasion force. But it is Coard & Co (who did nothing more than insist that majority ruling-party decisions be carried out) who are branded as "murderers", and the treacherous anarchic putschist Bishop who is called a "Marxist" for having betrayed Grenada to imperialist counter-revolution.

The SWP Trots are naturally delighted with their 'hero' Bishop. Their counter-revolutionary book lionises him.

This is degenerate company for Castro to keep, who is let down by his anti-theory philistinism, conceitedly self-satisfied with his own spontaneous revolutionary achievements as to be unable, even at this late stage, - to critically analyse Moscow & Havana's ludicrous backing for Allende's revisionist treachery in Chile which delivered the working class over to fascist counter-revolution. (See ILWP Books vol 6).

These revisionist Trots are like pigs in muck in such an anti-

Leninist milieu. How they drool over the weaker aspects of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, refusing for so long to suppress the bourgeois disinformation press or arrest the counter-revolutionary plotters, and even now in refusing to execute the CIA's stooge-traitors in the Nicaraguan reactionary camp,--all matters which could imperil the survival of the Sandinista revolution, - and matters on which Managua has been forced by real life to act more firmly over in some respects (such as the eventual closure of La Prensa - now reopened temporarily under the attempted 'peace' settlement, which Washington is bound to undermine shortly).

And how the SWP Trots are silent over Castro's disastrous mistaken policy towards Allendeism (just as he is catastrophically wrong on the Grenada question.)

Even more gruesome, are the appalling signs of a revisionist Trot cover-up for some gross revisionist nonsense by the Havana leadership. The Bulletin has always challenged the credibility of Castro's assertion that he 'knew nothing' of any differences in the Grenadan revolutionary leadership until they exploded in disaster (in October 1983), when other evidence indicates that most leftist circles in the Caribbean and half of Latin America had heard something about the Coard-Bishop divergences as long as two years earlier. One Caribbean comrade testifies to having heard some rank-and-file communists from South America discussing in Moscow as early as 1981 the contrasting perspectives in the NJM leadership after a visit to Grenada. So how come the most powerful revolutionary organisation in the Western Hemisphere,--the Havana regime, with its acute interest in every scrap of regional nastiness that the CIA might get into to exploit for its general counter-revolutionary purposes in the region, --allegedly only "first heard about any differences at all" on October 12 1983, the day that Bishop was finally dis-

ciplined by the Central Committee for disobeying CC decisions, and decided to launch his putsch by way of reply?

How come that Bishop -the' innocent victim', allegedly, of such a sustained "vilification campaign" by Coard & Co (which is what this 100-page farrago of lies by the SWP Trots is all about) could have met Castro several times (& other Cubans) in the previous period,--most recently just a few days before in Havana when he was wrestling with the instruction to accept joint leadership of the Party with Coard ---but managed to discuss "for many hours personally with Fidel" the whole range of political matters, - but not once mention the desperate political crisis he himself was in, --so desperate that he launched a mob-putsch just days later? Either Bishop was some weird inhuman vegetable; or a complete fascist dictatorial bastard who did not give a damn for the Grenadan revolution; or else Havana is lying through its teeth.

The intervention of the SWP Trots to back up the Havana-Bishop version settles it. Castro is lying through his teeth.

Immediately after seizing power in 1979, the Coard revolutionary-Leninist perspective was at odds with Bishop's reformist outlook on something as important & fundamental as the enforced closure of 'Torchtlight', the bourgeois counter-revolutionary rabble-rouser on Grenada, which Coard carried through while Bishop was leading a diplomatic mission in New York,--as the SWP Trots fully record in their scurrilous book. Equally outstanding & unconcealable differences in approach are admitted by the SWP Trots at every moment of Grenada's 4-year revolutionary history. How could Cuba know nothing of all this?

There were equally prominent clashes between Coard & Bishop over the pace of expropriation of the Grenadan bourgeoisie (with this Trot book presenting Coard as an "extremist urging the revolution to proceed fas-

ter than conditions would permit' etc); on the closure of the counter-revolutionary 'Grenadian Voice'; on the inflicting of proletarian-dictatorship restrictions on counter-revolutionaries generally, - all vitally important and widely known-about disputes over the whole revolutionary progress of Grenada which Castro just a few miles away in the Caribbean would have had to have been a complete hermit to have missed hearing about.

And yet these Trot apologists for Castro, backing his "innocence is bliss" daft posture, are permitted to carry Havana's torch in this murky business while simulataneously still pouring out their own Trot counter-revolutionary slime about "heavy blows to the worldwide struggle for national liberation & socialism" such as hoary old Trot chestnuts like "the postwar murders of Vietnamese revolutionaries" by Ho Chi Minh's communist movement; and "the Soviet governments' invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968"; and "the brutal administrative methods of the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (the communist government)". With apologists like these, Castro hardly needs any detractors over his wretched Grenadan disaster.

The Trot counter-revolutionaries declare of this crucial October 12th Wednesday, which was to end with Bishop finally disciplined to do nothing more without the approval of the Central Committee:

"At 9.00 a.m. the Political Bureau met. Bishop attended the meeting. On his way there, Bishop had stopped briefly at the Cuban embassy to provide information to the Cuban leadership for the first time about the divisions within the NJM." The emphasised words stick out like a sore thumb but are obligatorily included to chime in with the hopelessly guilt-ridden & dubious statements clumsily rushed out by the Cuban leadership in 1983 just after the Grenada tragedy, and never corrected since (not surprisingly, given Castro's

spontaneous anti-theory and pride over success.)

So at 8 in the morning, - just for a couple of minutes, - Bishop just pops into the Cuban embassy to let them know for the first time about the existence of a raging political crisis which is just about to blow the lid off the island, and wreck the revolution. A likely story.

The conjectured truth of course, is that knowing that discipline was at last finally about to be imposed by the long-suffering NJM majority, Bishop went scooting into the Cuban embassy to get his last-minute instructions from Havana about how he should play his cards in such an emergency.

The outrageous indisCIPLINED putsch was the result, - leading directly to the disruption of law-and-order on Grenada briefly,--which gave Washington the 'excuse' it was seeking to invade,--at which point Castro declared he could wash his hands of the Grenadan revolution.

The whole rotten mess stinks to high heaven. If Bishop & Castro were not in collusion for their lunatic putsch-venture based on their egocentric contempt for Leninism, and worship of spontaneity, plus their revisionist defeatism; (learned from Moscow) doubts in the ability of others to deepen the revolutionary process as the only real solution to US imperialist pressure, - then they are being made to look mighty guilty by hiring the SWP Trots as their latest cover-up spokesmen.

Again & again screams this slanderous book's anti-communist middle-class hysteria about Coard & Co's "coup d'etat" for finally insisting that the ruling party's majority decisions at last be upheld. Why on earth would Coard & Co need a coup d'etat? They had the majority in the NJM,--both in the mass party meetings and in all the leading committees. In these October days, they finally passed resolutions insisting that no longer were the Central Committee decisions to be flouted by anyone, Bi-

shop included,-- and that disciplinary measures would be taken to ensure that party directives were carried out (see Lenin above). Coard & the NJM majority needed no coup d'etat. They only needed to act as a Leninist communist party, --which is exactly what they did finally decide to do.

No wonder US imperialism was so immediately keen to impose fascist blitzkrieg on them. No wonder every last petty-bourgeois reptile on earth has since been condemning Coard and singing the praises of Maurice Bishop. No wonder the anti-communist Trots are so keen to get in on the act of trying to get the imperialist rope drawn tightly round Coard's neck. The great revisionist scandal (in a long tragic line of such scandals) is that Moscow (& Havana on this occasion) has again retreated from revolutionary justice,--on a par with their embrace of Allende's "peaceful road" counter-revolutionary nonsense; of the Popular Front counter-revolutionary catastrophe in Spain in 1936-39; of the Greek CP's defeatist tragedy in failing to take power in 1945; of the reactionary establishment of the Zionist colonial occupation of Palestine in 1948; and of countless other degenerate retreats from revolutionary opposition to imperialism at different times & places.

But the Leninist truth about the correct understanding of the international balance of class forces and the crucial role of the world socialist revolution in finally routing imperialist warmongering reaction once & for all cannot be destroyed. Trotskyism is collapsing everywhere. The revisionist CPs are collapsing everywhere, despite all the help they get from Moscow (and Havana). Only the Leninist revolutionary struggle is taking mankind forward, - in South Africa, in the Philippines, in El Salvador and other struggles. Revolutionary Leninism will triumph. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.