

GRENADA: REVOLUTION, COUNTER REVOLUTION, IMPERIALIST INVASION



Supporters of Maurice Bishop in Grenada demonstrate to demand his release from house arrest.

two articles by
RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

I. THE THREE WAY DRIVE TO WAR: GRENADA,
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ON BLACK RIGHTS

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Special to News & Letters by Carol Green
An eyewitness report from Grenada
"NO BISHOP, NO REVO., NO WORK":
THE MASS FREEING AND ARMY MURDER
OF MAURICE BISHOP

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Reagan's imperial invasion and conquest of Grenada

The three way drive to war: Grenada, endless militarization, retrogression on Black rights

by Raya Dunayevskaya
National Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

As against Reagan's claim that only when he was awakened early Sunday morning, Oct. 23, with the "urgent request" from some East Caribbean countries for him to participate in an invasion of Grenada did he decide to do so — the record shows that it was the U.S. that had been urging the invasion "for some months." Indeed, the whole truth shows that, from Day One of the bloodless Grenadian revolution of 1979, Reagan had been carrying on a non-stop propaganda war against that revolution led by Maurice Bishop.

By 1981, when Reagan was solidly in the White House, he ordered a practice-run invasion and held actual military maneuvers in the waters off Puerto Rico. All through 1982 he extended his venom against the newly-independent Black nation by pressuring international bodies like the International Monetary Fund as well as Latin American states not to trade or show any type of solidarity with Grenada. By 1983, the 1981 practice-run off Puerto Rico was spelled out as actual invasion of Grenada by U.S. imperialism for its East Caribbean stooges.

As for the critical week following the house-arrest of Maurice Bishop, the efforts of the Prime Minister of Barbados, Tom Adams — who tried to prove that it was the East Caribbeans who "invited" Reagan rather than Reagan who ordered the invitation and gave the exact legal formulation for the invitation — turned out to prove the exact opposite. Thus, Adams' revelation that it was Barbados (though not a member of the OECS — the Organization of East Caribbean States) which initiated many of the hostile acts against Grenada, and that it was Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica (not exactly an East Caribbean country), who was the most active with Adams in the unprovoked intervention, only helped to reveal the true situation — that there was no unanimity among the seven members of the OECS on the question of the invasion. And, since unanimity is what the OECS charter requires if any act of intervention is to be undertaken, a different route had to be fabricated.

The first attempt to circumvent that principle was to go to the 13-member Caribbean Community economic organization (CARICOM). But here, too, they found that George Chambers, Prime Minister of Trinidad and

Chairman of CARICOM, was opposed to any invasion of Grenada. When Chambers called for a meeting of CARICOM at Port of Spain, Trinidad, Tom Adams informed him that he could not come since the East Caribbean countries were meeting with him in Barbados right then — Friday, Oct. 21. That meeting, indeed, continued until the early hours of the morning of Saturday, Oct. 22.

Here is the way the events unfolded after Maurice Bishop was put under house arrest: Adams says he had heard of the arrest on Oct. 14 and that the following day, Saturday, Oct. 15, a Barbadian military official "reported to me that he had been tentatively approached by a U.S. official about the prospect of rescuing Maurice Bishop from his captors and had been made an offer of transport."

A genuine rescue mission was undertaken, however, not by those stooges, but by the Grenadian masses who began demonstrations for Bishop's release. The actual freeing of Bishop from house arrest occurred Oct. 19. That was also when, tragically, the first act of counter-revolution from within the ruling party occurred, as General Hudson Austin, who was heading the military coup against Bishop, fired on the people surrounding the fort where they had escorted Bishop.* It ended in the brutal murder of Bishop and a still unknown number of revolutionaries, who had allied with him.

Obviously, Wednesday, Oct. 19, was the date that inspired Reagan to begin concretizing his plans for outright invasion of Grenada. He ordered the ships carrying 1600 marines bound for the Middle East to change course to the Caribbean. He also asked his Joint Chiefs of Staff to work out a "contingency" plan for the invasion.

THE LIES BEGIN

Oct. 19 was also the day Reagan held a press conference. Since no one there knew about any planned invasion, no questions were asked about that. What was raised was what seemed to have no connection with any of these events — a bill to make Rev. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. Though Reagan knew that, for narrow political election reasons, he would be compelled to sign that Bill, he took the occasion to shower praises on Senator Jesse Helms, who had unleashed a scurrilous attack against Rev. King as he filibustered against that resolution.

The press seemed aghast at the idea that Reagan chose that day to speak of the "integrity" of Sen. Helms. But then they knew nothing of the planned invasion of a tiny Black nation. They would soon be just as aghast at the "bad timing" of Reagan who, on Oct. 25, the very day of the invasion, would announce his firing of three Civil Rights Commissioners who were critical of his stand on civil rights for Blacks and Latinos.

1. See Toronto Globe and Mail, Oct. 29, 1983. Their report also refers to a Washington Post report from Jamaica on Oct. 27 which reveals that U.S. officials had been urging Caribbean nations "for several months" to consider military action against Grenada.

2. See New York Times, Oct. 27, 1983 report by Stuart Taylor, Jr. on State Department spokesman John Hughes' formulation after the event. Taylor rightly concludes: "The Administration has not specified who was threatened by whom . . ."

3. See "Barbadian Leader Describes Disputes and Confusion in Arranging Invasion", by James Feron, in New York Times, Oct. 23, 1983.

4. See moving report from St. George's by a nurse who was eyewitness to the last hours of Maurice Bishop, in New York Times, Nov. 11, 1983. She quotes Bishop, just before he was captured: "My God, my God. They have turned the guns against the people." See also eye-witness report special to N&L, page 1.

The relationship between these seemingly unconnected events, which have a logic all their own, will emerge as we continue with the necessary exposure of the countless lies this fork-tongued President uttered as he embarked on Oct. 19 for a "vacation" — in a lily-white Georgia mansion complete with golf course — where he would stay until Oct. 23.

Whatever the shadings of views and precise times and dates given in the chronologies cited by either Tom Adams of Barbados, or George Shultz of the State Department — or the press, which could only repeat official Pentagon releases since a total blackout was imposed on the "free, independent, U.S. press" — what is beyond any doubt is this:

1) U.S. imperialist plotting began from the moment of Bishop's house arrest; and 2) by the time of his brutal murder, Reagan (far from having any interest in "rescuing" Bishop, whom he had refused even to see in Washington, D.C. when Bishop was there in June) was bent on outright invasion.

With the aid of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's "contingency plan", all this was being spelled out for Reagan's very select, very few top aides — and, in bite-size morsels, for his East Caribbean stooges. No others were consulted — neither Congress, nor the Organization of American States (OAS), nor his NATO allies, including Great Britain, although Grenada is part of the British Commonwealth, ceremonially run by the "Queen's representative." Quite the contrary. The very first of Reagan's double-crossing of his allies was his conspiracy to use that "Queen's representative as Governor-General", Sir Paul Scoon, as the figleaf of "legitimacy."

Clearly, Reagan is adept at dreaming up the most nightmarish of counter-revolutions, whether he is in bed at the White House, or on horseback on his Western ranch, or on a lily-white golf course in Georgia. As it turned out, the secrecy of his golf-course conspiracies was enhanced not only by the fact that he was "on vacation" but by the accidental gate-crashing of an unemployed disturbed man that Saturday, Oct. 22, which naturally enough diverted everyone's attention to that bizarre event.

On Sunday, Oct. 23 (the day Reagan acknowledges he was "awakened early"), we heard nothing about the conspiracies hatched on Grenada, but about the shocking, savage massacre of over 200 U.S. marines in Lebanon. We were not told that this did not for one moment divert Reagan from those preparations for the invasion of tiny Grenada. On the contrary, what the TV showed was a shocked and mourning Reagan, supposedly overcome by the terrorist act in Beirut and the total destruction of the marine headquarters.

The impression given was that President Reagan had rushed back from his vacation the minute he heard of the carnage in order to meet with his chief advisers about what to do in the Middle East. In fact, what he was rushing back for was to complete his preparations for the invasion and affix his signature as soon as his Caribbean stooges had confirmed his formulation of the reason for the invasion. The politics of capitalist-imperialism have obviously taught this B-movie actor what professional acting couldn't — how to give an Oscar-caliber portrayal of a grief-stricken man.

While the American people still knew nothing of the invasion to come two days later with the pre-dawn landings on Tuesday, Oct. 25, the Caribbean press was already announcing it and Grenadian radio was warning the Grenadian people of the attack. We now have learned that it was under cover of darkness late Sunday and early Monday that two small teams of Seals had begun to scout the island.⁵

Sen. Cranston summed it up well, when he heard of the invasion: "We have a trigger-happy president who has recklessly landed the U.S. in two civil wars, and his policies threaten to land us in a third in El Salvador, and possibly a fourth in Nicaragua."

5. The New York Times of Oct. 26, 1983 carries a transcript of Shultz's Oct. 25 news conference on the invasion.

6. It is first today, Nov. 14, 1983 that the New York Times, in two front page articles reveals that a scouting party had, in fact, already landed on Grenada on Oct. 23.

THE LIES MULTIPLY

The logic of a new series of lies begins with what Reagan said was the reason for the invasion on Oct. 25: "First, of overriding importance, to protect innocent lives, including up to 1600 Americans whose personal safety is, of course, my paramount concern."

Reagan never stopped repeating that they got there "just in time." But what it was they got there for "just in time" kept changing. While the Chancellor of the Medical School, whose students Reagan was supposed to be "saving", was still saying that those students' lives were not in danger, the "just in time" changed to being "just in time" to keep Grenada from becoming a "Soviet-Cuban colony being readied to export terrorism and Communism." Toward that end came the claim of a highly inflated number of Cubans who turned out to be. In the words of the Pentagon liar, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, "well trained professional soldiers impersonating construction workers."

As some of the fabrications of the U.S. were exposed by Cuba, the State Department was forced to acknowledge that, far from McDonald's inflated figure of 1,100 Cubans on Grenada, Cuba was not only right in its figure of a total of 784 Cuban construction workers, doctors, teachers and a few military personnel, but the U.S. authorities verified that hardly more than 100 of the Cubans were "combatants."

Here is how New York Times reporter Stuart Taylor, Jr. summarized the situation: "Over three days, the Pentagon estimate of Cuban fighters who met the invading forces seems to have plunged from more than 1,000 to fewer than 200, including an estimated 30 to 70 Cubans who were killed." The very title of his Nov. 8 article shows the extent of the lying: "In Wake of Invasion, Much Official Misinformation by U.S. Comes to Light."

The lies kept mounting nevertheless, whether it be the fact that, despite the claim that Americans had to be "rescued", the U.S. had assurances of safe transportation for all and that four planes had departed on the very day the U.S. claimed the airport was closed; or whether it be the fake reason given for the press blackout, when in truth, the muzzling of the press was not a matter only of military censorship but of unbridled political censorship; or whether it be the secret documents that supposedly prove "militarization" of Grenada, which turned out to be an agreement by Cuba to provide all of 27 military advisers.

The lies that kept emanating from the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon — before and after the occupation — have a logic of their own. Inexorably they flow out of the Big Lie — Reagan's attempt to hide the relentless drive for a Pax Americana under the euphemism of "democracy."

The ideology of U.S. imperialist global counter-revolution is nothing other than the Brezhnev Doctrine, Reagan-style.

THE REAGAN-STYLE OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE REVEALS ITS ANTI-BLACK NATURE

Just as Reagan's retrogressionism in the U.S. has always had an anti-Black bias, so his imperialism is turning the clock backward to neo-colonialism with that same coloration. It is this which poured out during the week of the invasion, right at home.⁷

The present state of retrogression in the U.S. has also revealed once more that there is no difference between Democrats and Republicans. For one single moment, Speaker Tip O'Neill sounded as if he was with those who opposed the invasion of a tiny Black nation by the nuclear superpower, the U.S. Then he sent a Congressional so-called "Fact Finding" mission to Grenada — which returned

7. Not only is this what the Chancellor, Charles Modica, reported before he was brainwashed, but the full story was revealed by the Vice Chancellor. See "Was the U.S. Invasion Necessary?" by Dr. Peter G. Bourne, his son, in Los Angeles Times, Nov. 6, 1983. 8. See report in New York Times, Oct. 29, 1983: "Ex-U.S. Official Cites Ease in Leaving Grenada Day Before Invasion", on interview with Robert J. Myers, the retired chief actuary for the American Social Security system, who had been in Grenada since Oct. 13 and had left on one of those planes. 9. See Editorial in Black Scholar, Vol. 14, Number 5 (Sept-Oct 1983): "U.S. Marines out of Grenada."

to endorse the invasion. It was not a unanimous conclusion, but the Minority Report (made by the Black Congressmen Dellums and Stokes, and endorsed by the entire Congressional Black Caucus) was hardly given equal time. Not only did these Congressmen oppose the invasion, they testified to the fact that the U.S. forces "are engaging in illegal searches and seizures of people and homes as well as still weeding out members of the population for security or political reasons."

Here is how Congressman Dellums summed up his fact-finding: "As an American citizen, I was appalled by the U.S. invasion of Grenada, which I considered an undeclared act of war in violation of the Constitution, the UN and OAS Charters . . . I believe we're in gross violation of international law."

Though they were hated by the Grenadian people as the ones who had perpetrated the murder of Maurice Bishop and laid the ground for the events that ensued (see *eye-witness report special to N&L*, page 1), the sight of General Austin and Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard being herded in shackles and blindfolded, by U.S. soldiers, was a chilling flashback to the scene of a U.S. puppet shooting pointblank into the brain of a blindfolded prisoner in Vietnam. Reagan's forces in this invasion have, indeed, violated not only International Law, and both the UN and the OAS charters, but now have violated even the Geneva Convention in war, and the treatment of prisoners, which forbids both shackling and blindfolding. It is a violation not unconnected to Reagan's hostility to the Black dimension, at home and abroad.

Although this is assuredly not the first time that U.S. imperialism has invaded a small Third World country, never before has it dared invade a Black nation that was English-speaking and still a part of the British Commonwealth. Similarly, although this is not the first Administration that has clashed with the Civil Rights Commission, it is the first that has dared to dismiss members who disagreed with it. As Father Hesburg, President of Notre Dame and a member of that commission for 15 of its 26 years, put it: "We have had trouble with all the presidents and Congresses. But during that time, no one was ever fired."¹¹

That was so even in Nixon's presidency, because — ever since its establishment in 1957 as an independent bi-partisan agency within the executive branch, which the turbulent '60s made concrete by compelling such landmark legislation as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 — this Commission has been the one institution that "proved" democracy. Reagan, however, has so flouted all this legislation that he has come under sharp criticism for his policies on Blacks, women and Hispanics. Now he has dared to attack that Commission itself.

If, however, he thought none of that would be noted on the day of invasion when all headlines were on Grenada and the carnage in Lebanon, he was wrong. The critique of his blatant racism has become so hot an issue that he is now discussing a compromise, whereby Reagan would be allowed to maintain his own four nominees who would abide by his principles, but Congress would be empowered to nominate an equal number which would include the three Reagan has just tried to fire.

That doesn't mean that Reagan's America has stopped believing it can control the tides of history not only at home but on a global scale, as the invasion is being transformed into an occupation and U.S. imperialism appears to be planning military colonialization in the Middle East as well, while it continues endless militarization poised for nuclear war. The bloody hands must be stayed!

RAMIFICATIONS: REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES VS. GLOBAL WAR

Like Khomeini who calls the U.S. "the great Satan", Reagan, in calling Russia "the evil empire," considers that this gives him a blank check to commit any crime, utter the Big Lie, and drive for world dominance. It wasn't only the Left, however, that opposed his unprovoked invasion, now fast turning into an occupation. Thus, the UN's Security Council Resolution was passed in General Assembly, declaring that the UN "deeply deplores the armed intervention in Grenada, which constitutes a

10. See excellent article by Dale Mezzacappa in *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 30, 1983: "Foes say Reagan subverts rights panel."

flagrant violation of international law and of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that state."

And, while the liberals were calling the world's attention to the fact that Reagan's favorite phrase about "leftist thugs" had nothing to say about the death squads in El Salvador — which, for four long years, have killed no less than 37,000 civilians, fully one-third the total population of Grenada¹² — even the OAS had to call attention to its Charter's principles about the inviolability of national borders which absolutely cannot be tampered with "for any reason whatever."

It is true Reagan can depend on his capitalist-imperialist allies to oppose social revolution as totally as he does. But, as John Vinocur wrote from Paris, after the invasion of Grenada, "overnight every West European regards American missiles less as a protection than as a threat."¹³ If Reagan has disregarded that, it is because what preoccupies him is getting his unlimited militarization bills through Congress. He has succeeded in that, instigating such a patriotic hysteria ever since the 607 Korean airliner incident that Congress not only approved funds for the MX missile, but for nerve gas, too!

Here, then, is the real rub. We must, of course, call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Grenada and all the gunboats sailing around the globe, from the Middle East to Central America to Asia.¹⁴ But that is not enough. We must stay the bloody hands of both nuclear superpowers.

The anti-nuke struggles, and the anti-military struggle in general, cannot stop the life and death struggle with capitalism — private and state — that is ready to unleash the nuclear holocaust, except through a total uprooting, social revolution. In that, we have all the world on our side, for it is the only way to achieve peace.

That is why the correct slogan "the enemy is in your own country" is not sufficient. It may have sufficed before the world was divided into two power blocs. Presently, it is a trap to suck one into the other nuclear orbit, and thus doom both the advanced economies and the Afro-Asian-Latin American liberation movements. We have no time to waste on the Stalinized "Marxists," ex-Marxists, or Fidelistas who tailand and whitewash Communist tyranny.

It is equally true that preparation for war against Russia tomorrow is all-out war against the American working people today, tomorrow, and the day after. That is why the point is not who throws or will throw the first s-one, especially when that first stone will be the H-bomb. The point is: are you with the people struggling for a totally new way of life?

So universal is the feeling against the war that even the rulers play the game of peace and disarmament conference. That cannot, therefore, be what distinguishes us from them. Private or state-capitalism will spare nothing to keep itself on top and the masses at the bottom. Armed with the H-bomb and the missile, they are ready to destroy civilization itself rather than allow the new human society to emerge.

To achieve a truly human life, we must not only be with the working people because they and only they oppose the war to the end, because they and only they are the future society, but also because we do not shift to their shoulders what is the task of all of us — the theoretic clearing of the ground for the reconstruction of society on new beginnings. These new beginnings start with integrating the philosophy of revolution into all revolutionary activities, as we oppose Reagan's warmongering and retrogressions at home as well as abroad. Only by making a philosophy of revolution inseparable from an actual revolution can we keep the revolution from aborting and win a new society on truly human foundations. November 14, 1983

11. See "Revealing in Military Power" by Roland Steel, *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1983.

12. *New York Times*, Oct. 23, 1983.

13. See Editorial in *The Nation*, Nov. 5, 1983; "American Imperialism: 'Any Part of the Earth'". See also *The Nation*, Nov. 12, which carries an article by former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, "Who is Next?"

November 28, 1983

COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory

Dear Colleagues:

The fact that the first shot of counter-revolution in Grenada on Oct. 19 was fired by the "revolutionaries" themselves, its Army, politically and militarily headed by Gen. Austin (plus Coard?)¹, demands that we take a deeper look at the type of revolution that erupted in Grenada in 1979. It is impossible not to be moved by the last words spoken by the leader of that revolution, Maurice Bishop, as, in utter shock, he looked at the Army shooting into the masses who had just released him from house arrest: "My God, my God, they have turned the guns against the people."

That does not free us from seeing the stark fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the revolutionary Party-Army-State. That first shot opened the road for the imperialist U.S. invasion that, it is true, lay in wait from Day One of the revolution. This, however, in no way absolves the "Party" of its heinous crime. The fact that Castro -- though an "internationalist" who spelled out his solidarity in concrete acts such as sending Grenada doctors and construction workers, teachers as well as military advisers -- nevertheless failed to develop the ideas that were at stake, left the masses unprepared for ways to confront the divisions within the leadership that would have gory consequences on Oct. 19.

Instead of Castro focusing on a theory of revolution, he substituted and based himself on what he called the "principle of non-interference in internal affairs." He proceeded to praise Bishop for adhering to that "principle" by not asking for help in the leadership disputes -- as if these were mere matters of "personality" and merely "subjective", rather than the result of the objective pull backward because the revolution itself was barren of a philosophy. Castro disregarded the dialectics of revolution -- that is to say, the digging into what was coming from below, the mass consciousness, its reasoning. Instead, both he and the Grenadian leadership reduced ideas of freedom to "subjective, personality" matters.

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Naturally, the savage, unprovoked, long-pre-ared-for imperialist invasion and conquest of Grenada made it imperative to expose its "Pax Americana" nature and intensify all our activities to get US imperialism (with its East Caribbean stooges) out of Grenada.

The Dec. 1983 N&L Lead-Editorial which was devoted to this, is, in fact, Part One of this study of the counter-revolution and revolution in Grenada. Indeed this could be seen from its very title and sub-titles that point to the fact that the ramifications of Grenada are by no means limited to the Caribbean, or even the whole Third World, but are so global that the whole question of war and peace in a nuclear world actually touches the very question of the survival of humanity. Here is the way it appeared in N&L:

Reagan's Imperial Invasion and Conquest of Grenada

THE THREE-WAY DRIVE TO WAR: GRENADA, ENDLESS MILITARIZATION,
RETROGRESSION ON BLACK RIGHTS

The Lies Begin

The Lies Multiply

The Reagan Style of the Brezhnev Doctrine Reveals Its
Anti-Black Nature

Ramifications: Revolutionary Perspectives vs. Global War

The points that need to be added since the N&L article are: 1) the hypocrisy of Thatcher's "opposition" to the American invasion, and 2) her collaboration with the American occupier for re-establishing imperial dominance and attacks against indigenous revolutionaries. Presently, Thatcher's Britain is giving Reagan more than just the fig-leaf of Governor-General Scoon to establish "legitimacy". Maj. Robert Keeny has become the military adviser-- that is to say the military leader-- above Scoon. Along with him is Anthony Rushford, the very one who drafted the neo-colonial Constitution of independence in 1974 that the 1979 revolution abolished. Those ideological twins, Reagan and Thatcher, are working hand-in-hand in re-establishing imperialist dominance over Grenada.

As the New York Times' correspondent, David Schribam, reported on Nov. 13: "In less than two weeks American military personnel have pervaded Grenadian society from the hospitals to immigration service ... They are doing the things governments ordinarily do". No wonder that, like a typical imperialist occupier, Capt. George Wright thinks it was correct to throw Bishop's Attorney General Kenneth Raddix into an isolation chamber, which could be entered only by crawling through

a knee-high door and which he was unable to keep dry as it was raining. Rationale for such uncivilized behavior? He said that Raddix was "an instigator in spreading bad will among the people in public places". The "bad will" consisted of telling the truth: Grenadians are suffering "under the heavy boot of U.S. imperialism... The presence of foreign forces on our soil violates Grenadian sovereignty (and) international law".

In opposing the American imperialist invasion, and demanding the evacuation of all foreign troops from Grenada, we must not simply limit ourselves to actions of solidarity. Indeed, we must also not only criticize Gen. Austin and the whole military "Revolutionary Council", who are to be brought to account, but also look at the 1979 revolution, both positively and negatively. That becomes of the essence now, if we are ever to stop counter-revolutions from arising within revolutions. In the half-century since the transformation of Russia into a state-capitalist society we have become witness to such degeneracy that an ideological debate is ended by murder.

The fact that these horrors can happen even where there is no material base for counter-revolution as there was in Stalin's transformation of a workers' state into a state-capitalist society, and where, as in Pol Pot's Cambodia, counter-revolution is spelled out as outright genocide against your own people-- and that in the name of revolution!-- demands that we never shut a relentless critical eye to all aspects of revolution and not just leave it at opposing imperialism. Nor must we limit it "internally" to bringing a General Austin to account, but also look at revolutionaries who, though they are now reaping the whirlwind, had helped shroud the void in philosophy with the absurd reductionism of "non-interference in internal affairs".

What history shows is that once the road to revolution seeks shortcuts, the revolution itself remains unfinished. What we see when the philosophy of revolution is separated from actual, social revolution is the attempt to force the concept of revolution through the barrel of a gun. That is what we saw in Grenada. This cries out for a totally different attitude to a philosophy of revolution; without that no revolution can fully self-develop. What happened in Grenada can illuminate the contradiction of contradictions -- counter-revolution from within revolution. It becomes necessary to trace the Grenadian Revolution from its start in 1979 -- the year also of the Iranian Revolution, which likewise ended in a Khomeini-type of counter-revolution!

"We Tried to Tell the People to Use Their Own Consciousness"

There is no doubt that the fact that it took less than 12 hours for the 1979 bloodless revolution² to overthrow the neo-colonialist regime headed by Eric Gairy and the newly-titled Sir Paul Scoon as "Queen's representative"-- the ceremonial Governor General-- proved that it was indeed a spontaneous expression of the popular will of the Grenadian people. That over-riding truth has had such a sturdy and creative presence for four and a half years that even today, as the Behemoth U.S. invader and occupier keeps pouring vitriolic attacks on Prime Minister Bishop, the US has to admit that the hatred of the Grenadian masses is directed, not at Maurice Bishop, but at his murderer, Gen. Hudson Austin.

Fortunately, we had the privilege of hearing the thoughts of Bishop as expressed by himself for a period of 10 days when he was in the U.S. It is important to recognize that the Reagan administration withheld a visa from the Prime Minister of a small, independent Black nation, and that it was only through the lobbying efforts of Trans-Africa which invited Bishop to address them at their annual dinner, as well as the pressure of the Congressional Black Caucus, that the visa was finally issued at all.

The best-attended meeting-- the June 6 rally at Hunter College with 2,500 present and hundreds turned away-- heard a description of the whole four years of the Grenadian Revolution and saw how the whole question of the Black Dimension tied in directly with the revolution. Indeed, it was clear that that retrogressionist Pres. Reagan had recognized the affinity for, and influence upon, the 30 million Blacks in America witnessing the success of a tiny Black nation. In a word, Bishop's point about the significance of the success of the first revolution we saw in a Black English-speaking Caribbean country tied in directly with what I reported in the N&L Lead article both regarding the Oct. 13 press conference where Reagan made his outburst against Rev. King, and the firing of the Civil Rights commissioners on the day of the invasion. In a very crucial way, what Bishop was discussing as a matter of "English-language" was in fact a question not alone of Black or language, but of ongoing dialectics of revolution-- its forces and Reason.

Whether or not one fully believes Bishop's claim that "People are now involved in running the country"³, the fact is that the

Grenadian people had achieved better working conditions, more political rights than ever before-- experiencing a new way of life.

The Grenadian people were also beginning to be involved in writing a new Constitution. "This Constitution," said Bishop, in announcing the arrival from Trinidad and Tobago of the chairman of the committee to draft a new Constitution, "is not really going to look like the one the Queen gave us in 1974... That was one of the main reasons for the struggles of 1973-74, when so many of us were beaten and jailed". That neo-colonialist Constitution was amended by the totalitarian ruler, Gairy, in 1978, when he took away the workers' right to strike. That was the first law that was repealed by the 1979 revolution, which immediately passed a new trade union law which assured the workers' right to organize. At the same time the very first decree of the revolution outlawed sexual victimization and exploitation of our women in return for jobs".

Theoretically, the most important of the statements Bishop delivered when he was in the U.S. May 31- June 10 related to the two points he raised in the interview with the Village Voice. One concerned the question of "consciousness" of workers: "We tried to tell the people to use their own consciousness". The other point, in contrast to this, was the question of the consciousness of the leaders which had no such ambiguity as the one relating to the workers.

While we do not hear the thoughts of the workers, Bishop does trace the development of the leadership's consciousness in the 1950s and 1960s:

"There have been periods when I was attracted to a lot of the cultural nationalist material, frankly Frantz Fanon, Malcolm, various people like that... I would say that the entire leadership of the party and the government came out of a black power tradition, all of us... I don't think we moved beyond that until the early 1970s...

Certainly by that time, outside of the cultural nationalist question, we were beginning to read a lot of the most classical socialist works, and beginning to move outside just the question of blackness, around to a materialist conception of the world."

Q: "He's having an anniversary this year. (Laughter) The cursed name has not passed your lips. I think it begins with N."

A: (Laughter) "I'm trying not to say his name."

Laughingly or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, what came through from "trying not to say" the name of Marx was not the simple matter of "tactics" when visiting the imperialist land they rightly feared may be planning an invasion. Rather, it was first to become clear that critical week between Oct. 12 when the majority of the Central Committee voted to put Bishop under house arrest, and the savage, unconscionable, dastardly murder on the 19th of October as the masses struck for him and freed him from house arrest. That is what was inherent in what I referred to in the early part of this Letter, on what both he and Castro called "non-interference in internal matters" as a "principle", when what was actually involved, however, was a battle of ideas on the decisive question of Marx's Marxism, instead of acting as if Cuba or Russia are the Marxists. In this way revolutionary methodology-- the dialectics of revolution-- gets reduced to "conception of Leadership methods", and that is expressed as if a unified view permeated the entire leadership: "We feel that in many respects, Grenada is a true experiment in the whole theory and practice of socialism ... If we succeed in this path... there are going to be a number of lessons for other small, developing island states coming after us."⁶

It is nearly impossible to gauge the great shock Maurice Bishop must have experienced Oct. 19 as he became witness to the suddenly unbridgeable gulf of the Great Divide between leaders and ranks and within the leadership itself as the Party "turned the guns against the people" soon after they had freed him from house arrest. Soon his voice too was stilled by murder. It is precisely that moment that compels us to re-evaluate those three decades of history Maurice Bishop had analysed as his own self-development as well as that of the leadership, comparing it to the movements from practice the world over.

Responsibility of Revolutionary Marxists to return to Marx's
Marxism -- Marx's, not Engels; Marx's, not Lenin's; Marx's,
not Mao's nor its variant, Castro's; MARX'S MARXISM AS A
TOTALITY

The objective as well as the subjective truth of these past 30 years spells out the birth of a new historic age of human development -- a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. This took the form in 1950 of posing totally new questions when the U.S. miners, confronted with a new mode of production, Automation, asked: 'What kind of labor should man do? Why should there be a total division between thinking and doing?' The following year it took another form in Grenada, when a former oil-worker, the young Eric Gairy (a very different person from the Gairy after he was in power) organized what he called the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union. In 1952 the movement from practice took spontaneous shape in Latin America in the Bolivian Revolution, where the miners and the peasants fought as one to rid the country of dictatorship. In 1953 it was seen in East Germany when, for the very first time from under totalitarian Communism, the workers took to the streets against both "work-norms" and political tyranny, as they pulled down the statues of Stalin and demanded "Bread and Freedom!"

Whatever the form it took, the historic new that characterized all of these revolts and heralded a new theoretical departure was this: the movement from practice is itself a new form of theory which gave the actions their direction.

What none but Marxist-Humanists saw as the transition point between the East German revolt of 1953 and the outright Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and its philosophy was revealed in two seemingly unconnected events in 1955: 1) In the U.S., the Montgomery Bus Boycott opened the Black Revolution in the U.S. and inspired a new stage of revolution in Africa as well. 2) In Russia, there suddenly appeared, in the main theoretical Russian journal, Questions of Philosophy (Vol. 3/ 1955), an academic-sounding article entitled "Marx's Working Out of the Materialist Dialectics in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of the Year 1844." It was an at-

tack on Marx's Humanist Essays, contending that the young Marx had not yet freed himself from Hegelian mysticism and its "negation of negation." What the state-capitalist rulers calling themselves Communists had become oppressively aware of was the mass unrest, especially in East Europe. What they feared most was a new uprising.

Simply put, although the Russian theoreticians chose to shroud the philosophic phrase in mysticism, ever since Marx had materialistically "translated" the Hegelian dialectic of negativity as the philosophy of revolution, "negation of the negation" stood for an actual revolution. What the Russians feared most is exactly what erupted in Hungary in 1956. And it was the Hungarian Revolution that removed the young Marx's Humanist Essays from the dusty archives and brought them onto the living historic stage, so that all became witness to Marx's first discovery of a whole new continent of thought which he had called "a new Humanism," and which spelled out Reason and Revolution.

As against the tired Western intellectuals who designated the decade of the 1950s as the "end of ideology," that period was in fact the threshold to a whole new Third World and a whole new generation of revolutionaries. By then, there was, indeed, no part of the world -- from Africa to the U.S., from East Europe to Latin America -- where the movements had not declared themselves to be Humanist. We should not forget that Castro, too, in "History Will Unsolve Me," had declared Cuba's 1959 revolution to have been "Humanist." A great deal more profoundly, in 1961, Frantz Fanon -- who never stopped at mere sloganeering, and who had thrown away his French citizenship to integrate himself into the Algerian Revolution -- developed a total philosophy of Humanism as both a world concept and a fact in his magnificent Wretched of the Earth.

The 1960s were certainly filled with activity, activity, activity. Theoretically, however, what really predominated was the search for short-cuts to revolution. Each attempt resulted in the transforming of a country's particular experience into a "universal." In the case of Mao -- who, with the success of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, became the inspiration for all guerrilla fighters -- his

rhetoric about "continuous revolution" was truncated by: 1) its confinement within the framework of the Thought of Mao; and 2) the peasant army surrounding the cities, including its proletariat. In the case of Cuba, it was the concept of focoism plus "Leader Maximum."

Just as the empty rhetoric of the 1960s about picking up theory "en route" led only to defeats, so particularized "internationalism" proved to be no more than narrow nationalism, East and West. The high point in each case -- whether China's "Cultural Revolution" or France's May, 1968 -- turned out to be its actual demise and one more aborted revolution. The defeats of the 1960s did, however, make us all oppressively conscious of the lack of philosophy and created a new passion for philosophy. At the same time, the 1970 movement from theory failed to meet the challenge that arose from practice. The tragedy of Grenada -- its counter-revolution emerging from within the revolutionary leadership itself -- can help to illuminate that problematic if, at the same time, we dip into the newness of the 1970 revolts, and measure that against Marx's Marxism as a totality.

in the 1970s
It was possible to have a much greater appreciation of that word, "totality," as it relates to Marx's Marxism because, in 1972, Marx's Ethnological Notebooks were finally transcribed. They proved that, far from Marx's last decade having been hardly more than a "slow death"⁸, it was the very period when Marx developed "new moments" of creativity in relationship to what we today call a Third World and what Marx, in the 1850s, called the Asiatic Mode of Production. In that last decade of his life that question became interwoven as well, not only with the latest anthropological studies and with the question of women's rights among the Iroquois and other pre-capitalist societies, but also with the whole question of revolution as it touches the relationship of technologically advanced and technologically backward societies.

It is true that we knew, in part, some of this as it was reflected in those fundamental additions Marx introduced into the French edition of his greatest theoretical work, Capital, even as we knew

that 1875 was the year when Marx raised the question of organization in the Critique of the Gotha Program. What was totally new, nevertheless, once the unknown Ethnological Notebooks could be read in and for themselves, was the light they cast on the whole question of revolution itself. The problematic of this age is what happens to the concept of revolution when the concrete problem you have to resolve is the relationship of technologically advanced countries to technologically backward lands. Nor can this possibly be separated from the fact of forces of revolution -- that is, the relationship of peasantry to proletariat. In grappling with this, Marx projected the idea that revolution could come first in a backward country because you already had the agricultural form of commune.

We will return to this question as it points to a very opposite view from Lenin's vanguard Party concept, but what is more cogent for us here, precisely because it is concrete for our age, is the fact that Marx delved into his study of pre-capitalist society after he completed the first edition of Capital, and the fact that our age is grappling with this as a whole new Third World has made its appearance on the revolutionary stage. This not only gives totality a new meaning but opens all sorts of new doors. As I put it in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, Marx's last decade contains a trail to the 1980s.

Let us look at the new questions raised in the revolutions of the 1970s and how Marx's last decade illuminates them: 1) It was during the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 that apartidarismo (non-partyism) was raised. It was in his 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program that Marx, in a deeply philosophic way, had raised not only the question of form of organization but its relationship to the philosophy of revolution.

2) The question of Women's Liberation was raised not only as Idea whose time had come but as Movement, both in the U.S. and in Iran. (Indeed, Mendelane had put that question on the agenda in the Mozambiquan revolution even earlier.)⁹ Again, it was in his last decade that Marx had raised the question of women's rights in the primitive form of the Iroquois nation, even as he had

practiced the concept of Woman as Reason from the earliest days of the First International.

3) When Maurice Bishop raised the question of internationalism he specified the Caribbean and stressed that what Grenada could contribute to the whole question of the theory and practice of revolution was to point the path "for all small countries coming after us." But it was precisely in that last decade that Marx was developing his principle of internationalism as in no way separated from the theory of "revolution in permanence."

Indeed, nothing is more urgent at this very moment than to raise the question of Dialogue, of Discussion, to a whole new height as a theoretical preparation for the dialectics of revolution itself.

Therein lies the rub. That is exactly what has been missing on the part of all practitioners of instant Marxism as they become masters of substitution and reduce a philosophy of revolution, a Marxist revolutionary methodology, to "leadership methods," whatever that means. Without a philosophic vision, much less listening to the voices from below, ^{all} the majority of the Central Committee in Grenada could come up with was being opposed to the alleged "one-man rule" of Bishop, whom they hurried to expel from the Party and put under house arrest -- without any thought about the consequences, either from the masses whom Bishop had led since the 1979 Revolution, or from the imperialist enemy poised for invasion. Unfortunately, Bishop, who did enjoy the confidence of the masses and was, indeed, freed from house arrest by them, had not dug into the differing tendencies within those who held "a materialist conception of the world." He had not brought into the consciousness of the masses nor shared with international colleagues the disputes which were wreaking havoc in revolutionary Grenada.

What are the responsibilities of revolutionary leaders in these new 1970s revolts, as differing tendencies emerge? Maurice Bishop thought it sufficient to accept one pole -- a statist-Communist Cuba. At the 6th Pan African Congress in 1975, an Afro-American, Baraka, declared theory to be "an ideology with three cutting edges -- nationalism, Pan-Africanism, socialism" as if, again, there were only one kind of "socialism." There was a third view, a critical

view which tried to address the question of conflicting tendencies within the movement. I'm referring to Bukka Rennie's "The Conflicting Tendencies in the Caribbean Revolution."¹⁰ He goes so far in concretizing the objective situation that he concludes not only with the theory of state-capitalism, but shows that "the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has become a bureaucratized elitist party which in fact is the vanguard of a new class formation."

When one has been that comprehensive in the study of the objective world situation, developing it over 22 pages to show that Stalinism is indeed a new, non-working class, enemy "class formation" -- state-capitalism, how can one nevertheless conclude that when it comes to the concrete situation in the Caribbean ("in Trinidad and Tobago"), Caribbean Stalinism and Revolutionary Marxism "are not hostile to each other..." Worse is his irresponsible conclusion: "And since everyone seems to be able to prove his position theoretically, practice among the masses can be the only deciding factor" !

The theoretician had not been able to move from what he was against (Stalinism) to what he was for -- how to begin anew. Though Rennie's movement in Trinidad did call itself New Beginning he evaded the task of philosophically restating Marxism for one's own age, on the grounds of all the new Humanist beginnings of the Third World. Instead, he shifted the whole responsibility for that to the shoulders of the proletariat, to "practice" -- when it has been precisely the movement from practice which has shown itself to be a form of theory by raising all these new points of departure, and which demands that the theoreticians meet that challenge.

Rennie does say that, instead of the elitist party, the New Beginning Movement prefers not to declare itself to be the Party. But is it just a question of form of organization as against the Single Party State that has kept us shackled? Isn't the key to the present question of the dialectics of revolution and of thought the battle of ideas not merely among the leadership but within the masses who think their own thoughts? The new relationship of practice to theory is rooted in what workers do and what they think. The aim is to achieve a new unity of theory and practice. Not only did the 1970s revolts not achieve that, but in Grenada the differences

among the leaders ended in outright murder.

Bukka Rennie placed the Black Power movement of the 1960s on the same level as the 1917 Russian Revolution -- totally ignoring the fact that it not only never reached the profound depth and breadth of November 1917, but that none had even attempted the kind of philosophic re-organization Lenin did when he broke with his own philosophic past and articulated Marx's view of smashing the bourgeois state to smithereens, recreating Marx's work on the Paris Commune and Critique of the Gotha Program for his own age as State and Revolution.

Clearly, it is C.L.R. James' theory which Bukka Rennie is expounding. Far from concretizing theory as the practice of revolution, CLRJ began rewriting history¹¹, urging the youth to place abstract unity above the battle of ideas, and claiming that he and George Padmore "never quarrelled." CLRJ and Padmore, however, not only "quarrelled" but took very different roads both in theory and in fact. James' claim is not only an untruth -- it is an evasion of the determinant -- the unity of dialectics of liberation and of theory. That is the task that confronts us. Letting these questions hang loose, not talking about them, not seeing where differences would lead, brings about the death of the dialectic, both in thought and in act.

What we are now confronted with is the stark fact that in Grenada keeping quiet about differences within the leadership was resolved with the savage, brutal, irrational, counter-revolutionary murder of the leader. It is true that a small part of the search for shortcuts reflected ^{the workers'} impatience to do away with the exploitative, racist, imperialist society. But the greater truth is that, like all intellectuals, those leaders suffered from the preoccupation of all elitists -- giving the answer "for" the workers. It meant an evasion of theory as well as of the fact that the movement from practice is a form of theory.

It is this which we traced through the actual revolts of the early 1950s as we greeted the three new paths to freedom that were seen in the Hungarian Revolution, the Montgomery Bus Boycott,

and the revolts in the Russian forced labor camps in Vorkuta. Marxism and Freedom was structured on the movement from practice not alone in our age but from the age of revolutions 1776, 1789 -- and on the Hegelian dialectic from then to today. What predominated, however, was the question that tore at the vitals of all revolutionary movements: "What Happens After" power is achieved. The decentralized committee form instead of the vanguard "Party to lead" seemed to be the answer. We found that, however, to be only part of the answer once the turbulent 1960s and their decentralized activism led only to unfinished revolutions because it was devoid of philosophy.

In Philosophy and Revolution, where we returned to the Hegelian dialectic in and for itself and to Marx's dialectics of revolution, we tried to articulate "Why Hegel? Why Now?" for our age. And it was the 1970s, which finally revealed Marx's work as a totality, that led to the return to Marx's Marxism -- Marx's, not Engels' ; Marx's, not Lenin's; Marx's, not Mao's nor its variant, Castro's. In a word, Marx's "revolution in permanence" is ground not alone for theory but also for organization.

There can be no successful revolution without an historic sense both of past and present, of a battle of ideas, a clearing of heads not for any academic purpose but with full realization that a serious Marxist discussion is needed as preparation for revolution and its deepening once the first act of overthrow of the old has been achieved. When, instead, revolutionary methodology is reduced to "leadership methods," individual or collective, the very basis not only of theory but of the revolution itself has been lost. That is what happened in Grenada.

-- Raya Dunayevskaya

FOOTNOTES:

1. Whereas all the press refers to Coard as the real "mastermind", nothing had been heard from Coard himself in that critical week between the arrest of Bishop and the murder of Bishop. Quite the contrary, according to the minutes of the Central Committee which were published by the U.S. imperialists (and at least this single fact is substantiated by all the material we have), Coard resigned on Oct. 12-13. Throughout the period after that day, which was also the day of Bishop's arrest, and up to today, we have heard nothing. He was definitely at a different place than Gen. Austin when the invasion took place.

On Oct. 17, Gen. Austin, speaking in the name of the Central Committee took to the airwaves about Bishop's house arrest, declaring "there has been no dispute over political and economic policies of the Party." At the same time he proceeded to announce that the Central Committee had voted to expel Bishop from the Party "to stop the steady growth of one-man rule in our Party and country." When the U.S. published excerpts from the minutes of the meetings of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement (see New York Times, Nov. 7, 1983) there were so many mistakes which displayed so much ignorance that it is impossible to take them at face value. Thus, even on the question of dates, one date is listed as October 1982 which must mean 1983, since 1982 would mean that Coard had resigned a full year ago, which flies in the face of all we know. Another date is the right year but the wrong month. The one fact that does come through is that the point at issue was what the minutes called "the quality of the leadership of the party and the Central Committee provided by Comrade Bishop..."

2. See the pamphlet issued by the church-based organization in Washington, D.C., ETICA: "Grenada: the Peaceful Revolution."

3. This quotation is from the interview conducted with Bishop by James Ridgeway and Alexander Cockburn, which appeared in the Village Voice, June 28, 1983 under the title: "The Caribbean is Sitting on a Volcano." Other speeches by Maurice Bishop were included in a special pamphlet, Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers, issued by Pathfinder Press. Of special note is the speech he gave June 5, 1983 at Hunter College in New York. See also his speech in London, printed in Socialist Action, May 6, 1983.

4. From Bishop's speech at Hunter College, June 5, 1983.

5. From interview in Village Voice, June 28, 1983.

6. Ibid.

7. Along with my 1961 pamphlet on Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions, see also the special Introduction to the Farsi edition, for an Iranian revolutionary's analysis of the 1979 Iranian Revolution in the philosophic-political context of this pamphlet. (English translation printed in N&L, Aug-Sept. 1983)

8. Whereas Mehring used this phrase, "slow death," and is credited with its formulation, it was Engels who so elaborated on the question that Marx was so ill he could not complete Volumes 2 and 3, that he gave strength to that attitude.

9. See Eduardo Mondlane's The Struggle for Mozambique. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1969).

10. Bukka Rennie's article appeared in the Pan African Journal, issued from Nairobi, East Africa, Summer 1975, Volume 2.

11. See C.L.R. James' new Appendix, written 1962, to his The Black Jacobins, and compare it to the original publication written in 1938. In his revised second edition James, at one and the same time, makes a totally new category of the West Indies as being unique unto itself, and paints Fidel Castro as the reincarnation of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

*P.S. (Jan. 7, 1984) -- After I completed this Political-Philosophic Letter on Grenada on Nov. 28, 1983, new material came out in the Left press which revealed that October 1982, as the date of the Central Committee meeting to which I referred in Footnote 1, was, indeed, the correct date. This had been thoroughly inconceivable to me, since it meant that it had not been a matter of a few days, or even a month, between the events of October 1983 and the time when the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement had first broached the question of what they called "the quality of leadership" -- at a meeting which had included both a criticism of Bishop and the resignation by Coard of one of the top positions he had held. Rather, it meant that during the entire year from October 1982 to October 1983 nobody outside of the Central Committee knew anything about the deep divisions within it. Worst of all -- because it is so lacking in both any philosophy of revolution and in any discussion of the direction the actual revolution was taking -- was the reduction of both of those questions to the question of which specific leader was to be chairman, all the while both Bishop and Coard never stopped praising each other during the meeting.

Special to News & Letters — An eyewitness report from Grenada

"No Bishop, No Revo., No Work": the mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop

Carol Green is a health care worker from Canada who had been in Grenada since August, 1983. She witnessed the overthrow of Bishop and the invasion by the United States. Below are excerpts of an interview News & Letters conducted with her.

Right from the moment Bishop disappeared people were not exactly sure he had been arrested or where he was. We really didn't find out too much except we thought that a faction led by Coard had placed him under house arrest. Bishop was no longer in control.

Everyone wanted to hear from Bishop. The thing you heard most of all was "Let's hear Bishop's side of the story. We want to hear him speak." On Saturday Kenneth Radix tried to lead a demonstration to release Bishop. He started to try and rally people in the main Market Square where everyone meets if there is anything to discuss. But he was arrested, and after that people were definitely scared of violence. You didn't hear anything all weekend. It was so strange, they just kept playing this apolitical, just ridiculous music.

THE MOVEMENT TO FREE BISHOP

By Monday people were really concerned that it didn't look like they were going to release Bishop; or that there would be an acceptable solution. People went to work on Monday, but not much happened. People didn't have their heart in their work. They did the minimum that needed to be done. It wasn't really normal. And once going to work they would talk about "the situation" as they called it.

On Tuesday, students flooded onto the airport. These were high school students, maybe some grammar school students, but I am sure they had the support of adults. They stopped the flights for between two and four hours. What people everywhere were chanting was, "No Bishop, No Revo., No Work," and "We want a leader." This airport is far from the capital. Students who lived close to the airport marched onto it, from different high schools in the area.

That night there was a rally in Fountinoy, the fishing village near the capital where I lived, it was really very exciting because people had been looking very unhappy and depressed, but they started to pick up that night.

They were in support of Bishop and against Coard. Cheers: "No Bishop, No Revo., No Work" and "No Coard, No Bishop." I think what happened in the village I lived in was typical of what was happening in other small villages. People figured Wednesday was the day, and all were getting up for it the night before. It went on all evening.

Wednesday morning I went to Market Square. I was there at the start when Unison Whiteman came into town. They cleared part of the street and all lined up in a line. They started off with some cheers. Whiteman made a little speech. He said they were going to get Bishop released. They had a few placards. With a great roar they all set off down the street. They started marching around town gathering people. They crowded just gathered and built and built. When I had first come to town I wondered whether people were going to gather and then it went just like a whirlwind.

People came from all over the island and all over the town. The streets were just full of people and still it kept growing and growing. I went up to the hospital so that I could look down upon it and it was amazing to watch people wind through the streets. Streets and streets full of people. And people were so happy. Everybody was talking about going to the "jump-up". The jump-up is a street dance at Carnival time. "You're not going to work are you?" "What are you doing at work. Come to the jump-up." Everybody was really excited and talking. They then

went up to Bishop's place which was just outside of St. George.

Bishop was released and the pitch got even higher. Everyone was ecstatic by then. They told how the army had fired guns over the heads of people, but they just kept going and released him. He had been tied to a chair or something and didn't have a shirt on. He hadn't slept or eaten very much since he had been under house arrest. That was five days. So he was very weak. They were going to take him to Market Square and have him speak to the people. But he was too weak so they decided to take him toward the hospital which was on the same hill as the fort.

THE ARMY STRIKES BACK

Everybody somehow ended up in the fort. But it didn't seem like a planned thing. Just with a huge crowd behind, that was where everyone ended up. There were just masses of people everywhere. I didn't hear the shots. Apparently they were up at the fort about an hour, had taken control, and were waiting for Bishop to speak. And then three armed cars came from somewhere else up the hill. People at the bottom of the hill thought they were firing over people's heads, but they fired right into the crowd. The stories are quite sickening after that.

It was just a crowd of average Grenadians. Everyone came back into town with their stories of what they had seen, of how they had jumped down over a cliff, of how they saw people shot. Everyone was crying a lot. Everyone who had been extremely high was just shot down to nothing.

Nobody knew at that time what had happened to Bishop and Whiteman and others. The radio said there would be an announcement at 10 p.m. The announcement came and it gave their version of what happened. The people listened to the broadcast and couldn't believe that they had killed all those leaders. Everyone was broken up over the whole thing. This was followed by the announcement that there would be a 24-hour curfew and that anyone on the streets would be shot. Here was their revolution and it seemed like in one afternoon the whole thing had been wiped out.

You can expect people to be demoralized. So I just couldn't believe the next morning when I got up and all these young people were standing out at the cross roads in the village, quietly defying the curfew. They were unarmed, grief-stricken and really determined. They were standing up. No one was making speeches. It was the quietest group of people you have ever seen. Everyone was standing there as if to say we aren't going to take this lying down. You can shoot us, but we're standing up. No one fired.

THE U.S. INVADES

Sunday they started making announcements that the country was going to be invaded. But people didn't really believe that. They didn't have much confidence in what was said over the radio. The government was trying to mobilize people against an invasion, but they had no confidence in the people. They couldn't really mobilize people because they were so against them. I heard people say things like Maurice Bishop is the only man I would follow. And Bishop is the only man who could get us together against the Americans.

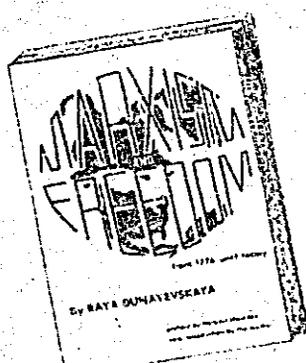
When the invasion happened people couldn't believe it. They kept seeing it getting worse and worse. All of a sudden you heard planes all over, which you never hear normally. It was hard to look into the faces of the adults, this being their country and there was nothing they could do. It was so out of their control.

Tuesday night was really awful when they landed on the beach at my village. It happened so suddenly. It seems like within ten minutes after we first saw them they were everywhere on the beach and through town. People peeked out of their windows to try and follow what was happening. Everyone had been terrified all night long, wide awake. After that, there were soldiers all over the place.

People were being questioned about who had a gun, who was in the army, who supported the government. And we saw one man who had been in the army, but had not been involved, being dragged off.

I didn't see anyone greeting Americans. They weren't being rude or anything, as they were under the gun. There were lots of refugees from the bombing. There was even talk that they were going to go through homes with a fine-tooth comb to make sure there were no guns and so forth. The taking away of people was going on in lots of places. On Friday, I left the country.

A Trilogy of Revolution



Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today discloses Marx's "new Humanism", both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movement of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason - Labor, Black, Youth, Women - of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution - be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World - that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

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