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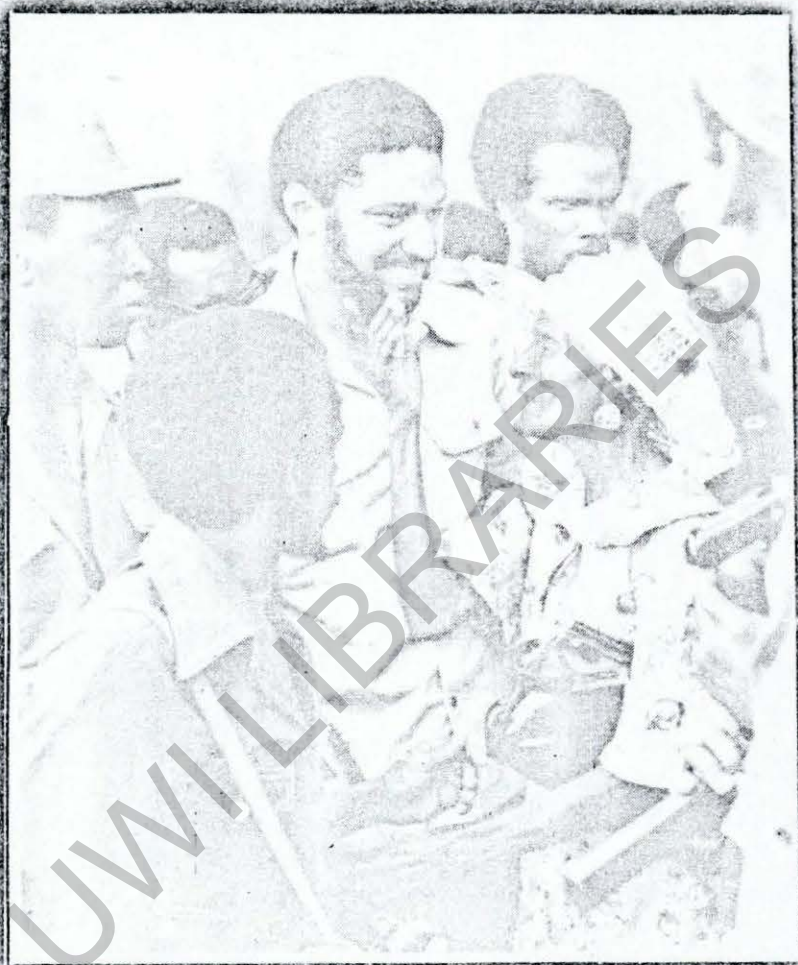
# FRONTLINE

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GRENADA — PARADISE UNDER SIEGE



RASTAFARI — An Afrikan's Perspective

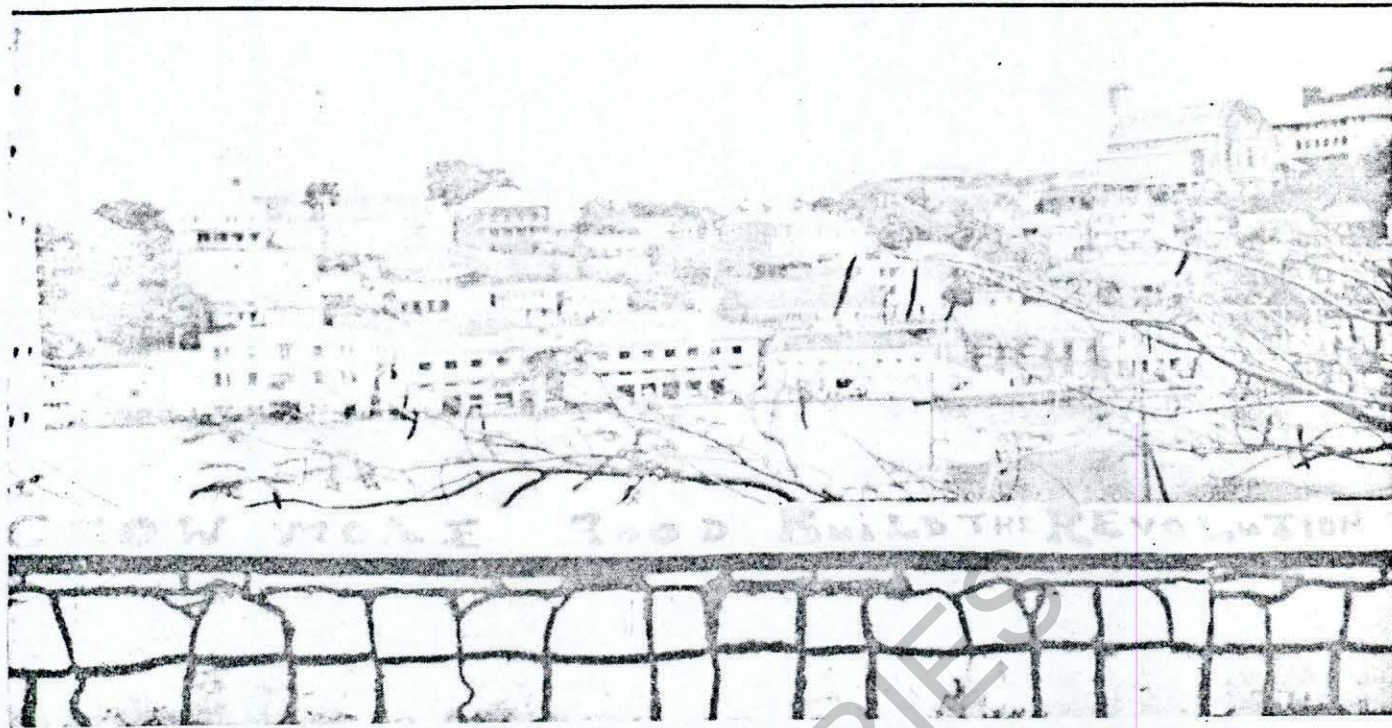
London's THIRD EYE Film Festival

HUGH MASEKELA

AFRIKAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

# GRENADA — PARADISE UNDER SIEGE

Amon Saba Saakana



The seeds of the recent conflict in Grenada which led to the murder of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, two other members of his cabinet, two trade unionists, and a large number of civilians lie in the nature and formation of the island's leading party, the New Jewel Movement. The 1960s have been responsible for spawning a number of political groupings and personalities that have seen maturity, disappointment or frustration in the 70s and 80s. That era was heralded ominously and climactically by the Black civil rights struggle in the U.S. with Martin Luther King, the churches, and a wide grouping of disparate political affiliations. The senseless killing and brutality that black people suffered at the hands of white racists played a seminal role in precipitating the Black Power Movement which saw Malcolm X, Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael), SNCC, the Black Panther Movement, Black Cultural Nationalism with Maulana Karenga and Amiri Baraka.

The message and meaning of this movement was effectively experienced in the Caribbean when Walter Rodney was banned from re-entering Jamaica after returning from the Black Writers Conference in Canada where he gave an analysis of the relevance of Black Power to Jamaica and the Caribbean (*Groundings With My Brother*, 1969). This led to widespread political dis-

turbances in Jamaica by both students and other members of the population; the army had to be called on to stem the tide of violent unrest. In 1969 the National Joint Action Committee was formed in Trinidad by Makandal Daga (the 'Geddes Granger'), which was again another umbrella organisation with a wide grouping of concerned citizens, but spear-headed by the Student Guild of the University of the West Indies at St. Augustine. This was a response to the sit-in by Caribbean students in Canada over the issue of racist professors. The consequence was that NJAC, with the population, nearly toppled the Eric Williams led government which was saved by the actions of the navy.

Maurice Bishop and Uison Whiteman were directly influenced by these struggles (as well as the local political climate) into action. They emerged initially as Black Power advocates. Whilst Bishop and Ken Radin had belonged to the Grenada Forum, an agitational group which folded in 1970, Bernard Coard was in London on the periphery of the Black Power Movement, attempting to come to terms with his own middle-class upbringing in relation to Britain's racism and attempting to put his teachers' experience into writing (*How the West Indian Child is Made Educational: Sub-Normal in the British School System*, 1970). This initial intro-

duction to political action would prove the pivotal turning stone in the lives of most of the people who made up the leadership of the New Jewel Movement and the PRG (People's Revolutionary Government).

After the Grenada Forum folded, MACE (Movement for the Advancement of Community Effort), headed by Bishop and Radin, came into being only to be merged into another group, MAP (Movement for the Assembly of Peoples) whose primary aim was the transformation of the Westminster parliamentary political system and the attainment of state power. The names of the preceding organisations graphically illustrate the political maturity and evolution of the people who headed them. In 1973, however, a new merger took place between MAP and the JEWEL group headed by Uison Whiteman which was rural based and involved itself with trade union struggles. They were now called the NEW JEWEL MOVEMENT and the leadership revolved around Bishop, Radin, Selwyn Strachan, Whiteman and Hudson Austin, formerly a police man and later construction engineer. One of the more far-reaching clauses in the NIM's manifesto was for "radically redistributing the land in Grenada into co-operative farms, no less than 40-50 acres in size". Bernard Coard had already left London and was in Jamaica lecturing where he came into

contact with Trevor Munroe (of the WPJ – Workers Party of Jamaica), a convicted communist who supported a classical Russian line on most issues.

The NJM now involved themselves in serious political issues and actions and were beaten, killed, jailed and victimised by UFO “chairman”, Eric Gairy and his Mongoose hit squad. What is significant at this stage is the realisation that the NJM co-ordinated political action from the popularity of the anti-Gairy sentiment which ran feverishly high in Grenada at the time. Both the business and middle-class sectors were against Gairy; so too was the church. Thus when state power was attempted on March 13th, 1979, and the NJM called on their supporters for participation, they received the required response and seized power decisively with only one death suffered by the resisters. Bernard Coard was already an important leader of the NJM by virtue of his unavailed self-confidence, political conviction, and the forcefulness of his personality. He was the one who created the Organisation for Educational Advance and Research, which functioned as an ideological organisation, fostering a split in loyalties to the leader, Bishop, and “the man of ideas”, Coard.

Coard’s Russian brand of socialism can be understood through his initial contact with Trevor Munroe – both succumbing to marxian orthodoxies through the validation of theory through written text. Black Power had no text. There were no committed theorists of any standing. The minute theory was conceived it fell into the straight jacket of the academy – an institution that Coard, with little emotional contact with the community, was a victim of. This ability to orate, to use words and to quote, in the end, was the convincing stone that created the divide within the NJM (*Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon, talks about this condition of the oppressed as victims of oratory.).

On the other hand, Bishop, though a university graduate, had an ability to hold mass audiences and to rap with them in a language that they understood. His charismatic personality, his ability to ole talk in a rum shop, or exchange views with a priest, is what kept him at the helm of his party. But he was a confessed catholic, and turned his eye to Coard’s determination for power and his ability to convince sections of the NJM of an ostensibly more “democratic” alternative of conducting business – shared power which would leave him effectively in control of the party and nation, and Bishop the popular rabel rouser.

Additionally, Coard was indefatigable and inexhaustible. He was the type of man who lived for a meeting, a rally, a discussion, and he had the discipline and the dedication to continuously secure his position. He was, for example, lecturing the army three



U.S. President Ronald Reagan with Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga

times a week at 5.30 in the morning. Bishop’s christian love for his fellow man over-rode his political astuteness. This issue of shared power was discussed again and again, but was never brought to the attention of the public, never brought to the people’s assemblies for a showing of vote. This crucial misjudgement and error on Bishop’s part was what led him to be placed under house arrest on October 13, and the people’s militia being disarmed one week before his return from Hungary and Czechoslovakia, and key supporters being arrested.

Coard’s inner group was elitist in nature – it contained the officered class, not the rank and file. They were elite in every way – in training, in ideology and in education and committed to Coard. They, obviously, were the most sophisticated element of the army, carried the most sophisticated weaponry and were disciplined enough to use them when called upon. Strachan Phillips, for example, a Grenadian who lived in London in the 1960s and 1970s, was an ardent supporter of the NJM, and resisted an element of the NJM during the Gairy days to set up a government in exile in Britain. Phillips not only supported the NJM with his time, but with financial support, and finally left Britain after selling his house, to work in Grenada with the NJM. Probably because of ideological differences he was perceived by Coard and his cohorts as a “reactionary”, accused of treachery, his house surrounded and an elite core of officers led an attack with machine guns and bazookas, killing Phillips.

Much of the hysteria and paranoia of the PRG was justifiable in the desire by the imperialists to attack and topple the regime. But clearly, in some cases, the PRG over reacted. The case of Kenny Budlal is another in point. Having been a dying NJM supporter and playing a curial role in keeping

members of the NJM alive under Gairy, he was locked up when NJM came to power. The reason was his challenge to the PRG to fulfill their pledge of redistribution of disused farm land. He threatened the use of force on this issue if the pledge was not fulfilled. These were elements of the PRG’s character that were beginning to have some effect on sectors of the population. Undoubtedly, however, due to Bishop’s personality, he was able to keep the grumbling in check, not allowing it to spill over into factionalism. But it is this predilection for sustaining grievances within that led to his down fall.

Bishop was under house arrest for one week with no real statement emerging from the cabinet about the situation. The population became concerned and freed him in October 19. 12,000 people marched to free Bishop, and according to Allister Hughes, a formerly imprisoned journalist, they showed their vote. They clearly voted for Bishop. He was guarded by six members of the PRG who fired over the heads of the masses, but offered no resistance. Bishop was found in his bedroom in his under pants looking tired and emaciated. He was dressed and walked out the house but collapsed. He was assisted by two guards, crying and repeating “The masses, the masses”. He was then taken to a lorry, then a van, and was driven to Fort Rupert. A call was made at the Fort to a nearby hospital for doctors and nurses to come over. Trade unionists Vincent Noel and Fitzroy Bain came over; Jacqueline Creft, Bishop’s wife and mother of his child, was present with her mother and Bain’s wife. They joined Bishop in an officer’s room. Bishop then telephoned Capt. Chris Stroude, Lt. Lester Redhead and a few others to come to the Fort.

Before Bishop could address the

large crowd outside, soldiers arrived in two armoured cars and two trucks. They dismounted and fired into the crowd, and separated the ordinary civilians from members of the cabinet and other key people. Vincent Noel already had his legs shot off, and they were all taken away after the crowd dispersed, lined up against a wall and murdered. Bishop, Whiteman, Creft (Education Minister), Noel and Bain. Others were killed, figures being given at 150. Bain's wife heard the gun fire and said after it subsided "There was a shower of rain". The series of events as described above was given by Osborne Alexander, a former quartermaster in the PRA (People's Revolutionary Army). When Bishop had heard the shooting from upstairs in his room, he said, "They have turned the guns on the masses" as explosions engulfed the room and a friend lifted three feet in the air.

Whilst Bishop was held under house arrest, General Hudson Austin came on Radio Free Grenada and announced that Bishop was "expelled" from the cabinet for not sharing power with Coard. After Bishop's murder Austin was back on the radio imposing a dusk to dawn curfew until "further notice". The reason was not fear of reprisal, but to keep people in doors so that they would not discover the whereabouts of Bishop and the bodies of others murdered. When Austin revealed the names of the new regime, Captain Stroude and Lt. Lester Redhead were members. This showed that Bishop clearly did not know which members of the PRA were in support of him.

Austin then approached the Governor General and informed him of their actions - i.e., the seizure of power by murder and Sir Paul Scoon sanctioned it. He later personally revealed this on a television programme. Caricom, the Caribbean body modelled on the EEC, held an emergency meeting on October 22 until the early morning of the following day. George Chambers, the Prime Minister of Trinidad & Tobago, is the present chairman of Caricom and the meeting was held in Port of Spain. After some lengthy discussions a number of proposals were almost unanimously agreed to: (1) No external involvement in Grenada, (2) The Grenada situation should be resolved regionally, (3) Whatever actions taken should not breach the UN charter or international law and (4) Ultimately, to restore normality. In addition, Chambers put forward the Trinidad and Tobago position on Grenada which was a result of T & T's President, Sir Ellis Clarke, being in touch with Sir Paul Scoon. The importance of these proposals is that they saw precisely the moves that the US would make in mounting an invasion on Grenada. They were (a) Through contact with the GG, they (Caricom) should seek to establish a broad-based government and to hold



Sir Paul Scoon

early elections, (b) To send a fact-finding mission of Caricom nationals to Grenada, (c) To secure safety of foreign nationals, and (d) To deploy a peace-keeping force.

The meeting adjourned at 3.06 a.m. on October 23 and resumed in an hour. There-after a new set of proposals came into being in complete opposition to that which was agreed to before the recess. Chambers also stated that as Caricom chairman, he received no information from the OECS (Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States) that they intended to request US intervention.

On the morning of the 22nd of October, on invitation from the Revolutionary Military Council, two American embassy officials from Barbados, and the deputy head of the British High Commission there, David Montgomery, flew to Grenada to appraise the safety situation of their nationals. Montgomery spoke at length with Paul Scoon who never once intimated that military action should be undertaken. On the same day the US diverted two aircraft carriers and ten warships of 1900 marines bound for the Lebanon to Grenada. One of the diverted aircraft carriers was *Guam*, the mother-ship. Britain also diverted a destroyer from the Falklands to Grenada in defence of British citizens "whose evacuation might become necessary".

Guyana had alerted the military council in Grenada of an imminent invasion by the US. Telexes were then sent to an old Foreign Office telex number in London which was now being used by Scanplast, a Scandinavian company. An official of Scanplast immediately telephoned the FO on October 21 with the message of the telex and was told to place it in an envelope and post it. Another telex arrived at Scanplast appealing to Britain to raise the matter at the UN. The official again telephoned the FO and was dictating its contents over the telephone when interrupted by an FO official who told Scanplast that she was not a shorthand writer and that he



Amphibious landing by U.S. marines at Yaguajay, Puerto Rico during the invasion of Grenada. Marines used new laser rocket (RPG) in simulated attack.

ought to place the telexes in a plastic bag and leave it on the front door of the FO.

To most people this episode of buffoonery may look like a Mickey Mouse cartoon, but with long experience of British policy, the procrastination involved was a direct order not to receive any information giving forewarding of an invasion. This would wipe the hands of the British in any involvement in US foreign policy or any notion of collusion with the invading force.

At 5.40 a.m. on October 25th, the US invaded Grenada by bombing from a warship at sea and by helicopter. The first casualties were patients at a mental institution in St. Georges. The crack 82nd Airborne Division, along with US rangers spearheaded the attack. The US also landed marines and troops at St. Vincent, St. Lucia and Barbados and they swiftly took control of Grantley Adams airport. Eyewitnesses reported that the airport looked like a US military base, which it was in fact.

One of the first things that the US did was to secure Paul Scoon from his colonial mansion. Why was this? We already know that Scoon sanctioned the military council after the liquidation of cabinet ministers and prominent trade unionists. We also know that he saw American and British officials three days before the invasion and never intimated any apprehensions. It is now public knowledge that the palace was in touch daily with Paul Scoon, and later, when the American intervention was in the open, there was a silent but open dispute between the palace and Downing Street. Mrs. Thatcher clearly knew of the invasion after her "five minute" telephone call from Ronald Reagan, but said nothing publicly. Scoon was, therefore, secured by helicopter to the American warship *Guam* in order to be briefed on what he would say on the sequence of events as they were imagined to have happened.

Later, on October 27th, Barbados PM, Tom Adams, said that as early as



October 15th, he was visited by American officials who told him of their plans to invade Grenada and "free" Maurice Bishop. He said, after the mock furor in Britain and mass demonstrations around the world, that the US asked him to invite them to invade. No telex or telgrams were sent by Scoon to Eugenia Chares, the prime minister of Dominica. Charles colluded with the US in executing, not hatching, this plan, and stood like a slavish creep, bowing her head, as Ronnie Reagan announced to the US nation and the world his reasons for invading Grenada. Reagan claimed that Grenada was a Russian/Cuban satellite country intent on spreading communism in the Caribbean, that the lives of the American hostages were threatened and that Grenada's new airport at Point Salines was being built for military purposes. He also gave as his principal reasons for invasion the forestalling of further chaos and the restoration of law, order and democracy. The latter two were the identical proposals made at the Caricom conference by George Chambers who ruled out the use of force.

It is clear, therefore, that the American invasion was simply to humiliate and crush the development of a political consciousness that was attempting to free itself from capitalism, imperialism, and the position of the black man in the world. In Britain, the deft Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, repeatedly refused to condemn Reagan's warmongering style, saying that there were "two ways of seeing the situation" and that he hoped that "something can be salvaged from the actions that were taken".

By October 26th the US force had increased by 1000, in addition to 300 soldiers from Caribbean countries: Jamaica, 120, Dominica, 130, Barbados, 50, and others from the OECS. On October 27th, the *Guardian's* Grenada correspondent reported seeing two helicopter gunships, two A7 corsairs and three jets flying over St. George's attacking targets "including...the prime minister's hilltop office, Buter House, which burned on into the night..." A non-military target.

On October 28th, the *Guardian* reported on Mrs. Thatcher's response to an enveloping criticism of her policies: she was concerned with the survival of "the western alliance" rather than with "the Anglo-American differences over a tiny West Indian island".

ON October 29th, Reagan announced that the "task force" was being doubled to 6000 troops in Grenada. Grenada had an army of 1000, yet the US had a force six to one with superior fire power which still could not contain the resisters. The US, sensing the stiff opposition, began to unconditionally state that Cuba had nearly 1200 people in Grenada, all of whom were trained combatants. Cuba rebutted this point blank and stated the number to be 784 of which some 42 were training officers for the Grenadian army. After the war, Cuba was proved correct, and the US experienced no embarrassment after shipping a number of dead Grenadian soldiers to Cuba as dead Cubans. The US administration thus deliberately, for propaganda purposes, over stated the number of Cubans in Grenada.

The US announced that only three helicopters were shot down and six died, but again, after the war, independent journalists reported seeing at least 20 helicopters in a state of destruction, and a conservative estimate of 42 US dead. Propaganda, therefore, was an intrinsic aspect of the US invasion. Colonel Jimmy Ashworth was the head of the US "psychological operations" and the first thing he did was to publicly announce that Britain was sending "a destroyer to assist in the rescue". Ashworth also ordered announcements in Spanish telling the Cubans that this was not their fight and that they would be given a safe journey home if they surrendered. Ashworth also displayed posters of Coard, his wife Phyllis, and Austin which had a big X across them saying "These criminals attempted to sell Grenada to the communists", etc. They also walked the streets with loud-hailers imploring the people to "protect your hard-won freedom - send Cubans back to Cuba".

Is it any surprise, therefore, that the masses of people in Grenada interpreted the American intervention as being in support of their revolution by knocking off the baddies? Whether or not the people of Grenada are aware of the fact that the American "support" of the revolution amounted to a mock invasion in the early part of August, 1981, is yet to be known. The operation was code-named "Ocean Venture 81" on an island code-named Amber and the Amberdines (Amber was an actual name of a coastal area in Grenada, and the Amberdines were nothing but the Grenadines: Petit Martinique and Carriacou). The latter was officially described as "our enemy in the Caribbean" and the invasion took place on the island of Vieques,



near Puerto Rico, where several Caribbean governmental officials were invited to observe the operation. It even had as its goal the "security of American citizens". Precisely the same reasons that were used against Grenada, despite the St. George's Medical School's principal initially saying that there was no danger to them, despite the US visit on October 22nd.

On November 8th *The Times* published a letter from the managing director of Plessey Airports, D.S. Collier, who was responsible for building the airport for Grenada, in which he rebutted Reagan's mad assertions that the airport was being erected for military purposes. He said that this could not be so because (1) four storage tanks for aviation and motor vehicle uses were located above ground making it an "act of unbelievable stupidity", (2) that the length of the runway was not excessive for civil use because Boeing 747 aircraft must have a minimum length runway of 9000 feet which Grenada had. He also stated that eight OECS countries had comparable or longer runways than Grenada. He ended by saying that the airport was being built to satisfy standards set by the International Civil Aviation Organisation and the Federal Aviation Authority which is a US organisation.

Thus the Grenada issues can no longer be confused with Communism VS The Free World (read Capitalism), but a clear issue of self-determination by a state and the ensuing geo-political hemispheres of influence that were at stake. To disrupt the capitalist economy of as small a nation as Grenada is to make inroads into an/Other way, an alternative. The madness of the Coard faction deserved to have been crushed or neutralised, but not by the US -- by Grenadians themselves since they have already demonstrated that they are more than capable of freeing themselves of tyrants.

Let us hope that the fire and vision of Maurice Bishop and comrades will be responsible for reshaping the new Grenada.

# NIGERIAN UNIVERSITIES

## Condemn US Invasion of Grenada

On behalf of the lecturers, teachers and researchers of the following universities in Nigeria:

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria;  
University of Ibadan, Ibadan;  
University of Jos, Jos;  
University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt;  
University of Nigeria, Nsukka;  
University of Maiduguri, Maiduguri;  
University of Ife, Ile-Ife;  
University of Sokoto, Sokoto;  
University of Lagos, Lagos;  
University of Calabar, Calabar;  
Bayero University, Kano;  
University of Benin, Benin;  
University of Ilorin, Ilorin;

the National Secretariat of the Academic Staff Union of Universities wishes to issue the following statement on the situation in Grenada.

At dawn on Tuesday, 25th October, American helicopters landed thousands of marines on the independent and sovereign Caribbean island of Grenada, a small independent nation state, 344 square kilometres in area, situated between St. Vincent and the islands of Trinidad and Tobago, and approximately 400 kilometres away from Venezuela on the South American mainland. By Saturday, 29th October, the number of American troops had risen to over 5,000, with 10,000 troops stationed offshore. The American imperialists claimed that the military invasion was necessary to restore 'democracy' in the light of the events of the previous week which culminated in the assassination of the Prime Minister, Maurice Bishop, and the military takeover of the government by "Marxist soldiers" headed by Hudson Austin, the commander of the Grenadian Armed forces. It should be noted that the assassinated Prime Minister was also a Marxist and had consolidated cordial relations with socialist countries within and outside of the Caribbean area, and particularly so with Cuba, an island a few hundred kilometres away. The invasion should however be seen as yet another violation of international law by the American ruling circles and is best understood in the context of the global onslaught by reactionary, backward and racist forces which are presently engaged in overt and covert subversive and anti-democratic activities around the world. It should be seen as a continuation of past interventionist and militaristic American actions which predated the Grenada invasion.

123

In this regard we may take note of the following cases of invasion and military occupation by American forces in the Caribbean area alone:

- 1900-1902 Invasion and occupation of Cuba
- 1903 Invasion of Panama
- 1904 Invasion of Dominican Republic
- 1906 Another invasion of Cuba
- 1909 Invasion of Honduras
- 1910 Invasion of Nicaragua
- 1912 Another invasion of Cuba
- 1914 Invasion of the Dominican Republic
- 1914 Invasion and occupation of Haiti
- 1916 Invasion and occupation of the Dominican Republic
- 1926-33 Invasion and occupation of Nicaragua
- 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba
- 1965 Invasion of the Dominican Republic

The United States Government has since 1960 attempted to extend this policy of international banditry to the African continent, with the 1965 landing of paratroops in Stanleyville (now Kisangani); the provision of transport planes to the Belgian Government in the 1977, and the 1978 Shaba massacres in Zaïre, her military intervention in Chad, and her continuous intimidation of Libya.

### Grenada: Historical Background

The American invasion of Grenada must further be seen as an attempt to reverse the revolutionary gains made over the last four years by the Grenadian people under the leadership of Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement which came to power on 13th March 1979. There was a victory against the pro-Western and backward dictator, Sir Eric Gairy, who was becoming increasingly despised and hated by the Grenadian people. The Grenada Revolution of 1979 should also be seen as the continuation of the anti-colonial struggle which goes back to the interwar period, heralding the emergence of organized political activity. By 1943 nationalist trade union activity had won important concessions from the British colonial state, culminating in the early 1950s in Eric Gairy's success in mobilising trade union and other popular forces to establish the Grenada People's Party which led Grenada to Crown Colony independence in 1974. But

Gairy, like many of the reactionary nationalist leaders emerging throughout the colonized world, failed to go beyond flag independence, and his surrender to imperialism and neo-colonial forces was complete. He and his party entered into open alliance with the most backward regimes including elements such as the Chilean fascist junta. His regime was brutal and as early as 1974 was almost brought down by a broad alliance of trade union, business and community organisations but for the rampant murders and assassinations of Grenadians by his personal death squad, the Mongoose Gang. The repressiveness of the Gairy regime, however, aroused in the Grenada population of revolutionary consciousness which culminated in the formation of the New Jewel Movement. Under the leadership of Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard this revolutionary party, made up of workers, peasants, petty traders and school children was developed and consolidated as the leading political force in the country. In 1979, The New Jewel Movement was able to overthrow the Gairy regime and in its place established a revolutionary Government which started to build people's organisations and an economy which was no longer under the control of a minority ruling group:

- (i) Land hitherto controlled by landlords was distributed to the landless people who were organised into co-operative farmers.
- (ii) Whereas before 1979 there were only three Grenadian students on state scholarship in the University of the West Indies, of which one was the daughter of Gairy, The New Jewel Movement gave more than 200 scholarships to Grenadians in the University. Free Education to Secondary level was implemented.
- (iii) The New Jewel Movement created a national health scheme.
- (iv) The New Jewel Movement nationalised foreign capital in the banking, industrial and commercial sectors.

### The Implications of the U.S. invasion of Grenada

The Grenada invasion has serious implications for the Caribbean and Africa. In the case of the Caribbean it confirms the commitment of the U.S.

government to the internationally totalitarian Monroe Doctrine of 1823 which claims absolute supremacy over all countries in North, Central and South America and the Caribbean and her right to interfere in the internal affairs of those countries. It is obvious that the liberation of the Caribbean, and Central and South America from United States aggression, domination and cowboy politics remains an urgent and pressing problem for the international community.

That a population of a mere 110,000 people, including children and old people, could fight on for several days against the military might of the United States is a testimony of the historic and heroic achievement of the Grenada revolutionary struggle. We note that even after the loss of their popular Prime Minister and three other government Ministers in an internal dispute, the Grenada peoples were able to carry out such a sustained struggle against the American invaders. This is no small achievement.

We further note that unlike South Korea, Vietnam, South Indonesia, Zaire and Chad, where the American government had internal allies, in the case of Grenada there was no opposition group to the New Jewel Movement on whose behalf the American government could intervene. Instead the American government had to mobilise other governments in the Eastern Caribbean, notably Jamaica, Barbados, St. Vincent and Dominica to carry out the invasion. These governments, it should be noted, are themselves minority governments which find it necessary to establish alliances with the United States to maintain their repressive control over their people. We recognize that it is in the interest of the United States to have a majority of the people of the Caribbean remain poor in order to be used as a source of cheap labour in the Caribbean, North America and Canada.

In relation to the Afrikan continent we note recent developments of a similar kind where there is an attempt to subvert those governments which are aspiring to serve the interests of the majority of the population. Recent developments of this kind are to be seen in Chad with the overthrow of the Goukouni Government, the threat of destabilisation of the Sankara regime in Upper Volta, the on-going invasions of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe by South African forces and the French intervention into the Comoro Islands, the Seychelles and Chad.

The application of the concept of the sphere of influence destroys the autonomy of all states of Afrika and the rest of the Third World to freely change their governments and restructure their societies as they see fit. It is in the light of the above that we adopt the following resolutions:

(1) We strongly condemn the

American invasion and demand the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops from Grenada;

- (2) We urge the international community not to recognize any regime set up by the American government and her surrogate countries in the Eastern Caribbean;
- (3) We urge the representatives of the New Jewel Movement to establish a government in exile;
- (4) We call on the international community to condemn any attempt by the American government to establish a military base in Grenada;
- (5) We condemn the hypocritical stand of the British Queen as the official head of State of Grenada in not urging Her Majesty's Government to militarily resist and restrain the American invaders;
- (6) We commend the Cuban Government for her continued support of popular forces in Grenada and console her for the loss of Cuban lives in Grenada;
- (7) We urge the people of the Caribbean and Latin America to continue to resist the nefarious Monroe Doctrine and its latter-day versions which say that the United States should determine the fate of the people of the Western Hemisphere and we condemn any attempt by the United States to subvert and undermine the on-going revolutionary struggles in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, Angola and Mozambique;
- (8) We condemn the inaction and silence of some Commonwealth members on such an important and vital issue and categorically condemn and dissociate ourselves from the shameful, stupid and psychopathic stance of the Liberian Government. We concur with the stance of the Zimbabwean, Zambian, Tanzanian and Ethiopian governments for their condemnation of the American invasion and their support for the Grenadian people. We call on other Afrikan governments to condemn the atrocious action of the U.S. Government;
- (9) We are puzzled by the silence of the Nigerian government and demand a clear and categorical condemnation of the American invasion and a clear statement of policy on the Caribbean;
- (10) We call on the Organization of Afrikan Unity to take a clear stand on defending the interests of black people in the Caribbean and elsewhere and call on progressive Afrikan Governments to organize an Afrikan Continental Force to fight invasions and subversive activities perpetrated by American and imperialist forces

in Afrika.

- (11) We condemn those governments in Afrika which have American and European troops, military bases and joint exercises with the American Rapid Deployment forces, notably Gabon, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Gambia, Central Afrikan Republic, Kenya, Sudan, Egypt, Somalia and Zaire;
- (12) We condemn Afrikan governments which adopt in the area of industry, commerce and agriculture, policies which tie their economies to European and American multinational agencies thereby providing the basis for psychopathic and sick regimes such as the Reagan administration to see Afrika as their private property and sphere of activity;
- (13) We stress that it is mandatory for Afrikan governments to promote the type of development in the area of agriculture, industry and commerce which would successfully harness the material and human resources of the continent for the welfare, freedom and security of the vast majority of the people on the continent;
- (14) We draw the attention of Afrikan Governments to the dangers to their national security and safety of having American citizens in their territories. We recall the dropping of paratroops in Zaire in 1965, and the abortive invasion of Iran in 1980. We impress on Afrikan governments the dangers to their freedom, independence and national security of harbouring American citizens and American businesses within their territories since they are used by the American government as an excuse for invading and subverting legitimate governments and popular movements;
- (15) We call on patriotic Afrikans to see the United States as a serious threat to the freedom and development of the Afrikan peoples and declare open struggle against American economic, political and cultural activities in Afrika;
- (16) We affirm our belief in the eventual triumph of democratic, popular and collective peoples struggle for freedom, dignity human development, and the elimination of disease, illiteracy and poverty in the Third World. We call on sympathetic and friendly peoples and governments to provide moral and material support to the fighting people of Grenada through the New Jewel Movement at home and abroad. We call on the United Nations and individual countries to impose bilateral and multilateral sanctions against the United States and its mad, murderous and evil Government.