

Treacherous Imperialist Aggression

Statement by the Communist Party of Cuba and the Cuban Government on the U.S. Intervention in Grenada

The painful internal developments in Grenada that brought about the death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other Grenadian leaders, are well known by all the people. In its statement the Cuban government explained in detail the unfolding of events and stated our country's unequivocal and honorable position regarding these developments while cautioning that imperialism would try to derive utmost benefit from this tragedy.

But, above all, it stressed the rigorous policy of Cuba of totally refraining from any form of intervention in the internal affairs of the Grenadian party and people.

After Bishop's death and Cuba's statements in this connection, relations between our party and the new Grenadian leadership were lukewarm and somewhat strained. But under no circumstances were we willing to play into the hands of imperialism, forsaking the Grenadian people by stopping our cooperation and halting the work of our construction crews, doctors, teachers and other specialists.

Future relations with the new leadership would be determined by its conduct, its domestic and foreign policy.

Due to the imminence of the U.S. aggression, comrade Fidel Castro sent the following message to the Cuban representatives in Grenada on October 22:

"I believe that organizing our personnel's immediate evacuation at a time when U.S. warships are approaching [Grenada] might be highly demoralizing and dishonorable for our country in the eyes of the world public opinion.

"A large-scale Yankee aggression against us can

take place at any moment, in Grenada against our cooperation personnel; in Nicaragua against our doctors, teachers, technicians, construction workers, etc.; in Angola against our troops, civilian personnel and others, or even in Cuba itself. We must always be ready and keep our morale high in the face of these painful possibilities.

"I believe that in the face of this new situation, we must strengthen our defenses, keeping in mind the possibility of a surprise attack by the Yankees. If the United States intervenes, we must vigorously defend ourselves as if we were in Cuba, in our camp sites, in our workplaces close by, but only if we are directly attacked."

The Cuban mission in Grenada was instructed to transmit to the Grenadian leaders the following:

"The political situation created inside the country due to the people's estrangement on account of the death of Bishop and other leaders ... considerably weakens the country's defense capabilities, a logical consequence derived from the serious errors made by Grenadian revolutionaries. Due to the above situation, the present military and political conditions are the worst for organizing a firm and efficient resistance against the invaders, an action which is practically impossible without the people's participation. It is necessary to find a way to reach a reconciliation with the people, perhaps one way would be to clarify the death of Bishop and the other leaders and seek out those responsible.

"The Grenadian government may try to prevent affording a pretext for intervention by publicly offering and reiterating full guarantees for the security and facilities for evacuation of U.S., British and other nationals.

"If, however, the invasion were to take place anyway, it is their duty to die fighting, no matter how difficult and disadvantageous the circumstances may be.

"The Cuban personnel have been instructed to remain in their camps and to continue the construction work at the airport. They are to adopt defensive measures and fortify their positions as much as possible in order to be prepared in case of a surprise foreign aggression."

On October 22, we sent the following message to the Government of the United States through its Interests Section: The U.S. side is aware of the developments in Grenada; it is also aware of our position on these developments and of our determination not to interfere in the internal affairs of that country. We, on our part, are aware of their concern about the numerous U.S. residents there. We are also concerned about the hundreds of Cuban cooperation personnel working there in different fields and about the news that U.S. naval forces are approaching Grenada. According to the reports we have, no U.S. or other foreign nationals nor our personnel have had any problems. It is convenient to keep in touch on this matter, so as to contribute to solving favorably any difficulty that may arise or action that may be taken relating to the security of these individuals, without violence or intervention in the country.

Two messages — of October 23 and 24 — advised the Grenadian leadership that if Grenada is invaded by the United States, the Cuban personnel will de-

fend their positions in their camps and working areas, that, in the present conditions, Cuban personnel have neither the means nor forces to undertake any other mission, nor the moral and international justification to do so in areas outside their work site.

The Government of the United States replied to the Cuban message almost three days later, when one and a half hours had elapsed since U.S. troops started their attack on Cuban personnel and three hours since they had begun their landing.

Cuban construction and cooperation workers, who practically had not even had time to dig trenches or to fortify their positions in the rocky terrain, were putting up resolute and heroic resistance.

In the evening of October 25, the following note was handed over to the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba, which said that Cuba did its best to prevent the intervention, that no U.S. or foreign citizen was in danger, and that the intervention was totally unjustifiable.

It also stated that the Cuban personnel had suffered casualties and that the attack by U.S. troops had come as a surprise, without any previous warning. Although the Cuban personnel that were still in a position to resist stood at an absolute numerical, technical and military disadvantage, the note went on, their morale remained high and they were determined to continue defending themselves, were the attacks to continue.

If there was a real intention to forestall further bloodshed, it was stressed further, attacks against the Cuban and Grenadian personnel should have been stopped. An honorable way should be sought to put an end to a battle that was far from doing honor to the United States, a battle against small forces which though unable to resist the overwhelming military superiority of the U.S. forces, even when losing the battle and sacrificing themselves, could still inflict a costly moral defeat on the United States — engaged in a war against one of the tiniest countries on Earth.

The U.S. government was informed that the head of the Cuban personnel in Grenada had been instructed to receive any parleyer that might approach him, hear his views and convey them to Cuba.

During the evening of October 25, the Cuban construction and cooperation personnel were still holding some of their positions in an uneven and difficult struggle but with high morale and steadfastness. Later into the night there was little news forthcoming from Grenada and communications were becoming difficult.

The courageous and heroic Cuban construction and cooperation personnel have written an unforgettable chapter in the annals of international solidarity. Eternal glory to the Cubans who have fallen and to those who have fought and are still fighting to defend their principles, their internationalist work and their homeland, threatened by the unjustified treacherous and criminal imperialist aggression.

Cuba, October 25, 1983
Abridged from *Granma*,
October 26, 1983

Pyrrhic Victory and Grave Moral Setback

From the Speech by Fidel Castro

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, President of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, scathingly denounced the criminal aggression of the United States against sovereign Grenada. He spoke at a rally of mourning to honor the 24 Cuban internationalists who perished heroically in Grenada.

Grenada was one of the world's smallest independent states, both in terms of territory and of population. If Cuba could help Grenada much, that was precisely because our efforts, quantitatively modest but qualitatively important, meant much to that country. There was the cooperation of our doctors, teachers and technicians trained in various fields.

The friendship of our people with Bishop and Grenada was heartfelt, and our respect for the country and its sovereignty so inimitable that we never even allowed ourselves to express any opinion of what was being done there and how it was being done. We applied to Grenada the same principle we practise in relations with all revolutionary countries and movements: absolute respect for its policy, its criteria and its decisions; expression of our views of any subject only if asked to do so. Imperialism is unable to understand that the secret of our excellent relations with the world's revolutionary countries and movements is based precisely on this respect.

The government of the United States despised Grenada and hated Bishop. It wanted to destroy the process under way in and the example of Grenada; it even drew up military plans to invade the island — as Bishop charged almost two years ago — but could not find a pretext.

It is perfectly true that after the revolution, Grenada's economic and political situation developed satisfactorily. Its people received numerous benefits, and its gross economic product was growing at a good rate amid the worldwide crisis. Grenada became a true symbol of independence and progress in the Caribbean.

Today, no one can yet be certain whether those who plunged home the dagger of division and internal confrontation did so of their own accord or were inspired and goaded by imperialism. Or, perhaps, this was done by the CIA which could not find a better way to do it.

Were those who plotted against Bishop in the party, the army and the security service a group of extremists intoxicated with political theorizing? Was it simply a group of ambitious opportunists or did it include enemy agents who wanted to end the Grenadian revolution? Only history will give a definitive answer.

As it was said in the statement of the Party and Government of Cuba of October 20, "no crime can be committed in the name of revolution and freedom."

It is to the credit of our revolution that, despite the profound indignation we felt at the overthrow and arrest of Bishop, we abstained completely from interfering in the country's internal affairs.

What placed Cuba in a morally complicated and difficult position was the announcement that U.S. naval forces were advancing toward Grenada. Given this situation, we could under no circumstances leave the country. If imperialism really intended to attack Grenada, our duty was to remain there. To retreat at that moment would have been dishonorable; also, this could encourage aggression — today in that country and tomorrow in Cuba. Besides, events developed with such incredible speed that even had we contemplated evacuation, there would have been no time to accomplish it.

Undoubtedly, developments in that country in no way justified the U.S. intervention. Since when has the government of the United States been appointed to judge internal conflicts of another country? What right did Reagan have to wring his hands at the death of Bishop whom he hated so much and against whom he fought? What reasons could exist for the brutal violation of the sovereignty of Grenada, a small independent country, a recognized and respected member of the international community? It was as if another country considered itself duty bound to intervene in the United States because of the revolting assassination of Martin Luther King, or because of the numerous and terrible other crimes committed against the Black and Hispanic minorities in the United States, or because John Kennedy was assassinated.

The same could be said about the argument that the Americans were in danger. There are many more Americans in scores of other countries. Does this mean the right to intervene when internal conflicts occur in these countries? Leaving aside the fallacy and the mendacity of these pretexts used to invade Grenada, can one really accept this as an international norm?

Thousands of lectures on Marxism could not have given a better picture of the dishonest, treacherous and aggressive nature of imperialism than did the aggression against Grenada.

To justify the invasion in Grenada and the moves that followed, the government of the United States and its spokesmen have told the following lies: that Cuba was responsible for the coup d'état and for the death of Bishop; that the American students were in danger of becoming hostages; that the principal objective of the invasion was to protect the lives of U.S. citizens; that the invasion was a multinational operation requested by Sir Paul Scoon and the Eastern Caribbean countries; that Cuba was planning to invade and occupy Grenada; that Grenada was turning into an important Soviet-Cuban military base; that the airport under construction was military and not civilian; that the weapons in Grenada were for

the export of subversion and terrorism; that the Cubans were the first to open fire; that there were more than 1,000 Cubans in Grenada; that most of the Cubans were professional soldiers and not construction workers; that the invading forces tried not to cause destruction or losses among civilians; that the U.S. troops would remain in Grenada for one week; that missile silos were being built in Grenada; that the *Vietnam Heroico* vessel was carrying special weapons; that Cuba was warned of the invasion; that 500 Cubans are fighting in the mountains of Grenada; that Cuba issued instructions to launch reprisals against U.S. citizens; that the press was kept off the island for the journalists "safety."

Not one of these assertions could be proved, not one of them was true, and all have been totally refuted by facts. This cynical way of using lies to justify the invasion of a small country reminds one of the methods of Adolf Hitler in the years when World War II was being prepared and, finally, launched.

The students themselves and the American officials of the Medical School based there have acknowledged that they received absolute guarantees concerning U.S. citizens and the necessary facilities for leaving the country for those who chose to do so. Cuba offered its cooperation for resolving any difficulty that might arise, so that problems could be solved without violence or intervention in the country.

None of the U.S. citizens suffered the least harm from the invasion, and if something did place them in danger, it was the war itself, launched by the United States. The instructions given by Cuba to the Cuban personnel not to interfere in any way with the evacuation of U.S. citizens from the area of the runway construction site near the university helped avoid risks. Reagan's insinuation that what happened in Iran might happen in Grenada was made to play on the humiliation the Americans had felt when those events had occurred; it was a demagogic, opportunist and dishonest statement. The assertion that the new airport was a military installation — an old lie much used by the Reagan administration — was rejected categorically by the British company which supplied and assembled the electrical and technical equipment in the project area. British technicians from the Plessey company worked together with the Cuban construction workers and testified to their civilian status. In this or that form, several European Community and NATO member-countries cooperated in the construction of the airport. Can anyone imagine that they collaborated with Cuba and Grenada to build a military airport? On the other hand, the claim that Grenada was being converted into a Soviet-Cuban base is refuted by the proven fact that there was not a single Soviet military adviser on the island.

In the allegedly classified documents which fell into the hands of the United States and which the U.S. government published days after the invasion there is reference to the agreement between the governments of Cuba and Grenada according to which our country was to send 27 military advisers there, and this number could later be increased to 40 — these figures coincide with those made public by

Cuba. In no part of these documents is there any indication of military bases in Grenada. The documents state that the weapons sent to the government of Grenada for the army and the militia were subject to a clause prohibiting their export to third countries. This refutes the assertion that Grenada was being converted into an arsenal for supplying subversive and terrorist organizations, as the current U.S. administration likes to describe all national liberation and revolutionary movements.

The assertion that Cuba was about to invade and occupy Grenada is so unreal, absurd, crazy and alien to our principles and our foreign policy that it does not deserve to be taken seriously at all. What has been proven is our strictest non-interference in the country's internal affairs. The messages containing precise and categorical instructions to our embassy in Grenada, made public by the government of Cuba, are irrefutable proof of the firm position of principle maintained by the leadership of our party and our state in relation to the internal developments in Grenada. The civilian status of Cuban personnel in Grenada has been confirmed in the eyes of the world by the hundreds of foreign journalists who came to our country and had the opportunity to interview each and every one of them.

When U.S. government spokesmen claim that at the time of the invasion there were between 1,000 and 1,500 Cubans in Grenada and that hundreds of them continued to fight in the mountains, Cuba made public the exact number of Cuban citizens who were in Grenada the day of the invasion — 784, including diplomatic personnel with their families. Also published were the instructions they received — to fight in the areas where they worked and lived if attacked; we have also stressed that it was impossible, according to the information at our disposal, for hundreds of Cubans to remain in the mountains. Facts prove that the information supplied by Cuba is strictly accurate.

Equally mendacious and cynical is the assertion that the Cubans initiated the hostilities. The certain and irrefutable fact is that at the time of the landing the Cuban personnel were asleep. Weapons were issued to them in the midst of the landing, and there were not enough for all the workers. The strict and certain historical fact is that the hostilities began when U.S. troops started advancing on the Cubans in battle formation; it is equally certain that when a group of unarmed Cuban workers was captured, they were used as hostages and were forced to march in front of the American soldiers.

Grenada was invaded in a surprise and treacherous move, without any prior warning or announcement — Pearl Harbor style, nazi style.

To the American people the invasion of Grenada was presented as a great victory of Reagan's foreign policy aimed against the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement. It was associated with the tragic death of 240 American soldiers in Beirut, with the memories of the hostages in Iran, with the humiliating defeat in Vietnam. This was a base and dishonest appeal to American patriotism, to the pride of the country, to the greatness and glory of the nation. Hitler acted in the same way in 1938, when

he occupied Austria and annexed the Sudetan in Czechoslovakia.

Is there any glory, greatness or victory in invading and conquering one of the world's smallest countries without any economic or strategic importance? Is there any bravery in fighting against a handful of civilian workers and specialists who put up a heroic resistance despite the surprise attack, the shortage of ammunition, the disadvantages in terms of terrain, weapons and numbers? The United States did not win any victory — either in political, military, or moral terms. It was in fact a pyrrhic military victory and a grave moral setback, as we have already stated. To defy, for the sake of that, all international law and to earn the world's loathing and condemnation? Does it despise the rest of humankind that much? To a degree that it did not in the least affect Mr. Reagan's appetite in the evening of November 3, as he told the press?

That is why we have to evaluate, with a high sense of responsibility, the actual situation and the dangers facing the world.

If one takes into account that the United States possesses powerful and sophisticated means of conventional and nuclear warfare and that the President of this country can launch a war without consulting anyone, this is not merely dangerous but can lead to truly dramatic and tragic consequences for all humankind. The echoes of the last shots fired in Grenada have not yet died down, but there is already talk of intervention in El Salvador, in Nicaragua and even in Cuba.

In the Middle East and in southern Africa, imperialist incursions and armed aggression continue unabated against progressive countries and the national liberation movement.

In Europe, there begins the installation of the first Pershing and Cruise missiles of the 572 which are to be deployed there to encircle the USSR and the other socialist countries in a deadly ring of nuclear weapons capable of reaching their territories in a matter of minutes.

Not only the smaller countries but all humankind are in danger. The bells that toll for Grenada today may be tolling for the entire world tomorrow.

The most authoritative and experienced scientists and doctors maintain that man will not be able to survive a global nuclear conflict. The destructive potential of this type of weapons is a million times greater than that of the primitive bombs which annihilated Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a matter of seconds. That is what the aggressive and militarist policy of the Reagan administration can lead to.

Today, the arms race is already a reality — at a time of the most severe economic crisis the world has encountered since the 1930s, at a time when problems of development for the overwhelming majority of the Earth's peoples demand solution. In whom can a government acting with the unthinking recklessness and cynicism the government of the United States displayed in Grenada inspire confidence? Reagan did not even deign to listen to the advice of a government with such close political, ideological and military ties to the United States as the government of Great Britain. No wonder that in

a survey conducted a few days ago, over 90 per cent of the British people denied categorically that the United States had a unilateral right to use the Cruise missiles which are beginning to be deployed there.

In our Western hemisphere a NATO power used sophisticated means of warfare to spill Argentine blood in the Malvinas less than a year and a half ago. The Reagan government supported that action. This means that it held no brief for the Organization of American States and the so-called security agreements and pacts. It swept them aside with disdain. Now, citing the alleged request of the phantom Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, the United States invades Grenada and spills Caribbean and Cuban blood. In Nicaragua, which won its freedom at the price of 40,000 lives, almost one thousand sons of this noble people have already died in the attacks of mercenary gangs organized, trained and equipped by the government of the United States. In El Salvador, over 50,000 people have been assassinated by a genocidal regime whose army is equipped, trained and directed by the United States. In Guatemala, over 100,000 have died at the hands of a repressive regime installed by the CIA in 1954, when it overthrew the progressive Arbenz government. And how many have died in Chile, where imperialism engineered the overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende? How many have died in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil and Bolivia over the past 15 years?

How high is the price our nations have paid in blood, sacrifice, misery and suffering for imperialist domination and the unjust social systems imposed on us! Imperialism is trying to destroy symbols because it knows the worth of symbols, of examples, of ideas. It wanted to destroy them in Grenada, it wants to destroy them in El Salvador, in Nicaragua, in Cuba. But one cannot destroy symbols, examples and ideas; and when the enemy thinks that it has destroyed them, it has in fact multiplied them.

Grenada has enhanced the patriotic dedication and the fighting spirit of the Salvadoran revolutionaries, of Nicaraguans and Cubans. It has demonstrated that one can fight against the best imperialist troops without fear! The imperialists must not forget that they will encounter fierce resistance wherever they attack a revolutionary people. Let the pyrrhic victory in Grenada and the euphoria it has produced not lead them to commit grave and irreversible mistakes.

In Nicaragua they will face a profoundly patriotic, revolutionary, united, organized, militant and armed people which will never again be subjugated.

As to Cuba — if in Grenada it took an élite division to take on a handful of people fighting isolated in a small spot, without any fortifications, a thousand miles away from home, how many divisions will it take to deal with millions of fighters in their own home, among their own people?

Our country — and we have said so repeatedly — can be wiped off the face of the earth, but it can never be conquered and subjugated!

Abridged from *Granma*.
November 15, 1983

U.S. Imperialism is the Enemy of the Emergent States

Statement by the People's Progressive Party of Guyana

The People's Progressive Party (PPP) reiterates its demand on the U.S. government immediately to withdraw all its interventionist troops from independent sovereign Grenada, and to put an end to the rape taking place there. This dastardly invasion has no justification in morality, international law, the CARICOM Treaty, the OECS Treaty, or the Charter of the UN. Hundreds of casualties have resulted from this gruesome adventure.

To justify his adventure, U.S. President Ronald Reagan had initially said that he was trying to "save lives" and "restore order." This was promptly exposed as a hoax. More persons died in the aggression than in the military take-over, and the only "order" Reagan and his stooges want to restore is capitalism.

Grenada today is like Guyana in the 1960s. At that time the CIA and U.S. ruling circles had pronounced "No more Cubas" and eventually with much bloodshed succeeded in removing the constitutional PPP government from office. Recall also that in 1953, the constitutional PPP government was removed from office by British expeditionary forces. The whole idea then was to "stop communism." This incidentally was some six years before the triumph of the Cuban revolution.

The PPP condemns those callous traitors among Guyanese who laud the U.S. crime in Grenada, and openly agitate for a similar U.S. intervention in Guyana. These elements must be re-educated. They are a dangerous fifth column which must be dealt with, preferably sooner than later.

Wherever U.S. intervention has taken place, that country has made no social progress. Fascist Chile is a case in point, where social conditions have so deteriorated that the oppressed citizens have already taken to the streets in what later became violent demonstrations. Jamaica, which is a client of U.S. imperialism, is worse off today than it was under Manley, whose government was besieged by imperialism, and removed with over 600 fatalities in the process.

The reactionary CARICOM leaders are sitting on explosive situations, and felt envious and afraid of the successful Grenada revolution. They cannot solve their problems as Bishop was doing in Grenada. They felt that at all costs the Grenada model should be snuffed out before it became a dynamic invincible example to the masses of a crisis-ridden CARICOM. This treachery of theirs dovetailed with the geo-political interventionist strategy of U.S. imperialism.

The PPP says that there is no need for any "Commonwealth Peace-Keeping Force" in Grenada, as such a force will legitimize the U.S. rape of the country, and whitewash the puppet regime being set up. All foreign troops must get out and keep out of Grenada. The non-aligned movement in conjunction with the UN should try to work toward a peace-

ful consensus in Grenada in full consultation with the Grenadian people to realize a government of their choice.

The PPP is opposed to the recognition of any puppet government which flows from the one-man Paul Schoon authority, and urges that the current Grenada representative at the UN retain his seat; and that the proffered credentials of the puppet regime be rejected by the UN. To achieve these objectives, much help is needed from the non-aligned movement, of which the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada was a respected member.

The PPP supports the decisions of the UN General Assembly arising from the debate on Grenada, which overwhelmingly condemned the U.S. invasion of that sovereign state. The party calls for greater international diplomatic pressures to be mounted so as to bring about the liberation of the Grenadian people from the bondage of U.S. neo-colonialism. Other countries in the region should also be on guard against U.S. aggression, whether by armed force or economic pressures.

November 3, 1983

fessions" so as to dishonor and humiliate them and discredit their struggle and service to their people and country.

Freedom-loving peoples of the world!

Your struggle and protests against the crimes perpetrated by the regime of the Islamic Republic, your action in support of our people's struggle, as well as your efforts to expose the tyrants ruling Iran for what they are have been very effective. Expressing their gratitude for this international support, the Iranian people urge still broader protests and action by progressive parties and international organizations against the regime of terror and brutality, for the release of political prisoners.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Organization of Iranian People's Fedayeen (Majority) calls on you, freedom-loving peoples of

the world, on international democratic organizations, on all progressive parties, on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and on Amnesty International to step up your support of our people's struggle for political liberties and democratic rights and for the release of political prisoners.

The plenary meeting of the OIPF(M) Central Committee values highly the vigorous and effective support shown by all progressive forces throughout the world. The plenary meeting appeals to all progressive humankind to do everything possible to ensure the release and uphold the rights of Iranian political prisoners.

Let international solidarity with the struggle of the people of Iran for political liberties and democratic rights and for the release of Iranian political prisoners grow firmer!

Jamaica: In the Vanguard of Struggle for Full Independence and Better Life

**From a Report by Trevor Munroe,
General Secretary of the Workers Party of Jamaica**

The third congress of the Workers Party of Jamaica was held in Kingston from December 13 to 16, 1984. Meeting in private session for the first three days, it was attended by local party delegates; observer delegates from party support groups (non-party community and regional groups comprised of party supporters and which represent the organized form of the party in the non-party masses), women's clubs (mass organizations of women led by the party), trade unions and other mass organizations led by or supportive of the party, and from local independent anti-imperialist groups. Foreign delegations from 16 fraternal parties also participated in the congress.

The agenda of the congress was: Central Committee report reviewing the party's work since the second congress and setting the tasks to the fourth congress — presented by General Secretary, comrade Trevor Munroe; discussion of the report and interventions from different sections of the party and from foreign delegates and elections to the Central Committee.

The public activities of the congress took place on December 16. These began with a wreath-laying ceremony in the Park of National Heroes, where foreign delegations paid tribute to Jamaica's heroes, Paul Bogle and Marcus Garvey; and to Latin American liberator Simon Bolivar. The congress paid tribute to the role of the Soviet Union in the defeat of Hitler fascism by requesting the CPSU delegation to lay a wreath at the monument to Jamaicans who died in the fight against fascism.

A public political and cultural rally, attended by over 5,500 Jamaicans and foreign delegates, ended the third congress activities.

Comrade Trevor Munroe, General Secretary, was unanimously re-elected. All delegates voted for the adoption of the Central Committee report, an abridged version of which follows:

Our third congress is opening in most dangerous times — one month and one week since Ronald Reagan has been returned to the White House; one month and one week since the forces of war, of unemployment, racism and reaction, the same forces who have engaged in what they called a crusade to put communism on the ash-heap of history, have renewed their hold over the presidency of the United States.

Our third congress also opens four years and a few days after Edward Seaga — the main puppet of Reagan and of reaction in the Caribbean, declared that he would eradicate radicalism from the politics of the Jamaican people.

Their aim in the world, in our region, in our country, has been eradication of progress. Our aim has been preservation. In the world, in our region, this aim of preserving peace, of preserving progress in

the community of socialism, of preserving the struggle for national independence, democracy and national liberation, is being achieved, despite the most dangerous threats from imperialism and reaction.

Today more of us are here than three years ago; more of our friends from the international progressive movements are here with us today than were here three years ago. Even the blind can see that in Jamaica, the forces of progress — despite the gravest dangers and difficulties — are holding in check the forces of backwardness and reaction.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE ACTIVITY OF OUR PARTY

Since 1981, the most reactionary circles of imperialism have increased the militarization of land, sea and air; installed new weapons of mass destruction in Europe against the will of the European

people; they have now begun militarizing space itself — threatening humankind with “star wars” weaponry which only a few years ago was science fiction. The Reagan administration has led this trend in world imperialism, imposing on the American and on the world’s peoples the most staggering increases in military expenditure.

Within our region, United States imperialism has made Central America and the Caribbean into a central battle zone of the world between the forces of progress and the forces of reaction. They have attacked militarily the Sandinist People’s Revolution in Nicaragua; built up armed occupation of Honduras; immensely increased military, political and economic aid to the genocidal dictatorship in El Salvador and they have sought to strangle the people’s resistance in Guatemala.

Worst of all, in our region and for the first time since Vietnam, the war party represented by Reagan and occupying the White House, launched direct, criminal invasion against the people of Grenada, defeating the people’s revolution with bombs and bayonets. This force has brought and is bringing the greatest threat ever to the survival of humankind. Not only has it brought bloodshed, oppression and misery to the peoples in our zone and hemisphere, to the peoples struggling for national independence and social progress around the world, particularly in Southern Africa, in Lebanon in the Middle East; as well the present circles dominating world imperialism and United States imperialism in particular have brought down more poverty and oppression on their own working people, particularly the Black minority, in the midst of more wealth and luxury than any previous imperialist administration.

With this war force in power, the danger to the Jamaican, the Caribbean — in the eastern part of which the United States military presence is now 15 times more than what it was at the time of the second congress — the danger to the Latin American and the world’s peoples is greater than ever. This danger from imperialism has become not only something from outside, not only something external to the politics of our countries. It has become, especially after the Grenada invasion, something affecting the internal politics of our countries. The imperialist presence in the security forces, in the media, in official government bodies, in the cultural activity of our people, has grown and taken on a new aggressive quality. Hence, the most reactionary elements in the politics of the region’s nations now feel more confident that imperialism will back them directly by military means if necessary. The working people, on the other hand, are worried by this prospect and more hesitant in struggling because of this danger.

But to see the danger alone would be to see only one side of the picture. It also represents a mad and vain response to the strength and example of socialism, to the undying efforts of the world’s peoples — including within the imperialist states themselves — to gain a better life, to free themselves from oppression.

We along with all humankind must be thankful to the Soviet people for the sacrifices they make in maintaining parity while constantly seeking ways of

reducing the dangers of nuclear war. Moreover, in the midst of these burdens, socialism continued to ensure a steady increase in the working people’s living standards. While unemployment grew, prices increased, poverty worsened under imperialism, under socialism, full employment, stable prices, increased incomes, greater access to quality consumer goods, housing and cultural facilities continued to reveal the superiority of socialism in meeting the needs of humankind.

Positive changes have taken place and are taking place. The Reagan administration is returning to new arms limitation talks with the USSR; the patriots, whether of South Africa or Lebanon, the defenders of peace in Western Europe and in Japan, are rallying and strengthening the prospects of making gains. In the states of advanced capitalism, themselves, the heroic struggle of the British miners is an indication of the potential of the working class when roused to action. In the Caribbean and Central America, socialist Cuba remains a bastion against imperialism and a beacon for all the hemisphere’s peoples, despite the threat of direct armed attack now posed by the Reagan administration. Revolutionary Nicaragua continues to stand like a rock in the midst of counter-revolution implanted from outside by United States imperialism, in the midst of economic and other aggression from the Reagan administration. The great sacrifices now being made by the Nicaraguan people in defense of their country’s revolution and independence, as well as the solidarity of progressive humankind — most of all socialist Cuba and the Soviet Union — continue to block United States imperialism imposing its will on a country 80 times smaller than the U.S. and with 90 times fewer inhabitants than the United States. Moreover, the recent elections held under conditions of external aggression, showed the revolutionary maturity of the Sandinist leadership. The Reagan administration has been completely isolated in its attempt to discredit the Nicaraguan elections and to portray the country as a “totalitarian” dictatorship.

In the Caribbean itself, the Burnham government which has taken anti-imperialist positions in opposition to the Reagan administration — notably on Grenada — remains in power in Guyana; Cato’s pro-imperialist government was removed by the people of St. Vincent; the most reactionary administrations — notably Charles in Dominica and Seaga in Jamaica — are increasingly unpopular among the masses. In this context, Blaize’s victory in Grenada could hardly have taken place without the shock experienced by the Grenadian people in October 1983, without the military invasion, without continued armed occupation of the country by United States imperialism and without the political and psychological manipulation of the people by reaction.

In this complicated and dangerous situation, our second congress held in 1981 urged us to “make ever more certain that we fulfil our obligations as communists to our fraternal parties, to the national liberation movements, to the people’s struggle for peace and against war.”

We can truly say that effort has been and con-

tinues to be made on this question. Within a few months of the second congress, the Jamaica Peace Committee, with active assistance from comrades in the Workers Party, and involving personalities and organizations of varied ideological and political persuasions, was launched. This committee, in the short time of its existence and with the active work of our party comrades in fulfilling the second congress decisions, has done well in raising the level of awareness of the importance of peace, mainly by educational activities.

However, despite the problem presented by the fact that our people are almost totally taken up with problems of bread and butter survival and despite the adversity of the political situation, particularly in the mass media, more can and needs to be done on the peace question.

The party needs therefore to improve the resources being put into this important activity around peace. Leaders of the party and other progressive organizations need to bring the struggle for peace into their day-to-day work among the masses, linking it more vividly to the day-to-day concerns of the working people. The Peace Committee needs to make sure that its publications are more suited to wider circulation among working people and that more opportunities are taken up to talk to broad cross-sections of the public. The situation certainly does not allow for the growth of a broad active mass movement for peace in our country, but it is necessary and possible to strengthen popular awareness of this issue, thereby helping to prepare conditions for a mass movement to emerge when the general situation is less unfavorable.

In our international work and activity since the second congress, Grenada must bear special mention.

Alongside internationalists from Cuba and elsewhere, our comrades worked tirelessly to help the Grenadian people build a better life independent of imperialism and their help always attracted high praise from the leadership of the revolution.

Today, tragically, the People's Revolution is no more, having been crushed by the criminal United States invasion in October 1983 — condemned by over 100 member-states of the United Nations, by the non-aligned movement, the Socialist International, by many North Atlantic Treaty Organization states. We must also record that while imperialism killed the People's Revolution, the revolution was mortally wounded by the gravest errors committed by the entire leadership of the revolutionary process. No doubt, the passage of time and the Grenadian revolutionaries themselves will allow full analysis of the mistakes and the lessons.

We are happy to report to the third congress that the hope of imperialism, the hope of reaction that the anti-imperialist movement in the Caribbean would be forever divided and paralyzed — these hopes have been dashed to pieces by mature, revolutionary conduct on all sides. Indeed because of this approach, fraternal relations between the WPJ and other progressive parties and movements have broadened instead of narrowed since the second congress.

For our part, we rededicate ourselves to the primary responsibility of the Caribbean and the Latin American people — the primary responsibility of solidarity with the Cuban revolution which represents the finest achievement of the Caribbean and Latin American peoples.

We rededicate our solidarity with the embattled patriots in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua, facing imminent United States imperialist aggression; to the struggle against war and for peace in our region and in the world.

THE SEAGA REGIME AND THE PEOPLE SINCE THE SECOND CONGRESS

At the time of the second congress we pointed out that Seaga "was U.S. imperialism's man in the Caribbean ... a government dominated by the most reactionary circles of the Jamaican ruling class." All that this government has done since then, and Seaga in particular, underlines the correctness of this conclusion. Seaga and the oligarchy whom he represents has given away Jamaica's economy to the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, to the interests of international finance capital. All the essentials which imperialism has asked for, Seaga has given.

Seaga has performed true to form in presiding over the new colonization of Jamaica by international finance capital, in particular, the big U.S. commercial banks. This program is not only that of Seaga's. It is also that of Reagan who in March 1982 described Seaga as "making freedom work" in Jamaica. Most of all, this program under the designation of "structural adjustment" is the program of international finance capital for Third World countries like Jamaica. The heart and soul of this so-called model, is to make countries like Jamaica totally dependent on international capital as well as to increase the wealth and power of the super-rich minority at the expense of all other classes in society. What is on trial in Jamaica is not only Edward Seaga, nor even the Jamaica Labour Party Government. What is on trial is whether the program of imperialism for a new colonialism in the Third World can maintain independence and self-respect, increase production and employment, reduce poverty and oppression among the masses of our people.

This trial is now well underway in Jamaica and the accused imperialism and Edward Seaga are well on the way to being found guilty.

IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS

What can our party and our working people look forward to in the days, in the weeks and in the months following the third congress?

First, we can expect continued, even sharper worsening of the social and economic oppression on the backs of all who have to work for a living; as well, we can expect even more riches and power for imperialism and its local representatives.

Second, we can expect the deep frustration of the working people to grow and to help provide a stronger foundation for more active mass resistance to economic hardship and injustice of all types. More protests by the people are likely despite continuing fear of the regime and the use of the security

forces to suppress popular protest.

Third, disagreements in the ruling circles are likely to grow, in the main between a section wishing in their own self-interest to resist the diktat of the IMF and the more reactionary circles standing four-square behind imperialism. However, such disagreements are unlikely to lead to political opposition to JLP rule and support for opposition parties in this sector, unless the activity of the masses brings forward the prospect of generalized instability should Seaga's course continue.

The Workers Party, for its part, needs to make much clearer that the party program in the interests of the masses and at this stage of Jamaica's development, accepts that private business, including those of the national bourgeoisie, have a role to play in a Jamaica independent of imperialism. If this is not done now, and better, as well as directly to the bourgeoisie, then the false idea that the Left is against business and stands for wholesale takeover will remain unchallenged. Thereby, reduction of differences and the growth of cooperation will be held back among the different sectors whose interests are opposed to imperialism and to IMF domination over Jamaica.

The period of stable rule by Seaga is drawing to an end; greater instability is likely to lead to sharper class struggle; local or national elections remain on the agenda for 1985. The completion of electoral registration procedures, the increasing impossibility of living under the socio-economic conditions brought on by the Seaga government and the growth of instability, is likely to strengthen the people's call for Seaga's removal as well as move the political center behind more active demands for early elections. In any such elections, great attention shall have to be paid to the possible use of fraud by the regime.

There can hardly be any question that the Seaga regime is going to resist such a call and such demands, calling on all the reserves that can be mus-

tered from imperialism and the Reagan administration. In that resistance, some concessions will no doubt be made, but the main line will unquestionably be to rely on force to neutralize the Left and cow the center. Political repression is a real prospect, but it will be increasingly unlikely to stabilize Seaga's rule over the people.

In this developing situation, elections, particularly to the local councils in the first instance, in more politically repressive conditions are the likeliest prospect.

Our party therefore needs to strengthen its electoral preparedness, avoid ultra-leftism in all forms, prepare itself and the people more actively for political repression, while at the same time encouraging the protest activity of the masses.

In working toward these ends, the greatest care and attention must be attached to an approach to the working people which spreads our wings, which seeks to reveal to all sectors, particularly among the masses, their interest in coming from under the IMF dictatorship, in removing the Seaga government and in giving support to the WPJ.

The party must continue to emphasize preserving itself in a dangerous situation, but it must now better prepare itself to resume mass struggle alongside the people.

We must also do more to facilitate closer unity between the party and left forces inside and outside the People's National Party (PNP) — by finding ways and means at all levels of reducing differences with the PNP without sacrificing the independence of our party and the growth of the Left.

We are undoubtedly entering a period of greater dangers as well as greater prospects for the advancement of the movement of the Jamaican people against imperialism. Darker days may well come but brighter ones are more possible than at the time of the second congress and we must work actively toward them.

Abridged

Sixth Congress of the South African CP

SACP Communiqué

Recently, the sixth congress of the South African Communist Party was held. Attended by tens of delegates, the congress was characterized by the revolutionary enthusiasm and confidence of its participants who were inspired by the continuing mass upsurge in South Africa and the important contribution of the working class to this struggle.

The congress carried out an extensive review of the work of the party in the period since the last congress. Discussion focused on the task of further strengthening the party ideologically, politically and organizationally as well as heightening its contribution to the struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution and the advance toward a socialist South Africa.

It also debated all aspects of the developing situation in South Africa, paying particular attention to the further enhancement of the role of the working

class as the leader of the national liberation and socialist struggles in our country.

The congress also discussed the international situation. In this regard, it paid particular attention to the counter-revolutionary offensive of the apartheid regime in Southern Africa and the role of U.S. imperialism in this campaign. It also laid special emphasis on the urgent question of world peace.

The participants noted that the party had continued to grow in strength, especially inside our country, drawing into its ranks outstanding working class and youth activists in particular. Enemy efforts to destroy it, which now span a period of 35 years, have failed.

Lying enemy propaganda which seeks to project Marxism-Leninism as an ideology that is foreign to the people of South Africa and our party as a tool of foreign powers, and not a representative and the