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CYNTHIA HAMILTON

US foreign policy and Grenada

The misinformation surrounding the US invasion of Grenada on 25 October 1983, coupled with the mystery of the events of 18 October 1983, resulting in the death of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and five other cabinet officials, has had the effect of severely shaking the confidence and vision of many of those working for an end to the cycle of economic dependency and military repression in the Caribbean and Central America. Not only does the US action seem to portend things to come in the region, but, as the trial of the forty-two charged with the death of Bishop and others begins, the US, according to one military official on the island, intends 'to put the whole New Jewel Movement on trial'. There will be no distinction between Bishop and those accused with his death because, this official continued, 'they are all marxists after all, all from the New Jewel Movement'.¹

We must develop an historical context for understanding the Grenada fiasco (both internal and external) as the US escalates its attack on the principles and motives of those seeking a socialist transformation, not only in Grenada but elsewhere in the region. All of the answers to questions of what really happened in Grenada cannot be given, for they may be buried along with the bodies of those Grenadians who died between 18 October and the period of the US occupation. But there are patterns of dependency and repression which have plagued the region and which may help us to clarify the past and to identify patterns for the future.

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The historical policy of US-Caribbean Basin relations was summed up by then-candidate Reagan's advisory committee in 1979, the year of the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions. The Heritage Foundation and the Committee of Santa Fe wrote:

The collapse of the U.S. presence in the Caribbean has endangered America's global power projection. Ever since 1898 America's worldwide reach has rested on a quiescent Caribbean and a supportive South America. The Caribbean, once an American lake, is becoming a Socialist sea.²

The United States can only restore its credibility by taking immediate action. The first steps must be frankly punitive...³

This was no mere lament for a more dominant past which the Monroe Doctrine had assured for the US. Rather, the Heritage Foundation's report announced the renewal of a more aggressively militarist solution to America's decline in influence. In 1979 two states, Nicaragua and Grenada, proclaimed their intention to break away from the tradition of dependency and establish socialist-oriented governments to forge new economic paths. In Nicaragua, this marked the end of the decades old struggle against the tyranny of the Somoza dynasty, which had ruled the country at the behest of the US since the Marine occupation of 1926 to 1933. In Grenada, the New Jewel Movement, under the leadership of Maurice Bishop, took over in a bloodless coup, ousting Eric Gairy whose list of accomplishments included establishing relations with the dictatorships of Pinochet in Chile and South Korea and calling for UN investigations of UFOs.

Reagan took his oath of office with plans to resecure America's 'backyard': Central America and the Caribbean. Before looking in detail at the manifestations of US policy during the Reagan years, it is necessary to identify its Republican precursor, the Nixon administration. It is difficult to single out any particular period or administration because gunboat and dollar diplomacy have been mainstays of US foreign policy in the Caribbean Basin region. However, the defeat of the US in Vietnam ushered in what would be a long period of economic problems in the country as each administration attempted to prop up an economy based on the military-industrial complex. The economic problems were, in part, a result of the loss of Third World markets due not only to an increase in political tensions, but also because Japan and western Europe had risen as formidable competitors at home and abroad. The Nixon administration responded with the New Economic Policy, suspending the convertibility of the dollar into gold and turning to the use of protectionist policies in defence of US capital.

To dispose of the military surplus which had accumulated, the Nixon administration doubled the budget of the Military Assistance Program

and lifted the ban on high technology military sales, which resulted in an increase to Latin America from \$30m a year in 1960 to \$118m in 1974. The new policy was designed to provide the means for 'friendly nations' to contain internal opposition, as well as to police their regions.

Central America and the Caribbean, which had previously been dependent on MAP grants, were now given licences to purchase arms and equipment, which they were quick to take advantage of. Although most of the equipment sold under the Foreign Military Sales program consists of major combat systems for external defence it also includes, like MAP, counter-insurgency equipment for internal use as well as 'military technical services' such as training and technical assistance.⁴

US corporations benefited from the new arms sales policy and vigorously pursued new markets to get rid of their arsenals of munitions, stockpiled during an earlier period of domestic repression in American cities as well as left-overs from Vietnam. The consequences would be immediately visible as death squads appeared in Guatemala and human rights violations mounted in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Haiti. While the US was developing this new strategy for self-administered repression, no longer willing to commit the physical manpower used in Vietnam, the CIA and the American Institute for Free Labor Development maintained their counter-insurgent functions. The new policy was a kind of do-it-yourself manual to aid friendly dictators.

The Nixon-Kissinger administration was also keen to replace the traditional Cold War strategies with more effective means of maintaining United States supremacy. Kissinger's realpolitik was aimed at preserving the balance of power through new diplomatic initiatives, shuttle diplomacy, rapprochement with China and the pursuit of detente. It included the maintenance of military strength and the development of new military options such as advanced capital-intensive military technology for lightning assaults on trouble spots round the world. It also included new low profile techniques, covert operations and methods of destabilising 'unfriendly' regimes. In October 1970, for example, Henry Kissinger stated that the United States would give any backing 'short of a Dominican-style intervention' to the overthrow of Allende in Chile.⁵

More importantly, international finance organisations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank ensured that self-imposed force and repression would be used by governments receiving aid. As Third World nations vied for development loans, the IMF specified conditions for recipients including wage freezes, tax and price

hikes, and the suppression of strikes and worker organisations. These measures, it was maintained, would stabilise currency and increase productivity. Any country refusing to impose such restrictions would forfeit its loan. The price for challenging the economic dictates of the international lending institutions would be great and the IMF and the World Bank did not hide their power, as was demonstrated in the brutal destabilisation of Chile leading to the overthrow and death of elected Socialist President Salvador Allende in 1973. But the IMF had a more local target for the region, Jamaica, which had elected Michael Manley in 1972. Manley introduced a programme which he called 'democratic socialism', a mixture of government ownership/control of key sectors of the economy along side existing private ownership. By 1974, the Manley government would literally take on the multinational bauxite companies.

Understanding the events which followed these moves by the government in Jamaica can shed some light on the problems which Grenada faced between 1979 and the US invasion. As the major supplier of bauxite ore for the American aluminium industry (Kaiser, Reynolds, Alcoa and Revere), the Jamaican challenge posed an international threat to the corporations. In 1974, Manley proposed a production levy on the corporations in an effort to increase Jamaican revenue from mining, but he also proposed a semi-nationalisation scheme, the purchase of 51 per cent of the mining operations on the island. In 1975, Jamaica, along with other major bauxite-producing nations, formed the IBA, International Bauxite Association (based on the OPEC model). Though the multinationals' managerial controls were never really weakened by any of these efforts, that did not save Jamaica from law suits filed by the companies. Moreover, Jamaica's aggressive economic moves assured a destabilisation campaign in 1975 reminiscent of the one aimed at Chile under Allende.⁶ Political and economic destabilisation would plague the next four years of Manley's administration and result in complete collapse of all the social and economic progress which the earlier policies of 'democratic socialism' had produced.

The scenario of internal violence and terror against the Jamaican population is important for understanding the developments in Grenada as well. The destabilisation campaign inside Jamaica was orchestrated by the private sector and the Jamaican Labour Party, under the leadership of Finance Minister Edward Seaga, with US approval and assistance. The country was virtually flooded with guns and explosives as violence was used to terrorise Jamaicans. Houses were burned, and gunmen shot those attempting to escape; food supplies were poisoned; Jamaican capitalists went on strike along with foreign capitalists by closing down factories, cutting back production and laying off workers; and an estimated \$200m was smuggled from the

country by wealthy Jamaicans.⁷ Unemployment soared, food shortages were rampant and political assassination was coupled with a barrage of anti-communist rhetoric from the right. Many of these activities were later tied to CIA complicity.

Though Manley was returned to power in the 1976 elections, the Jamaican economy never recovered from the debacle of destabilisation. In 1980, the last gun battles took place in Kingston as a new prime minister, Edward Seaga, renewed Jamaica's role of local mediator for US corporate interests in an electoral coup d'état.⁸ Seaga would be the first foreign dignitary to visit President Reagan after the latter's election and, in 1982, Reagan became the first US president to visit Jamaica.

Many may question the socialist character of Manley's economic programme in the same way that Maurice Bishop's policies in Grenada might be criticised. Nonetheless, the early economic efforts and the initial support given those policies by Jamaicans (and Grenadians) represented the first steps towards the rejection of dependency and towards a programme of national economic reconstruction. A litany of internally generated mistakes can be identified, but the undermining role of the IMF and the counter-insurgence of local political and economic forces cannot be overlooked in assessing Manley's programme.

Jamaica's brief experiment in 'democratic socialism' was a training ground of sorts for many 'ideologically left' individuals and organisations of the English-speaking Caribbean. The much debated position of 'critical support' had brought many of these activists into the Manley fold. However, giving way under increasing IMF pressure, Manley had begun by 1977 to move away from his more left-leaning supporters. Internal and external pressures led to the resignations of several radical ministers and advisers. But the Jamaican experience touched many, including young intellectuals who later would find a role in Grenada's experiment in reconstruction.

The development proposals of Grenada's Ministry of Finance, Trade and Planning (later the Ministry of Planning and Development), under the direction of Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, cannot be understood without these references to Jamaica. The approach was very similar, with efforts to build a mixed economy of government ownership working with private enterprise (two-thirds of Grenada's economy continued to be controlled by the private sector). There is every indication that Grenada would have entered into loan agreements with the IMF and/or the World Bank, the very move which had led Manley to disaster. Though many of the New Jewel leaders began their struggle for democratic institutions in Grenada in the late 1960s and had withstood Gairy's version of domestic terror – Mongoose Gang – for most of these young activists 1979 marked their

first experience in independently constructing an economic alternative.

The Grenada revolution had the unique status of being the first progressive seizure of power of a non-electoral nature in the English-speaking Caribbean. Still, the party which came to power in 1979 owed some of its support to the middle class in Grenada, not just to peasants and workers. This middle class had been in rebellion against Gairy for its own interests – interests concerned with power not ideology – since 1962. Even though Maurice Bishop and others may have envisioned entirely new democratic institutions in the form of the worker and peasant assemblies which might form the basis of a constituent assembly from which the country could be governed, the middle class rejected such a radical redistribution of political power. The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) was therefore accommodating to their tenuous allies as the country set about the development of the mixed economic development strategy which left intact private ownership. It should be noted, however, that Grenada's use of a completely participatory approach to economic decision making would be the most progressive yet attempted in the Caribbean.⁹

The early economic programmes of the PRG all proved to be beneficial to this middle class and resulted in the expansion of the private sector and an increase in private profits. Not only did the Bishop government provide incentives to private investors, but by 1982 an Investment Code had been drafted to attract foreign private investment as well. According to the World Bank report of 1982:

The Government continues to provide incentives to encourage private sector investment. These include incentives under the Fiscal Incentive Act geared primarily towards the encouragement of manufacturing activities by providing duty-free concessions, and tax holidays. Additional incentives are made available under the Qualified Enterprise Act and the Hotel Aid Ordinance.¹⁰

The PRG continued to consult with the private sector, and new cabinet appointments included individuals from its ranks. In St George's, the Chamber of Commerce continued to function autonomously as a forum for the private sector and was directed by the head of Grenada's largest importing firm.

The private sector was one of the major beneficiaries of Grenada's impressive growth record of 2.1 per cent in 1979 to 5.5. per cent in 1982 (during this same period, growth declined in the West as well as in most of the Caribbean nations). Government-sponsored programmes to rebuild the deteriorated infrastructure created both jobs and an enhanced quality of life. As the World Bank report indicates, this too was a plus for the private sector.

The Government recognises that inadequate infrastructure can seriously limit growth and efficiency in agriculture, manufacturing

and commerce. Therefore, the expansion and improvement of public infrastructure has been given high priority in public sector expenditure. The private sector expects to reap benefits from this effort, most of which is designed to support its activities.¹¹

Even the National Marketing Import Board, which was established by the PRG to stabilise the prices of basic food stuffs, was careful not to compete with private sector importers.

Despite these conciliatory efforts by the Bishop administration and its economic successes, the private sector still was not satisfied. Its opposition to Bishop manifested itself in ways reminiscent of Jamaica's middle class. As early as May 1979, Grenada's only local newspaper, the *Torchlight*, was charged with reprinting anti-government articles from the foreign press and stirring rumour and scandal about the PRG. In October Bishop ordered the paper closed, accusing the editor of working with the CIA to destabilise the country.¹² According to the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action (EPICA), several strikes in 1979 and 1980 at Grenada's electrical power plant and in the docks in St George's revealed connections between the country's trade union leadership and the American Institute for Free Labor Development, already known for its anti-communist views and covert counter-insurgent activities elsewhere in Latin America.¹³ Many of the members of these unions were, in fact, small businessmen and farmers. In 1981, a group of planters, merchants and lawyers (known as the Gang of 26) was foiled in its efforts to undermine the Bishop government.¹⁴

Besides these inside efforts which point to the personal involvement of members of Grenada's middle class, covert US efforts at destabilisation pepper the four years of the PRG – conspiracy, assassination attempts, planned mercenary invasions, and the well-known naval manoeuvres of 1981 (Ocean Venture '81), during which a mock amphibious landing of Marines, much like the actual invasion which took place on 25 October, was staged.

The US also used international and regional financial organisations to ensure Grenada's isolation and demise. Applications to the IMF, to AID and to the Caribbean Development Bank were all blocked. Meanwhile, the US 'encouraged' the formation of the organisation of Eastern Caribbean States with promises of economic assistance for those who agreed to be vigilant with Grenada. Later, of course, this organisation would provide the US with a convenient 'invitation' to invade Grenada.

In spite of these destabilisation efforts, Grenada's economic and political development were able to move forward. By 1982, the now well-known international airport was on its way to completion, with Cuban and European assistance.¹⁵ Grenada had also entered into new trade agreements with the Soviet Union, East Germany and other

eastern European nations. Already secure in its trade relations with Canada and western Europe through the European Economic Community, the new trade arrangements promised to reduce substantially trade deficits, as these countries had agreed to trade in the local currency. Also, for the first time, Grenada would be able to plan with projections of assured revenue from her agricultural exports because of guaranteed sales, where price fluctuations and the frequent gluts in the market for bananas and spices had in the past led to severe deficits when Grenada traded with the US alone. Additionally, increased demand for Grenada's agricultural exports could have the possible consequence of encouraging greater productive efforts in the country as a result of increased opportunity. The objections made to Grenada's new arrangements were that the agreements with the Eastern bloc might have the effect of locking her into agricultural production over the long run, and maybe even necessitating that exports be diverted from western Europe to eastern Europe. The trade arrangement, however, must be viewed within the larger scope of Grenada's regional objectives.

The Grenadians had already attempted to fight the isolation being imposed by US policy by diversifying its trading partners and undertaking more trade, both economic, cultural and educational, with its CARICOM neighbours. But the influence of Reagan's surrogates, like Edward Seaga in Jamaica, Tom Adams in Barbados and Eugenia Charles in Dominica, consistently blocked these efforts to reduce dependence on the US. What started out as a conservative breeze in the Caribbean with the election of Seaga in 1980, turned into a hurricane as right-wing leaders came to power in St Vincent, Antigua, St Kitts/Nevis. The murder of Walter Rodney¹⁶ in Guyana in 1980 unmasked, for the still doubting, the political face of the Burnham government in that country. Trinidad maintained its political isolation under the conservative leadership of Chambers. The US had its own regional approach to development. The Caribbean Basin Initiative (first proposed in 1981) was to be a way of further securing these Caribbean 'allies' and their Central American counterparts in El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. The Initiative which has passed the US Congress cost over \$400m, a disproportionate share of which was channelled in the form of military assistance to El Salvador. In addition, the Initiative established tax free zones (adding to those already operating) for corporations in participating countries and duty free entry into the US of most products being produced by these corporations. The most active lobbying for the Initiative came from the private sector in the region and a coalition of top corporate executives in the US, including David Rockefeller, the heads of Eastern Air Lines, Alcoa, Coca Cola, Control Data, and other corporations already with a stake in resecuring their Caribbean and Central American market. The acceptance of the

Initiative by the Congress (including support from members of the Black Caucus) reveals once again the use of foreign policy by the US as a corporate tool.

Corporate interest in Grenada has not been swayed by the military invasion of 25 October. Far from being dampened, private sector enthusiasm has actually increased. According to *Newsweek* magazine, a 'second invasion' would follow the military landing, that of potential US investors. A US Commerce Department official reported that businessmen looking for cheap labour and/or beach-front property were 'champing at the bit'.¹⁷ Not only did the White House host a special briefing for 125 of these businessmen to inform them of 'investment opportunities', but the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives would sponsor a special tour of the island for them as well.

These White House efforts were in large part measures outlined by a special investigating team which visited the island after the invasion. The inter-agency team, which was dominated by USAID, reported their 'findings' in a report, submitted in November of 1983, called 'Prospects for Growth in Grenada: the role of the private sector'. The proposals of the investigating team mirror the USAID's proposed \$20m master plan for Grenada and call quite simply for the island's complete submission to foreign capital needs.¹⁸ The basis for these proposals, however, must also be attributed to members of Grenada's private sector, who are themselves dependent on foreign commerce.

The report calls for dismantling all of the public sector initiatives developed by the PRG. The Bishop government's approach to economic development had been based on an extended role of the state. Though investment in the infrastructure and other measures were actually beneficial for the private sector, as the World Bank report pointed out, there were still fears that in the long run some measures might 'restrict profit'. The US report sheds more light on these concerns for unlimited profit by pointing to specific state ventures which they say 'infringed upon prerogatives of the private sector and which should be abolished or sold to private interests'.¹⁹ These ventures include the Agro-Industries Plant, the Fish Processing Plant, the state farms, the Grenada Resorts Corporation and, most importantly, the Marketing and National Importing Board which the Bishop government used to control the prices of basic food stuffs which were imported. The US inter-agency report called specifically for eliminating the state's role in marketing imports. The closing of these state sector projects has propelled Grenada's unemployment rate to pre-1979 levels. Private sector complaints about small entrepreneur efforts even led to a ban on vendor trafficking without a licence after the invasion. All price controls have been lifted on food stuffs. Since the US invasion, all of the following PRG social and economic programmes have been cancelled: adult literacy, free milk distribution, housing

repair, free school books and uniforms, free basic medical care; in addition, the Cooperative Development Agency credit scheme for farmers, which allowed those without land to receive loans from the government, has been altered so that only land-owners may now participate; Sandino, the plant manufacturing building-blocks has been closed, along with the asphalt factory; workers on the airport site have been dismissed, though there are plans to hire American engineers when work resumes; the National Transportation Service, which was created to facilitate travel between the country and the city, is now in jeopardy as all government subsidies are cut, leaving drivers with the responsibility of making runs maintain themselves.²⁰ The dismemberment of the public sector and all social programmes for the population has allowed Grenada to 'qualify' for participation in the Caribbean Basin Initiative. Much like the requirements of the international lending organisations, the CBI also demands that participating countries show a 'willingness and ability to control their labor force'. In their proposals for Grenada, the US investigating team stipulated that a 'compliant labor force be ensured'.²¹

There are reports that Grenada's liberal investment code will be rewritten with provisions that not only extend tax holidays (to twenty years) and waive foreign exchange tax when profits are remitted overseas, but also give investors the right *not* to recognise trade unions for the first two to three years of investment. In practice, this will also legitimise a public role for the counter-insurgent American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), whose field officers have already been 'invited' into the country by their old ally, the head of Grenada's Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union. These field representatives now have specific responsibility for reorganising Grenada's agricultural workers, whose president, Fitzroy Bain, was killed in October along with Prime Minister Bishop. The renewed involvement of AIFLD points to the continuation of the role of psychological operations in Grenada. Though US military troops withdrew from Grenada in December, they left behind 300 'non-combatants', including the entire Psychological Operations Battalion (Psy-Ops) of the US army. The US fears renewed labour organising and demands for real democratisation, despite the press coverage which paints a picture of Grenadian acquiescence. While the early role of Psy-Ops was to make popular the invading military units, their present task is to smite the image and memory of the Grenadian revolution. Posters, handbills, radio broadcasts and graffiti not only ridicule Bernard Coard and Hudson Austin, but blatantly condemn the PRG. In fact, it is the memory of Maurice Bishop which appears to be the primary target of the unit's campaign.²² Challenging historical memory, however, may prove to be a harder task than flooding the tiny island with a 5,000-man military force. Therefore, the US plans to

handle by intimidation that which their propaganda fails to produce, by singling Grenadians out one by one for questioning and detention and placing limits on employment. There are also plans to use indigenous sources for re-socialisation on the island. The Inter-American Press Association, a grouping of right-wing newspaper owners and publishers in the Americas with known ties to the CIA and the US Information Service, will soon make a gift of equipment to the *Grenada Voice* newspaper. Similar assistance is being planned by the American Newspaper Publishers Association.²³

The post-invasion developments in Grenada are indicative of a new future for the Caribbean dominated by the US. America has clearly replaced England as the major western influence in the English-speaking Caribbean. More importantly, US influence has shaped a new conservatism in these countries, and a new definition of regional unity based on allegiance to Washington has emerged. We are sure to see US plans, which were previously experimental, formalised (such as the establishment of a Caribbean military task force much like the one currently stationed in Grenada), and the use of force become a permanent fixture in the region. Most importantly, economic aid is now explicitly tied to political acquiescence; the new conservatives view themselves as providing a paid service for Washington.

Though these developments dominate the political direction of the official leadership of the Caribbean, grassroots movements are sure to continue and to escalate. The greatest challenge to capitalism will continue to come from national liberation movements in the Third World. All have the expressed objective of moving out of the orbit of dependency, away from the repression and poverty of capitalist development. There are no easy models for these countries; there are no guaranteed solutions as movements experiment, balanced tenuously between East and West.

For the US, the option is clear: any further threat to capitalism abroad must be met with covert and overt force as the search for cheap labour and more markets continues. Historically, capitalism has always turned to international solutions for its falling rate of profit domestically. As the US economy continues its staggering march to transformation domestically, a new international division of labour will be worked out and attacks by the US against progressive economic alternatives will continue. The Grenada invasion merely unmasked these intentions and demonstrated the 'new colonialism' which now threatens the Third World.

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- 2 'Soviet penetration of the Caribbean', *National Security Record*, The Heritage Foundation (No. 22, June 1980).
- 3 'A new inter-American policy for the eighties', prepared by the Committee of Santa Fe, part of the Council for Inter-American Security Inc. (1980).
- 4 Jenny Pearce, *Under the Eagle* (Boston, 1982), p. 73.

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- 6 James Phillips, 'Renovation of the international economic order: Trilateralism, the IMF, and Jamaica', in Holly Sklar (ed.), *Trilateralism: the Trilateral Commission and elite planning for world management* (Boston, 1980), p. 478.
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- 8 Norman Girvan and Richard Bernal, 'The IMF and the foreclosure of development options: the case of Jamaica', *Monthly Review* (Vol. 33, no. 9, 1982), pp. 34-48.
- 9 Members of the New Jewel Movement opposed the Westminster parliamentary model in the years prior to the 1979 revolution and continued to discuss alternatives afterwards. Though the PRG was criticised in the West for not sponsoring national elections, mass public participation was encouraged through the Workers' Parish Councils and other participatory forms. The greatest success of these alternative forms of mass participation came with the adoption of the budget plan for the country of 1983. For a discussion of the process of this grass roots participation, see Merle Hodge and Chris Searle, *'is freedom we making': the New Democracy in Grenada* (Grenada, 1981).
- 10 'Economic Memorandum on Grenada', document of the World Bank (4 August 1982), p.15.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 EPICA Task Force, *Grenada: the peaceful revolution* (1982), p. 59. EPICA points out the frequent use of the press in US covert action (p. 60): 'The United States has a long record of using the "free press" in foreign countries to facilitate coups, interventions and destabilisations by running articles which create fear of communism among the local population. This happened with *El Mercurio* in Chile during the government of Salvador Allende; with *El Caribe* in the Dominican Republic during the regime of Juan Bosch; and with *The Gleaner* in Jamaica during the second administration of Michael Manley. While at the local level, the *Torchlight* charged that the PRG was being "ultra-sensitive" and "overreacting", in the larger hemispheric sense, the PRG claim that the *Torchlight* "was a CIA asset" was accurate and justified taking national security precautions.'
- 13 Ibid. p. 62-3. The leadership of the following unions had been trained by AIFLD: TAWU (Technical and Allied Workers' Union), TUC (Grenada's Trade Union Council), SWWU (Seamen and Waterfront Workers Union), Taxi Drivers Union, and CIWU (Commercial and Industrial Workers Union).
- 14 Nicaragua, too, has attempted to develop an approach to economic development leaving intact the private sector. The US wasted no time in channelling funds to these individuals through the Nicaraguan Council of Private Enterprise, which committed acts of destabilisation inside the country's capital city.
- 15 A British firm, Plessey Airports, designed the airport and acted as the prime contractor; a Florida-based firm was paid \$3m to dredge Harley Bay which the airport runway crossed; a British firm was responsible for the electronics, at a cost of £7.8m and a Finnish firm would supply the runway lighting at a cost of 10.5 Finnish Marks.
- 16 For background information on Walter Rodney, see Trevor Campbell, 'The making of an organic intellectual: Walter Rodney (1942-1980)', *Latin American Perspectives* (Vol. VIII, no. 1, Winter, 1981).
- 17 *Newsweek* (12 December 1983), p. 33.
- 18 Cathy Sunshine and Philip Wheaton, *Death of a Revolution: an analysis of the Grenada tragedy and the US invasion*, EPICA Special Report (January 1984), p. 24.
- 19 Ibid., p. 24.
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- 21 EPICA Special Report, January 1984, op. cit., p.24.
- 22 Ibid., p.26.
- 23 *Indies Times* (14 April 1984), p.1.

Notes and documents

The *Mukhabarat* state: testimony of a Palestinian woman prisoner

Abla al Hassan is a middle-aged Palestinian woman, married with four children under 14, headmistress since 1961 of an UNRWA school in Sidon, who has spent most of the last two years in Israeli prisons. Imprisoned under the Administrative Detention Act of 1944 (which has no validity in Lebanon), Abla was never charged by the Israeli state with any hostile act, nor with membership in any 'terrorist' (i.e., nationalist) organisation; her release was made conditional on either her husband, M— A— M— giving himself up or Abla informing the Israelis where he was. In other words, she was held as a hostage. Released during the general exchange of prisoners between Israel and the PLO in November 1983, Abla was re-arrested for another ten days in December, though it was the prisoners' understanding that they could not be imprisoned again except on fresh charges. It is striking that, during the sixteen months of Abla's imprisonment, no effective protest was made by any national or international body, though taking hostages is explicitly banned in the Geneva Convention of 1949. The absence of PLO protest is understandable – it could hardly take action for one prisoner when thousands of Palestinians were being held. But it is harder to explain the ineffectiveness of international organisations such as the UN (Abla is a UN employee under local contract), or the International Red Cross.

In singling out Abla al Hassan, I do not suggest that her case is unique, or that it illustrates in any extreme way Israel's control measures in South Lebanon. On the contrary, because of her age and, probably, class, Abla was better treated than some of the other women prisoners – for example, she was never beaten. What makes her story important (apart from her hostage status) is the view she gives of Israel's control and information-gathering system in South Lebanon, a privileged zone

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Grenada: diary of an invasion

Grenada was preparing to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Revolution and the opening of the new International Airport at Point Salines. Tragically, disunity stemming from the highest ranks of the New Jewel Movement found its way on to the streets. The masses took to the town in support of Maurice Bishop, resulting in the Fort Rupert shooting on 19 October. A slogan of the Revolution was proved to be true: United we stand – divided we fall. Over the succeeding days the Revolutionary Military Council made desperate attempts, too late, to reunite the people. This was what the United States administration had been waiting for – an excuse to invade. Using its surrogates in the region (in particular, Barbados, Jamaica and Dominica), it carried out its well-prepared plan.

This document on the invasion takes the form of a diary supported by brief accounts of local, regional and international reactions. The diary is written from accounts given by four internationalist workers who were in Grenada during the period. They were living in different parts of the parish of St George.

The Limes is a heavily populated area close to the new International Airport at the southern tip of Grenada. A dry, fairly flat area, it is where most of the housing projects were being carried out. It was one of the main areas of resistance against the US troops advancing from their landing-point at Point Salines airport. One of the four workers was living in one of a group of houses mostly occupied by non-Grenadians – internationalist workers and American students at the St George's Medical School.

Grand Anse is the main tourist area of Grenada, about half a mile from the Limes, towards the town of St George's. It is known for its beautiful beaches. This worker had only just arrived to work in Grenada. She was staying in a hotel (the Hibiscus Inn) opposite a row of cottages used for housing the Cuban doctors and teachers, and government workers. From the hotel she could see across to one of the campuses of the Medical School, situated on the Grand Anse beach. The radio station (Radio Free Grenada) was also in this area, a little way up the road from the hotel belt.

Belmont is a community on the narrow main road which runs between St George's and Grand Anse. It is heavily populated. The houses cluster above and below the road. In the hills behind are many colonial-type middle-class houses. There is a small beach, known as Panday beach, which is always crowded with local bathers and groups of all ages discussing the latest events and gossip. There is a community centre and public washing facilities close to the beach. Butler House, the office of the prime minister, was situated here on a projecting hillside overlooking the town of St George's. This large white building, which under the Gairy regime had been a hotel, was, under the Revolution, opened up to the people and many public meetings were held in its large halls. Belmont was always known for its street 'liming' and parties. This worker lived in a house overlooking Panday beach, near Butler House.

St George's is the capital of Grenada. It is a beautiful old harbour town. Inter-island schooners draw up in the Carenage to load up with produce for one of Grenada's sister islands, Carriacou, and Trinidad. From here you can look up the steep hill to where the Richmond Hill prison, the mental hospital, the children's home and the militia headquarters at Fort Frederick are situated.

The diary begins the day before the invasion.

* * *

Monday 24 October

News headlines on Radio Free Grenada

Grenada remains on military alert in the face of an invasion threat. The Revolutionary Military Council (RMC) has declared that any invasion is illegal and will be resisted. There has been widespread condemnation throughout the region at plans to invade Grenada ... The RMC called on all peace-loving countries throughout the world and all organisations throughout the region to condemn the invasion move.

Diary

Today is a normal working day. Curfew was lifted from 6am to 8pm.

Grand Anse was as normal. A road-repair team had begun work. Some workers were busy on a new building further down the road. The medical students were jogging as usual – curfew or no curfew. Reagan's task force of battleships and aircraft carriers with 1,900 marines was on its way to 'evacuate' them. In St George's everybody was talking about the invasion – it was clear that it was coming. The town was bustling, hot and wet, as one downpour followed another. Some people were trying to get flights out and others to get their money out of the banks. Scheduled flights from Pearls Airport were to have resumed today, but the Caricom/OECS economic and political sanctions had already taken effect. No flights leaving Grenada were allowed to land anywhere else in the region. There was also talk that the Eastern Caribbean dollar had collapsed.

Grand Anse beach was crowded with bathers in the afternoon. The People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), expecting a beach landing, had set up barbed wire on one section of the beach and had dug trenches. A small group of men was installed there. A group of rastas declared in heated debate: 'Them Caribbean politicians too wicked. They want us to starve now. We don't need no marines on our land.' The general feeling was that we had to look to the future and try to overcome our grief and pain.

In the evening another thunderstorm broke. There was a lot of activity on the road in front of our hotel as truckloads of PRA passed by. They sang: 'No, no, no Imperialism no. No backward reaction can stop the Revolution. No, no, no Imperialism no.' Cuban doctors and teachers were being evacuated from some of the Carifta cottages in front of us. The safety of the Cubans if the Americans invaded was always a major point of discussion at our hotel – where could they find safety? Everyone, Grenadians and visitors, were unanimous in their admiration of the Cuban workers. There was another group of people whose safety we also worried about. This was the delegation of fifteen engineers and planners from the People's Democratic Republic of Korea. They were in Grenada to help build a sports stadium, the newest project of the department of sports in the Ministry of Education.

Notes

- Over the weekend meetings had been held between members of the RMC and the staff and students of the St George's Medical School. Only 10 per cent of the students felt they wanted to be evacuated out of the country at this time, and then only temporarily.
- Five hundred parents of the American students at the Medical School met yesterday in New York and decided to send a telegram to President Reagan urging him not to move too quickly and not to take provocative action.

Tuesday 25th October

Grenada woke to the sound of two unlit US reconnaissance planes circling high above St George's.

Radio Free Grenada

Last night 800 regional forces were grouped in Barbados. During the night there has been movement of troops out from Barbados. At this moment a plane is circling over our island, in particular over the capital, and a boat has been sighted approximately four and a half miles from the south-west coast. Grenada is braced for a foreign attack which could come at any time.

5.40am US paratroopers have invaded Grenada with helicopter gunships. Grenadians, our country is now under attack. At 5.40 this morning foreign troops began invading our country. Our armed forces are engaging them in fierce battle. All Grenadians are asked to report immediately to our respective militia bases. All doctors, nurses and medics report to the hospital immediately. Grenadians, stand and fight. Now is the time when you have been called upon to come together. Unite and fight, to defend our country, our homeland, our Revolution. Grenadians block all roads and obstruct the enemy's progress.

Diary

As the reconnaissance plane came lower down, Grenadian forces opened fire with anti-aircraft guns. Broadcasts from Barbados claimed that by 6.15 Pearls Airport and Point Salines had been taken by the Americans. They also said that Radio Free Grenada had fallen. At 6.15 and for almost two hours after that Radio Free Grenada was still on the air, exhorting Grenadians to stand and fight.

The Limes: As fighting became heavy, we found the safest shelter we could in our house. The first jets swept over at 11am. Others followed, breaking the sound barrier all around us. I wept at the destruction and devastation of Grenada's hopes. The phones were still working. I contacted a friend who said that already two helicopters had been shot down and that there was fierce resistance in their area. Regional radio stations started giving estimates of the Cuban dead. No Grenadian figures. At 4pm heavy fighting began again. Black smoke rose from a destroyed helicopter that had crashed into a house.

Grand Anse: The first helicopter gunships flew over into the hills behind us to 'mop up' Grenadian positions. Resistance was fierce and defiant. After three hours of this heavy resistance the US decided to unleash the fighter jets. They screamed overhead. Bombing and strafing began. Strangely enough, nothing stirred at the campus of St

George's Medical School opposite our hotel. As evening came, the Korean delegation decided to leave the hotel and seek the safety of the Soviet Embassy up the road. Under cover of darkness, a small group of the People's Militia arrived at the hotel, leaving with us one wounded comrade. They also brought the news that the Richmond Hill institutions (the hospital for the mentally handicapped and the children's home) had been bombed in the attack on Fort Frederick. They said that the PRA were still holding Radio Free Grenada. They spoke of the strong comradeship that had developed between them over the last three days in the hills and of the extraordinary strength of the Militia sisters. The air attack continued throughout the night.

Belmont: The PRA around our house organised a runner to check on the safety of civilians. Their calmness, clarity and humanity will always remain a tribute to the best ideals of a People's Revolutionary Army. They remained in post on the beach and at the anti-aircraft gun barricade at the road.

Trevor, from St Andrews, the communications man of the unit, remained on our balcony keeping in contact with the command unit. He talked with us about the crisis and the invasion. For anyone who loved their country there was no choice but to stand up and fight.

Fighting continued heavily during that day and we remained under shelter, creeping out during lulls in the fighting to get food and drink. Later, helicopters began circling and machine-gunning directly around the house. Jets screamed overhead and bombed Butler House and other targets. Part of our house was hit in this attack. The PRA unit behind us put up a strong fight, bringing one helicopter down into the sea. Other helicopter gunships continued to circle trying to locate the anti-aircraft gun. We settled, all nine of us, into the tiny shelter for the rest of the night.

Notes

- The invading forces set up a transmitter and began their psychological propaganda campaign.
- Throughout the morning regional radio stations said that by noon US troops would have the situation firmly under their control. They also claimed that the fierce resistance to the invading forces came from the Cubans.
- International condemnation of the invasion begins. Thatcher expressed annoyance that Reagan had not listened to her advice. British MPs felt that the Queen, as head of the Commonwealth, had been snubbed and were worried about worsening Anglo-American relations.
- Nicaragua, supported by Guyana, Zimbabwe and the Soviet Union, called for an immediate emergency meeting of the UN Security Council.

● President Reagan and Eugenia Charles (Dominica's prime minister) hold a press conference in Washington. President Reagan said the purpose of the action in Grenada was 'to protect innocent lives, end chaos and restore law and order.'

● The advertisement for the *Nation* newspaper over Barbados radio was particularly vulgar: 'Don't go home without your Grenada invasion special.'

Wednesday, 26 October

Diary

The Limes: This morning was quieter in our area. We watched the jets flying into St George's, circling, then diving towards the town, bombing. One of the medical students came over to our house and said that they had been told to prepare for evacuation. All we could take with us was what we could carry. I had one small case and my baby to carry. The medical students seemed very disturbed that the fighting had continued into the second day. The invading forces had not made evacuation the purpose of their mission and now they found themselves in the middle of a war. As a result they were obviously frantic to get out as soon as possible.

Around midday another violent attack began. By 3.00pm we noticed US marines in the field behind us. All Grenadians were moving out of the area towards Point Salines, clutching babies, children and bags. We decided to stay and found a safer shelter in another house.

Less than half an hour later, the heaviest bombing and ground attack began. It continued solidly for five hours. I was very concerned for those people now out in the open.

Grand Anse: This morning a distraught Cuban staggered into the Hibiscus. He had escaped from an attack on the dormitories of the Cuban construction workers at Point Salines and reached the hotel by crawling through miles of bushland. Obviously from the rural areas of Cuba, he told us in Spanish of a massacre of Cuban construction workers at the airport. He said the men had been viciously gunned down in their dormitories. He said almost everyone in his dormitory had been killed and the few who escaped had got separated from each other in the bush. He took refuge in the Soviet Embassy.

The attack on Grand Anse began suddenly, shortly before 4.00pm. At the time, we were listening to a radio broadcast from Barbados announcing a complete American victory and repeating that all fighting had ceased on the 'Spice Isle'. This was shattered by the sound of low-flying jets directly overhead and of explosions very close by.

Looking over to the Carifta Cottages, helicopter gunships were

already at work. They hovered between the two rows of houses, firing directly into them. There was a flash of fire and the sound of burning and flying debris.

When it was over we saw two cottages which took direct hits razed to the ground. Three people – two badly and one fatally wounded – were driven to the hospital in St George's by one of the hotel workers. We never found out about others. Under attack we evacuated ourselves from the Hibiscus and made it to the Seascope Inn in St George's. From there we could see the battle of Grand Anse continuing.

Belmont: That morning, between bouts of fighting, people came out to inspect the damage done in their area. Dumped ammunition, later collected by the members of the armed forces, was examined and many people went up to Butler House to check the burnt out building. Looting began.

Early that afternoon, I ventured down to the beach below my house and sat watching the helicopters moving in droves towards Point Salines. I took up conversation with a man from my community. We talked at length about the situation. Two points remain clear in my mind. He talked about the struggle that Grenadians had gone through over the years. How under Gairy the people were denied education. He said I must remember that Gairyites never changed, that they would never want the people to know. He said that the most important thing that the Revolution had brought was education. The Revolution wanted people to learn, understand and grow. Now we would realise how important that is. Now we had a duty to continue the process in whatever way we are able. We sat on as the ships and helicopters continued their movements off the coast. The International Airport, he declared sadly, had proved to be useless. The troops would not have been able to land. He said he would stay, stay in his house. It was his home. He said that I, whose home was in England, should make sure that I tell the people of the achievements of the Revolution and of the Grenadian people.

At 6 that evening I watched six helicopter gunships strafing the Grand Anse area, in particular Radio Free Grenada, which went up in flames.

Notes

● Grenada's representatives, Caldwell Taylor and Ian Jacobs, manage to make strong representations at the UN.

● Chambers (prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago) stands by his view that non-military means should have been used. He calls for a peace-keeping force to be established at the earliest possible opportunity and for the withdrawal of US troops.

● Strong condemnation of the invasion comes in from the Caribbean Council of Churches.

- The implications for the future of regional organisations such as Caricom are becoming clear.
- The Surinamese government has asked the Cuban government to withdraw its ambassador. The US achieves its end in creating fear in the governments of small countries and in increasing the isolation of Cuba.

Thursday, 27 October

Diary

The Limes: Everybody had left the area except for our household and the medical students next door. A friend arrived, having walked from the north-east zone of the parish of St George, through town and through Grand Anse. Where he had stayed the previous night he had met with many Militia and PRA friends who told him of devastating attacks by the US. They themselves had been given civilian clothes and food by the people of the villages and shown safe paths to take through the bush. They told him that hundreds of Grenadians had been killed and many more wounded. He noticed that the gas station in the village had been bombed and that Queen's Park was a US military camp. Road blocks had been set up throughout the town. There was looting in the stores and supermarkets. Fighting in the hills around St George's was still continuing.

But this time, the marines were on three sides of us, carrying out house-to-house searches. They said they were looking for Cubans. The students were being evacuated and we were told to leave our house. We joined the students and were led on foot the two miles to Point Salines by well-armed marines. The Cuban ambassador's house situated on this road was destroyed. The thirty-five students with us were the last to be evacuated, but the war continued.

Belmont: During the day we got continual verbal reports of US ground troops moving slowly up from Grand Anse. This morning, people gathered to collect water from a tank near the house. Everybody exchanged stories. Some spoke out against the looting that was well under way. The need at this time, they said, was for people to work together and help one another. Some sisters of the National Women's Organisation were worried about the food situation, especially for those sisters with young children. Cars were beginning to move along Belmont Road, flying white flags from their aerials.

Later, heavy bombardment began, with jets and helicopter gunships moving in over the hills to the south-east.

At 6pm the marines reached our area. They were panicked and frightened by two truckloads of ammunition abandoned near Butler

House. That night they used bright, long-lasting flares to help in their search of the area. They were convinced that the PRA was going to ambush them.

Some marines came in to talk to us. They asked us to tell them about Grenada before the death of the Prime Minister.

St George's: Jets were attacking behind Morne Jaloux and into the Calivigny area. Amazingly, at 10am, *Gliding Star*, the inter-island schooner, came quietly into the Carenage harbour. A small heavily-armed US naval launch followed.

We realised that the town was now under US control as we watched large numbers of marines and trucks making their way from the town to outlying areas. They looked extremely edgy as they shouted meaningless commands to each other. The people in the streets looked on in silence. There were no welcoming cheers.

A jeep drove on to the Tanteen pasture below to inspect the burned-out remains of a US helicopter. The Grenadian flags on Fort Frederick were down.

That night we got news that the occupying army suspected that General Hudson Austin was holed up in a house in the Calivigny area. Flares lit up that area in the south of the island and were then followed by heavy bombardment.

Notes

- '610 Radio' in Trinidad announces that more US reinforcements are on their way to back up the 6,000 already on Grenadian soil.
- International condemnation continues, but Eugenia Charles and Tom Adams justify the invasion, alleging that there is a letter from Sir Paul Scoon, the governor general, authorising it. However, the existence and legality of such a letter are dubious.
- Only US casualty figures have been released so far; the last remaining prisoners on Richmond Hill are let out.
- 'Radio Antilles' broadcasts a message from Dessima Williams, Grenada's ambassador to the OAS, condemning the invasion.

Friday, 28 October

Diary

Belmont: Looting continued unchecked. Road blocks were set up and US troops began picking up supporters of the Revolution. Although fighting continued in the hills around and there was still sniping in town, most PRA were now in plain clothes. Two forces were operating. On the one hand, informers worked freely on the streets pointing out the 'enemy' to the troops. Meanwhile, others were aiding

fellow Grenadians, giving them food and shelter. Not everybody was cowed by the enormity of the invasion.

One young marine told us about his home town in the States. How the only way to survive was to get out, the only way to get out was to get a college degree, and the only way to get that was to join the marines. He said he did not understand why they were in this country – just something about the prime minister being shot, communism and that 'they had come to save the people'. He was amazed to hear that Grenada was a country of peace and stability until now. That it was safe to walk anywhere at night, that there had been free health and education, that there had been a national transport system, that the people, although poor, had food, electricity, water and housing, that the country had been run by Grenadians, not Cubans and Russians. He was stunned by the beauty of the country and shocked that so many women had stood up and fought in the defence of their country. The resistance of the Grenadians had made him think. He declared that he wished he could return to Grenada under different circumstances and talk to the people. The whole thing made no sense to him. The same, he said, was true in Beirut when he was there two years ago, and he expected it to be so when they reached Beirut this time.

St George's: In the morning, streams of people were making their way into town – all kinds of people, carrying what they could, the older people struggling to walk. They must have walked miles. One man told us that the Americans had dropped leaflets in the Morne Jaloux, Calivigny and Marian areas telling people to evacuate their homes. The previous day other leaflets had told them to stay indoors. These areas were fiercely attacked by jets and then helicopter gunships. The Cuban Embassy was in Morne Jaloux.

Marines had entered the Minister of Foreign Affairs and looted it for documents. Women and children collecting water near the Botanical Gardens were reported to have been physically and verbally abused by marines.

In the afternoon one of the hotel staff came back to the hotel. He was very shaken. The night before he had been picked up by the marines along with five other men and taken to the bombed-out shell of Butler House. There they were trussed up and interrogated all night as to the whereabouts of the PRA, the Militia, Cubans and arms. That morning he had been released with two others. His hands and feet were very swollen, he had rope burns on his wrists and ankles and bruises all over his body. He had been referred to by his captors as a prisoner of war.

This was also the day when we had trouble with informers. A man came up to the hotel and said he was going to tell the marines that there were Cubans here. Later, more people came to shelter with us and the hotel rooms became very crowded.

Notes

- Regional and international media continue to relay the lies that it was Cubans fighting in Grenada.
- Radio interview with Cuban Minister for Foreign Affairs, Malmierca, stating that the number of Cubans in Grenada was less than 800, none of whom were combat soldiers. The construction workers had been given small arms by Maurice Bishop in case their dormitories at the airport should be attacked. There were only five military advisers. He repeated that the airport at Point Salines was not being built for military purposes.
- At this time the US had estimated the number of Cubans in Grenada as 1,100, claiming that they were combat troops.
- Condemnation of the invasion comes from the World Council of Churches.
- The Security Council at the UN voted on the resolution put by Nicaragua, eleven in favour, three abstentions (Britain, Togo and Zaire). The US, as one of the five major powers, vetoed it.

Saturday, 29 October

Diary

Belmont: In the morning, people crowd around the water tanks again. I get news whispered to me from one of the National Women's Organisation sisters that all the houses in the area have been searched and many people detained. There was some socialising with marines, but it was noticeable that most of the women simply went about their business, ignoring them as far as possible. While walking along the road with a friend, heavy fighting started again in the hill above us. It was extraordinary how our senses had become accustomed to the stress and noise and we simply continued to walk on.

White flags were flying from many houses and more cars were on the road. Strict searches were carried out at regular road checkpoints. Former prisoners were conspicuous on the roads.

Later, a friend drove me down to check on someone who lived in the housing scheme behind the Lime Gap. The area was deserted except for a few scattered people wandering through the houses clutching precious belongings. Some houses were burnt out and the walls showed showers of bullet holes.

A reporter, one of the first to be allowed in, was at a checkpoint asking for information.

In town, the streets were deserted except for a few Caribbean troops. The first I had seen.

St Georges: News had reached us that foreigners who wanted to leave

the country could do so from Point Salines, courtesy of the US State Department. The hotel workers who had stayed with us and supported us so magnificently throughout that period still had no idea what had happened to their families and they were anxious to find out. It was then decided that everyone had to leave the hotel. There was no time to say goodbye. We had to enlist the help of marines to get a lift to Point Salines.

We were stopped every few yards. Our luggage was checked for weapons. At one point we were asked about the PRA, the Militia and the Cubans.

Point Salines was swarming with US troops. The Stars and Stripes was raised.

We were loaded on to a C-130 military transport plane and taken to Barbados airport – a willing stepping-stone of imperialist aggression.

Notes

- Tom Adams, prime minister of Barbados, arrives in Grenada, Seaga, prime minister of Jamaica, arrives on Sunday – their first visit to Grenada.
- Bernard Coard, Phyllis Coard, Selwyn Strachan and Liam James are captured.
- Radio 'Spice Isle' starts broadcasting with an address by Sir Paul Scoon.

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Grenada: tongues of the new dawn

After the imperialist enemy has murdered the body of the revolution, its message lives on in the ideas it created, and the words it found to express these those ideas. The fact that the Grenada Revolution was the first English-speaking revolution means that for the first time a revolution is sustained in the English language, and the extraordinary way the revolutionaries used it to bear their genius and their process. They took the English language, an alien and occupying institution in itself that had been the carrier of colonialism and slavery, and used it to carve a new reality that was indisputedly *theirs*, that scorned mimicry and dependence, the true vehicle of the creative originality that was the essence of their revolution.

This truth is vitally expressed in the poems that follow, written by the people who helped to build the Grenada Revolution. Some of them first appeared in a small book, *Tongues of the New Dawn*, that was published by the Ministry of Education, to celebrate the second anniversary of the Revolution and, in particular, the success of the First Phase of the Centre for Popular Education, which in a few hard-working months had almost eliminated the national blight of illiteracy. Others were written subsequently, and became the property of the Grenadian people through being read at parish councils, zonal councils and meetings of the mass organisations of women, youth, children and farmers throughout the nation. 'I Militia', for example, became nationally famous overnight when its author, a young primary school teacher and militiawoman, read her poem to the assembled mass of thousands of Militia members after the 'Heroes of the Homeland'

national defence manoeuvre of August 1981. Poetry was coming straight out of the people through the skill and commitment of the poets and their integral connection to the masses, and through the new democratic organs was going directly back to them with a red-hot immediacy, striking the chords of dignity and struggle. Thus the poet became the conductor of revolutionary language and propagator of the process.

The five years of the Grenada Revolution have signalled the death of poetry as an elitist, rarefied and esoteric form in the Caribbean, as it had been fixed on to the region by the coloniser. It became at one with the popular consciousness, a natural and expected part of any democratic assembly or rally, being declaimed – often to the accompaniment of African drumming, as with the poetry of Michael 'Senator' Mitchell – with all the pride and love which the Grenada Revolution brought to the working people of Grenada and the Caribbean. Its only precedent in the English language was the mass grasp of popular poetry that accompanied the first great working-class upsurge in Europe: the Chartist movement of the middle of last century.

These poems express the truths of the Revolution as they continue in the minds of the Grenadian people: the concrete benefits in housing, food, work, health and education; the growing understanding of concepts like 'imperialism' or 'destabilisation'; the internationalist consciousness that was sweeping the villages, telling the people that they were no longer small islanders but a part of the world: the pride in being a Grenadian woman who was at last contributing a full and recognised measure to her own process and her own development, truly 'equal in production and defence', the belief in 'education from the cradle to the grave': the sense of a history of struggle and a future of achievement through struggle: the dignity of being a part of 'one Caribbean' and in nobody's, but nobody's backyard. None of these themes will now ever be lost to the Caribbean: the Grenada Revolution has put them all in a practical sense on to the agenda of the people of the region, and the fighting words of the Grenadian people have made sure that they will never be erased.

Babies will no longer perish

To the babies and pioneers of our revo

We fed
And nurtured
That simple fundamental wish
Until we were not able
To feel a happy coolness
In the heart
Of the mid-day sun.
We no longer feel
The dreadful pressure and pain
Of brutal blows
In lurking dangerous shadows.
We can now live
Under delightful rusty rainbows
And not merely exist
Burdened by hunger, thirst
And sadness –
The brilliantly blazing sun
Now shines for all.

All who were wretched,
Each and everyone.

It is you:
Old time fisherman
Old bend back farmers
Who love the land
It is you:

A stone's throw

Swing me high, sah
Fling me hard, sah
Like I's stone
In di back yard
A' de monstah
Plant yuh foot like tree
in Cuba
An swing yuh han' like branch
Full a fruit
Scatter me far — Nicaragua!
Riding through storm — to Jamaica
Burning like sun — in Grenada

Worn out housewives
That now drink honey
From liberated bee hives
Little school boy
With your Education
You now enjoy
It is all of you
That the dawn smiles upon.

The basic flame of freedom
Is burning in this Grenada land
And would you believe it,
The poor simple folks
Are feeding and fanning it!
Forever we will cherish
The hope in our garden
With an intensity so feverish
The life in our dawn
Forever we will cherish
The red flower growing
In the rubbish
For in our hearts we know,
We are totally sure
That our babies will no longer
Perish.

Garvin Nantambu Stuart

And El Salvador?
El Salvador!

Yes! I fly to fall like stone
Falling to break
(still red from the fireside a' retribution)
Dem million glass window
Da decorate di shame a'
Nations
Where
Size is no measure for struggle!

Swing me high, yes
Fling me hard, fren
Make me break that foot!
(Haiti squirms like a worm
Under the heel a' de monster)
(Chile still eatin she children)
(Puerto Rico pukin' from spikes in she guts)
(Trinidad starvin she people on oil)
Make me break an' burn
An' when I done
Use me, dis stone, to build!

Jacob Ross

The psalm of the oppressed

The imperialist is my exploiter
I shall always want,
He maketh me to lie down on fibre,
While he live and dress in his rich attire.
He leadeth me to always scrunt on the ground,
He weaken my soul,
He leadeth me unto the paths of unrighteousness,
Unto my prison cells.
Yea, though I struggle to walk through the streets of Injustice,
I shall always be in fear,
For thou art bombing, shooting and looting,
Which brings discomfort to me.
Though he prepareth a table of war to end humanity,
Though he shoot down my brethren in Africa,
Yea, South Africa,
Their blood runneth over like water,
Surely the day will come

When Justice shall be done,
And I shall dwell in the house of Freedom
For ever

And Ever

AMEN.

Michael 'Senator' Mitchell

Callaloo

Mix up
Like callaloo
Not no watery callaloo
But a hot
thick
Sweet callaloo
Burnin' you tongue
Wid dem
chunk
O' dumplin'
Goin' down
Nice
An' wid coconut
Wid
Or widdout deaders
As de case may be
As de taste may be
As de pocket may be
But sweet
An' hot

Dat is what
It feel like
To be part o' dis
Revolution reality
O' dis
wakin' up reality
O' dis
No more hidin' you passport
reality
no more
Hangin' you head
An' shufflin you foot
An' trying to hide
Behin' de person
in front o' you

Like little Janet
Behin' she mudder skirt

When de man ask
Way you from?

No more
Playin' you doh hear
Or sayin' some shit like
A ...
A ...
A island
Near by Trinidad
Or
A ...
A few mile
Off Venezuela
But out
Loud an' bole
Like you make de name
Grenada!

An
Wid you head in de air
Becus de world is yours
An' you know is yours
An' you not go be
meek
meek
meek
An' wait to see
If somebody
Go let you
Inherit de earth
Becus you know arready

Is yours
So you say
Loud
An' clear
An' proud
Grenada!

An' you silent scream
Which he mus' be hear
Becus he look up
Into your claimin' eyes
Says

Dat mean
Revolution
Dat mean
Progress
Dat mean
Forward!

Dat mean
Sharin'
An' carin'
An' believin'
An' livin'
An' lovin'
Dat mean
A country
In de Caribbean
In Latin America
In de Americas
In de struggle
In de world

Dat mean
Comrade
A people
Like de people
In Cuba
In Nicaragua

In Zimbabwe
In struggling South Africa
In all dem countries
Where de people know
Dat de donkey say
De world aint level
Even donkey heself
Mus' be does shake he head
To feel dem bumps
An know how ting
So hard for some toe
An so sof'
for others

All o' we
In all o' dis world
So mix up
Like callaloo
An' yet
So not like callaloo
An' dat is why
De change
An' de promise o' de change
Is sweet
An' strong
Like de soup
When Grannie
Cover it down dey
And let it
Consommé
Like dat
Hot
Sweet
Burnin'
Heavy
Heavy
Callaloo!

Merle Collins

The last cowboy

Ronald Reagan, the ageing cowboy bandit man
Cooked up a major bandit plan
This man pattern, this comic clown
Of movie fame and bushwacking fun
Announced that he was riding down
Through his backyard and islands in the sun
To put more notches on his gun.
For Ronald Reagan 'twas not strange
To go gun-shooting on his range
To shoot back all dese winds of change.

So paff-paff Reagan wid face like twine
And Caribbean Basin in he mind,
Was determined to keep everybody in line
And all yuh rebel is land slaves
Resisting just like Indian braves
Will end up dead in rebel graves,
And all yuh natives playing rude
Look out — I'm in a looting, tooting, shooting mood.

'Just like in de movies,' he said to himself
As he removed his six-shooters from up on de shelf,
'I'll fight for America, yes I will
For America I'll die — kill, kill, kill!
For de big boys and dem up on Capitol Hill,
America de land of de free and de bold
We give you de land and take all de gold.

America must direct the course of humanity
And he who resists we kill with impunity,
We make de plans, we pass out de orders
We empty wash basins just outside we borders,
We direct bombings, assassinations and murders
We preach it in our school to our sons and our daughters
These boys of the backyard are living in we waters.

So I'll attack like in days gone by,
Grenada go bawl and Cuba go cry,
And every other bugger is sure to die.
Like old McCarthy I'll go on a hunt
And mark up every piece a liberation front,
And Nicaragua must fall before end a mont' —
No matter who protest, don't bother who gripe
Dey all must bow down to de stars and stripes.'

And so this maniac, gunslinging clown
 Stood ready to ride in and gun down the town,
 Eventually to strike all humanity down —
 A cowboy desperado with nuclear power
 Threatening mankind hour after hour,
 Trying vainly to stop the march of people's power.

Kojo de Riggs

I Militia

I Militia
 I conscious militia
 You Mr Exploiter
 No way brother
 Keeping down the worker
 Saving your dollar
 Making you richer
 Ah say, is them labour
 Not you sir

You spread propaganda
 About Grenada
 Through the media
 And newspaper
 saying how we doh ha
 Human rights in Grenada
 And how we mustn't frien with Cuba
 Asking them passenger
 When they coming to Grenada
 'Where you going to, Grenada?
 Don't go over there
 Is guns cover the whole area!
 And how Grenada is a disaster
 How we have a big boat load ah dead soldier
 Stinking in the harbour
 Just come out and fight war in Nicaragua
 And how they owe La Qua so much a dollar
 But you must tell the truth sir
 You dirty liar
 Did you tell them that benefits has come
 To all man and their brother in Grenada?
 No, you din tell them that, aha
 But I Militia is a conscious fighter

But you doh know sir
 That the gun is we defender
 And we had a manoeuvre
 Which we say will never over
 But let me tell you further too, Mr Exploiter
 That I Militia will never be a supporter
 Of your exploiting bourgeois, vampire behaviour
 Why? Because I Militia ah conscious Militia

I Militia say
 You can't live forever
 You days getting fewer
 Every minute, every hour
 You blood sucker
 Killing we nature

I Militia
 I conscious Militia, say
 You can't leave us to suffer
 Is the heavy roller for you, Mr Exploiter
 Ah pick up me AK, oppressor
 To fight you counter
 To free the worker
 To build Grenada
 I Militia will never surrender!

Helena Joseph

From docility to creator

Deh tri to stitch me mout
 Deh tri to tie me hans behin me back
 But I overs dem
 Yes I small islander
 Mak history
 Mak big Revolution in am small country.

Deh tri to rob me of me name
 Deh tri to alienate me from me culture
 School me in college of Drakes and King Henery
 White-wash me brains me Europeanism
 But today I
 Yes I ... liberate meself
 From dem prison

Today I mak Caribbean culture
Stee ban
Kaiso
Rockers
I dubbing me message

Today I man speak with me own voice
In me own loud speaker
With me own volume
As loud as Lenin I demand
Bread and Peace

Today I beg the house of the United Nations
To change me name from U.F.O. to Human Existence
From Fascism to Socialism
Gone are the days of mystic-man
Gone are the days of visions and 'boots string'
Today my aspiration lies in the rising sun

Today
I elevate myself from exile to consciousness
From rags to velvet
From docility to creator

Allan Lowe

STEPHEN CASTLES

Racism and politics in West Germany*

The upsurge of hate

May Day 1982: I stand with a group of Germans and foreigners around the banner of the Initiative against Racism at the trade union rally in Frankfurt's central square. Suddenly we hear shouts of 'Sieg Heil' and 'Ausländer raus' (foreigners out). Several hundred young men with football scarves run across the road and smash into the crowd, attacking anyone who looks foreign with sticks, boots and tear gas. The Turkish workers break their flagpoles over their knees, and set about the young thugs, driving them off after a bitter fight. The police, with their riot gear and water cannon, only move in when it is all over. Later we discover that the attackers were fans of Nuremberg Football Club, in Frankfurt for a match, and that they had been led to the trade union rally by neo-nazis.

24 June 1982: A 26-year-old building worker called Helmut Oxner walks into a Nuremberg discotheque, pulls out a pistol and starts shooting at anyone who looks foreign. After killing three foreigners and wounding three more, he turns the pistol on himself. Oxner was a member of the youth section of the neo-nazi NPD (*National Democratic Party*) and police found stickers of the NSDAP-AO

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