

The West Indian

Wage Active Resistance
To the State-Organized
Racist and Fascist Attacks!

Voice

Support the Struggles
For National Liberation
In the West Indies!

Issue No.23

Newspaper of the West Indian Community

Nov., 1983

U.S. IMPERIALISM, GET OUT OF GRENADA!

Today, October 25th, U.S. imperialism seeking to exploit recent tragic events in Grenada - has staged a brutal full-scale military invasion of that country. Some 1,900 U.S. troops, backed up by helicopter gunships have landed on Grenadian soil, as part of a massive invasion force involving over 10 U.S. battleships, numerous U.S. transport planes, the U.S. aircraft carrier "Independence" and assisted by the troops of several reactionary regimes in the West Indies. This invasion force has seized Grenada's two airports the main power station, the radio station and has declared a 50 nautical mile blockade of the country. Reports already indicate that many people have been slaughtered by this brutal occupation force. This is a monstrous outrage.

This savage aggression has been carried out under the lying pretexts of "evacuating U.S. citizens", of "restoring law and order" and "peace and democracy", "forestalling chaos" and "calming fears", according to Ronald Reagan. But the bloodstained Reagan and the Pentagon criminals have known all along that U.S. citizens were under no threat. In fact both the ex-chancellor and the present dean of the American Medical College in Grenada have publicly confirmed that U.S. citizens were under no threat. The true purpose of this brutal invasion is to fulfill the previously declared aim of U.S. imperial-

ism - to force the Grenadian people to their knees and install a regime that has the blessings of the hated warmonger and imperialist chieftain, Ronald Reagan. U.S. imperialism has been awaiting an opportunity to carry out its aggressive schemes against Grenada. And, with the difficult situation that has arisen there, the warmonger, Ronald Reagan moved in.

On Thursday October 13, 1983, a coup d'etat was carried out in Grenada in which the administration of Maurice Bishop, the Prime Minister, was removed from office. This coup was an outcome of unprincipled strife that has been taking place inside the ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM), of which Bishop was a leader. And, this coup was carried out by a rival fraction of the NJM which included the country's top military officers. Subsequently, on Wednesday October 19th, Bishop, three other ministers and several civilians were slaughtered by the military forces; a Military Council was set up to run the country; a four-day curfew and other emergency measures declared (which was lifted yesterday).

The *West Indian Voice* condemns the unprincipled strife, the bloodletting and the measures taken by the ruling Military Council of the NJM - which has opened the Grenadian people to tragedy, bringing grist to the mills of imperialism and domestic reaction in the West Indies which have been posed for some time now

for an opportunity to attack the people of Grenada.

U.S. imperialism opposed the Bishop administration and the Military Council that recently succeeded it. This does not mean that either Bishop, or the Military Council were Marxist-Leninist, for they were not. Nor was Grenada a socialist state. In fact, both the Bishop administration of the NJM and the Military Council of the NJM which overthrew it, stood for maintaining imperialist presence and "encouraging" the private sector in Grenada. While criticizing U.S. imperialist bullying and repression, both factions of the NJM stood for a policy of coming to terms with imperialism and with the Grenadian bourgeoisie and landlords. But, not favoring these regimes, U.S. imperialism has insisted that it has the right to decide who should rule in Grenada and who shouldn't. U.S. imperialism demands the complete capitulation of the peoples and states in the region to its own hegemonic baton. It is this that has been behind U.S. imperialist aggression against Grenada all along. For, Washington sees the Caribbean as a private "backyard" for U.S. imperialist plunder and dictate.

Thus, with the invasion unleashed against the people of Grenada, U.S. state department officials have made it clear that this should "serve as a strong signal" to their other imperial-
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On the Congressional Hearings Into Police Brutality in N.Y. Wage Mass Struggle Against Police Terror And The Koch Regime

The communities of the poor, the employed and unemployed, the oppressed minorities, as well as whites, live under a tight reign of "justice" meted out by the policeman's billy club and bullets. Two hundred people have been killed by the police in the less than six years of the Koch administration alone. The figure for last year stood at 39. While police killings of people of various racial backgrounds, including whites, are steadily rising - the city's blacks and Hispanics are especially hard hit. They are a special target for whom racist police terror is a living nightmare and

against whom racist gangs are being activated. The barbaric crimes of the NYPD are matched only by the support and encouragement with which the police are rewarded for their terroristic activities by the city administration and courts of the capitalists. It shows that police terror against the masses is not accidental. Police terror is an essential condition of the rule of a handful of capitalists moneybags.

But the outrage of the masses over the savage murders and the daily incidents of terrible and humiliating beatings by
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Down With The U.S. Backed Apartheid Regime

During the next few months, demonstrations, conferences and boycotts of various types are being called in New York against the apartheid regime in South Africa and, in particular, to protest U.S. imperialism's support for the hated racist regime. Back in June, two demonstrations took place in New York City outside the South African embassy and U.S. banks involved there, to protest the brutal hanging of three black revolutionaries by the apartheid regime and to commemorate the anniversary of the heroic Soweto rebellion. Since then, there has been a few other protests, while several activities are being planned for over the fall. These are welcome signs of a renewal of a mass movement in opposition to South African apartheid. There is a very deep and fervent hatred shared by the broad working masses, students and all progressive people for the system of apartheid in South Africa. This was shown in the U.S., also across Europe, by the fierce struggles which broke out in opposition to the tour by South Africa's Springbok Rugby team in 1981.

This mass sentiment is solid ground to organize solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the heavily oppressed black masses of South Africa and their heroic armed fighters, to smash the system of apartheid and take power into their own hands. It is solid ground to widely expose and condemn "our own" U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie which is a main prop of the racist settler regime and which reaps tremendous superprofits from the system of apartheid.

The national liberation movement of the South African masses is the powerful force that can overthrow apartheid and bring about sweeping democratic and revolutionary changes. In the past few months numerous important struggles have been taking place, as the movement gathers momentum against the racist rulers and their imperialist sponsors. Back in June, there were four days of extensive protests of workers and students, which included clashes with the police, to denounce the brutal hanging of three black revolutionaries by the regime. One week later, despite non-stop repression and explicit laws to the contrary, the masses again took to the streets in numerous localities throughout the country to commemorate the anniversary of the heroic Soweto rebellion of June 1976. Since then, there has been a tremendous outpouring of protest focused against the apartheid regime's "Constitutional Reform Bill". In August, for example, over 12,000 people staged a rally outside Cape Town to denounce this latest outrage by the apartheid regime. This bill gives limited and strictly token political rights to certain collaborationist non-white bourgeois politicians. In this way, the regime seeks to legitimize the apartheid system's denial of all rights to the black working masses, who comprise the overwhelming majority. In response, the masses have denounced this bill as a fraud and replied by stepping up their mass struggle to overthrow apartheid altogether.

Among the important features of the growing rebellion are: increasingly sharp strikes, walkouts, slow-downs and other protests by the workers over wages and against repression of the few trade unions, etc; extensive and continuous boycotts of classes by high school and also university students, and clashes with the police; and there has also been successful guerilla strikes against the apartheid regime's military and economic installations.

Clearly, the South African masses refuse to cower down before the barbarous racist regime and imperialism. Solidarity with the South African masses against apartheid means, first of all, supporting the national liberation struggle there. It means support for revolution. This solid-

arity must not be allowed to be restricted to supporting UN resolutions. Apartheid will not collapse from rebuke and resolutions from the podiums of the UN. It is a man-eating machine with powerful imperialist allies. Only the self-sacrificing revolutionary struggle of the Azanian masses can grind apartheid into the dust. The solidarity movement has the special duty of confronting the challenge thrown down by U.S. imperialism, which is closely linked with, and backs apartheid to the hilt.

U.S. imperialism's ties with South Africa are not just a matter of some "ill-advised" investment policies. It is supported by the rich U.S. capitalists and bankers for a system, which, by thriving on the inhuman subjugation of the millions of blacks, delivers enormous profits to the coffers of the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. has built up a massive corporate and banking empire in South Africa involving over 350 companies, with investments and holdings in excess of U.S. \$14 billion. The U.S. imperialists did not just accidentally stumble on this pot of gold. Rather, the high level of U.S. investment in South Africa is a measure of how U.S. imperialism has taken into account the enormous superprofits obtainable through the apartheid system. Thus, U.S. imperialism has a big stake vested in the maintenance of the apartheid system in South Africa. Furthermore, the apartheid regime in South Africa, a fortress of reaction in its own right, is a bloodstained aggressor and a police outpost for the designs of U.S.-led western imperialism in that region. It is a regime which, armed to the teeth, is frequently unleashed to massacre revolutionaries, refugees and the peoples in neighboring states. Finally, the South African regime provides a strategic haven for U.S. naval bases and serves as a trusted guardian of strategic sea routes ployed by the navies of U.S. and other western imperialist states. Thus, this is an alliance based on profits and on common aggressive and counterrevolutionary objectives.

This is why South African apartheid has

received the firm support of successive administrations in Washington. The Carter administration's hypocritical posturing behind its phoney "ban" on certain aspects of U.S. ties with the apartheid regime never altered this fact in the slightest. And Reagan, with his self-proclaimed policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime, is proudly carrying forward this long-standing support in a more naked form.

Therefore, solidarity with the South African masses against apartheid demands resolute opposition to U.S. imperialism. The mass movement in solidarity with the people of South Africa must be vigilant to oppose the deception by various Democratic Party liberals, including various black politicians and public officials such as from the American Committee on Africa (ACA) who are opposed to the movement targeting U.S. imperialism as a system. To tone down the denunciation of U.S. imperialism, they argue that U.S. corporate investments in South Africa are "ill-advised", and represent "a risk", since the apartheid regime will one day be surely overthrown. Their concern is to garnish the "image", the "perception," of U.S. imperialism by the South African masses and in the region as a whole. Their "argument" is not against U.S. imperialist plunder of the African masses but is merely an objection to the scandalous and "clumsy" way in which U.S. imperialism has tied itself to the inevitable fate of the apartheid regime. And consequently, they favor a closer return to a Carterite policy of giving a "human rights" face to U.S. imperialist plunder of the South African masses, intended as a safety measure to ensure that U.S. imperialism's interests are not jeopardized in the long run.

But the movement in the U.S. in solidarity with the cruelly oppressed South African masses must squarely target U.S. imperialism as a system. Its banners must be - *U.S. Imperialism get out of South Africa! Forward against U.S. Imperialism! Down with Apartheid! Solidarity with the heroic National Liberation Struggle in South Africa!*

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Azanian people!



Above photo is from June anti-apartheid protest.

On October 11th, close to 1,000 people militantly marched through the streets of Manhattan, New York to condemn the criminal U.S. backed apartheid regime of South Africa. This is part of a series of protests - demonstrations, boycotts, meetings, etc. - against the Botha regime and their U.S. imperialist sponsors. The demonstrators first picketed Citi-Corp and stopped in front of the Democratic and Republican Parties' headquarters (parties that both back the system of apartheid and carry out their own racist policy at home).

The demonstrators then marched through the diamond district (which is closely linked with the apartheid exploiters and their regime) denouncing these gold robbers and diamond bandits. Comrades and supporters of the Marxist-Leninist Party and the Caribbean Progressive Study Group militantly participated in this spirited protest with a banner, slogans and a leaflet prepared for the occasion. The overall sentiment of the masses who came out to condemn apartheid and oppose their own government was "Death to Apartheid."

The Workers' Advocate

Theoretical-Political Newspaper of the
Central Committee of the MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, USA



- Editorial correspondence:
The Workers' Advocate P.O. Box 11942 Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611
- Orders and subscriptions:
Marxist-Leninist Publications P.O. Box 11972 Ontario Street Station Chicago, IL 60611
- Rates: From vendor: 25¢
Via first class mail: 75¢ for single copy \$4.50 for six issues \$9.00 for 12 issues
ISSN 0276-363X

Condemn the racist police murder of Micheal Stewart

No To The Cover-up!

On September 15th, Michael Stewart, a 25 year old black youth was arrested and beaten into a coma by five policemen. The police claim that Stewart was writing graffiti on the subway walls at 14th Street and First Avenue. According to them he "became violent" and "had to be subdued," and then suddenly lapsed into a coma. The police "deny he (Stewart-ed.) was beaten." But Michael Stewart was brought into Bellvue Hospital with bruises all over his body, his hands handcuffed and his legs bound with gauze like a battered animal. Michael Stewart never regained consciousness and died on September 28, two weeks later.

Since that time, there has been a concerted effort by the city authorities to systematically cover up the cold-blooded racist murder of Michael Stewart. A big conspiracy is under way and one lie after another has been piled up to hide the cold-blooded and racist nature of the murder of Michael Stewart. While neither admitting or denying that Stewart was beaten, the city's chief medical examiner, Elliot Gross, found that "there was no evidence of physical injury resulting or contributing to death." On top of this vagueness, Gross adds the mysterious conclusion that Stewart died of "cardiac arrest." The claim of "cardiac arrest," without revealing its cause, amounts to saying nothing. All that it means is that his heart stopped beating. But those who saw Michael Stewart's body testify that he was battered. Even Gross admits though in a veiled way, there were "healing" wounds, "superficial scrapes and abrasions about the face and wrists." However he absolutely refuses to conclude that Stewart was beaten to death. But all the facts show that Michael Stewart was brutally beaten and strangled by the police. In fact, one eyewitness on the scene, himself an auxiliary cop has come forward to denounce the lies of the police and expose the evasions of the city's chief medical examiner. He insists that he saw the cops banging Michael Stewart's head to the ground outside the subway station and he adamantly refuses to back down from his account. Medical personnel at the hospital add that "injuries were all over his body."

The above "conclusions" reached by the chief medical examiner are part of a deliberate conspiracy. To begin with, Gross removed Stewart's eyes - an extremely unusual procedure in an autopsy. Why was this done? This was done to conceal evi-

dence or traces of hemorrhaging. Because hemorrhaging of the eyes co-exists with anoxia, a cut off of oxygen to the brain, and a likely cause of anoxia is strangulation or stifling. Then, to top it all, Stewart's body was placed in a bleaching solution which effectively removes all traces of hemorrhaging. Clearly the chief medical examiner with his boss, Koch behind him, has gone to great lengths to cover up the deliberate and cold-blooded murder of Michael Stewart by the racist police.

And there is more. Elliot Gross never informed Stewart's family or their doctor about the removal of Stewart's eyes. They never found out until five (5) days after. In fact, the city's chief medical examiner has not only gone behind the backs of the family, he has arrogantly refused to work with the family's pathologist. Moreover, it was after the first autopsy of September 30th (from which Gross emerged with his vague "cardiac arrest" theory), and when family doctors had pointed out that there was evidence of hemorrhaging of the eyes, it was precisely at this point that chief medical examiner, Gross, turns around and does a second autopsy and secretly removes Stewart's eyes.

Gross has not at all been acting on his own in the cover up. He has been following the lead of the Manhattan District Attorney (DA) who has orchestrated the whole cover-up on behalf of City Hall and the NYPD. The Manhattan DA's office, headed by Robert Morgenthau, instead of prosecuting the racist police, is conducting a rigorous interrogation of witnesses along police lines as if the eyewitnesses were the accused. This is being done to intimidate and scare away all potential witnesses who may expose what happened to Stewart once he was in police custody. Meanwhile, the state, on the DA's "insistence" has refused the family's appeal to intervene under the plea that it doesn't have jurisdiction, since "technically" Stewart wasn't being held in a prison ward at the hospital, which doesn't have the necessary facilities anyway. The City and State are colluding in this cover-up.

The capitalist politicians at City Hall are very eager to hush up the police murder of Michael Stewart. The arrogant Mayor Koch who claims that police attacks against blacks and Hispanics are merely "a matter of perception", is pushing this cover-up so that this lie and the racism of the police and Koch doesn't get exposed. In particular, since a lot of public attention was focused on the question of police attacks over the summer, Koch and his cronies are eager to keep the lid on this case, and go on with "business as usual". (It has been

reported that a 12-year old child was shot and killed by transit police during the 3rd week in October and Lucille Petrucci, a 17-year old girl was shot and wounded by police in the Bronx on October 16th). The masses are righteously outraged and are demanding that the truth be told and protests be organized.

However, the hearings on police brutality held over the summer were not intended to encourage struggle against police attacks but to replace the necessary struggle with the more "respectable" approach of getting the system to "work for us." The black politicians and ministers who promoted the police brutality hearings as the best thing to have happened for black people in years in New York are dragging their feet on the murder of Michael Stewart. With the widely publicized hearings these gentlemen got the ears of large numbers of people in New York on this question. But do they organize and push forward the mass protests? Do they use the mass sentiment to encourage mass struggle against the brutal police murder of Michael Stewart? No! They are strikingly reluctant to do so. It has been almost one month since Michael Stewart's death. Instead of mass struggle, all they have called for so far is an unpublicized and, in effect, "by-invitation-only" picket by a few black officials and ministers. This shows that they are seeking to avoid the outbreak of mass struggle against police brutality. This doesn't push forward the struggle of the masses but confines it. Such an approach only helps prolong the cover-up. It blocks the preparation of the masses for struggle over similar outrages that will inevitably occur in the future. For the demand of justice for Michael Stewart to have any meaning, it must be based on the necessary mass struggle. Without this, without the mass struggle the demand for justice, no matter how sincere, remains empty.

The masses must sweep aside the delays and all excuses of the City authorities and the hesitation of the riotstoppers and misleaders. Don't wait on investigations! We are already seeing the results of this "inquiry! Cover-up" - as has repeatedly occurred. The struggle is way overdue - this is the sentiment being expressed by the masses. Now is the time to expose the cover-ups and white-washes of racist police murders by the Koch government. Enough is enough! Take up the mass struggle! Hit at the capitalist City authorities. Develop militant organization to wage a systematic struggle against all police atrocities and outrages. No to Police Terror and the Racist Koch! Forward with the Mass Struggle!

Azanian Masses Battle Apartheid

On June 9th, the apartheid regime put to death three freedom fighters in South Africa. There was a worldwide outcry against these hangings that found expression in the streets of several countries, including the U.S. The three executions by the apartheid regime marked a major step in the racist government's increasing repression to stem the tide of resistance. Nevertheless demonstrations, protests, mass meetings and clashes with the police occurred all over South Africa to confront and battle apartheid.

PROTESTS AGAINST APARTHEID'S EXECUTIONS

For example: In Durban, 400 students and workers marched through the streets denouncing the executions. The police confiscated several of their banners and ordered them to stop chanting and singing and to disperse. The protesters opposed this and 23 demonstrators were arrested. Despite this, over 200 people attended a meeting later that evening to denounce the hangings. In the same area police tear gassed a church with about 200 people as they sang revolutionary songs opposing the apartheid executions.

In Vosloorus, Boksburg, 100 school children carried placards and staged a march to the police station to protest the hangings.

At Forth Hare University near Alice about 400 students overturned an administrator's vehicle, stoned the University windows, before the police were called in to break up the demonstration. Meanwhile, in Zululand, 700 black students demonstrated at the University of Zululand in North Natal. Police were called in to suppress the protest. Here, the students burnt a police van and did thousands of dollars worth of damage to the South African bourgeoisie.

Remember Soweto!

The South African government's hanging of the freedom fighters took place exactly one week before the commemoration of the 1976 - Soweto rebellion. Since the memory of Soweto is a call to struggle, the bourgeoisie was consciously timing these executions of "terrorists" to frighten the masses and crush all protests and opposition. This is why the executions, the 3 cold blooded murders, took place at that time and this is why there were two

days of bans and curfews placed on all activities to commemorate the Soweto anniversary.

Again Rebellions Erupt!

But there were protest anyway. Remembering, Soweto, the masses once again rebelled. Street fighting and rebellions erupted in several areas. In Regina, Mundi, Soweto; in Capetown; in Lamontville, Durban; clashes erupted with the apartheid police force.

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Striking factory workers show their militancy

Continued from front page

Wage Mass Struggle Against Police Terror And The Koch Regime

the police, and Hispanics, is a thorn in the side of the administration of Mayor Ed Koch. In particular, opposition to racist police terror has been a focal point of the fight against the systematic oppression of the minorities. The attacks will never be tolerated. Profoundly affected, the masses are searching for a way to fight police brutality and the racist Koch regime. Of late, the press has given lots of focus to "the debate" on "allegations" of police brutality because of Congressional Sub-committee hearings conducted in New York on this question. While people are outraged at the police and Koch and are looking for ways to fight back, these Congressional Sub-committee hearings have quite opposite aims. The Congressional "concern" of this sub-committee is about how to help the NYPD remodel its image and how to stop the mass opposition to police terror from developing before its too late for Koch or whomever replaces him in the next two years.

Liberalism Opposes The Mass Struggle

THE DANGER OF LIBERAL, PHONEY "OPPOSITION" TO POLICE TERROR

Phoney "opposition" to Koch and the police attacks is fashionable among the city's liberals including some of his fellow Democrats. This "opposition" is most of all opposed to the development of mass struggle against the attacks of the police. It seeks to contain the masses within the bounds of appeals for worthless "investigations," and to rekindle faith in the Democratic Party and the system as a whole.

For instance, speaking in a recent article on police brutality entitled 'Deadly Force,' the Village Voice carries some facts on the outright lies that were manufactured by the Mayor's office to prove its "good record" on police brutality. But the Village Voice never strays from the concern it shares with Koch himself to prettify the crimes of the police. The Village Voice frankly argues that police shootings take place "in an instant of justifiable fear" since the cops "may be only a twitch ahead of a gunman's equally fatal fire," but that unfortunately it "almost as often" happens that the victim is unarmed. But the basic deception employed by the Village Voice is contained in its claim that things were getting better before Koch came on the scene and messed up. The Village Voice goes to great lengths to prettify the record of the preceding Beame administration. Quite startling, since the Village Voice itself admits at one point that: "The annual discharge rate under Koch is virtually indistinguishable from the rate of the final two Beame years if all that is counted as shots fired at human beings." (emphasis in the original). This is understandable since the Village Voice makes no secret of its devotion to the propping up of the capitalist order.

But this is exactly the reasoning of the liberal so-called "opposition" to Koch, on a whole. In particular, there is an assortment of respectable black and Hispanic Democratic Party politicians, various ministers, etc., who occasionally pretend to be anti-racist warriors. Its representatives are infuriated by Koch's "insensitive" racist buffonery and by his scornful refusal of their repeated offers to negotiate the problem of "police-community relations" over the years. This "opposition" regards police attacks as the doing of a "few bad apples" in the NYPD and explains away the systematic occurrence of these attacks as simply the result of "insensitive" leadership from City Hall. As remedies, it stands for the wider use of "psychological screening" of the police to weed out "bad apples," calls for the hiring of more black cops; the re-organization of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, better training in police-community relations including regular meetings between police leadership and community "leaders," and so on.

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On the Congressional Hearings Into Police Brutality in N.Y.

Wage Mass Struggle Against Police Terror And The Koch Regime



Above scene is from outside the first "hearing" accompanied by fierce denunciation. on police brutality. Koch beats a hasty retreat

CONYERS - A PROFESSIONAL RIOTSTOPPER

The idea of conducting hearings into police brutality in New York by the House Sub-committee on Criminal Justice was first struck upon in the midst of the 1980 rebellion in Miami. Feeling threatened by this

powerful rebellion, the concern of the black politicians, ministers, businessmen and other respectable black fat cats for the maintenance of "order and stability" in other major cities was aroused. It should

See Koch Pg. 7

THE HEARINGS

THE ABORTION OF THE FIRST HEARINGS

It was the mutual concerns shared by Koch and Conyers that led to the abortion of the first hearings which were scheduled on July 18th, before it even got off the ground. As a courtesy to Koch, Conyers agreed to hold the first hearings in a small conference room in the Harlem State Office Building, effectively excluding several hundreds of the people who showed up. The masses bitterly denounced this pre-meditated act on the spot. And when an understandably distraught black woman cried out that her son had been killed like an animal - shot eight times by the police - this was seized upon to declare a disruption and to call a recess after only a couple of minutes.

Together with Mayor Koch and the police commissioner, Conyers and local Congressmen Rangel and Owens conferred privately and agreed to immediately call off the hearings. The atmosphere was not right for the friendly, inoffensive "dialogue" with the mayor and police commissioner which they hoped for. One of Koch's officials pointed out afterwards that: "it was very important that the Mayor not appear as someone on trial." (NY Times 7/21). Conyers and the other black Democratic Party liberals on the scene had hoped to lure the black masses to "put their heads together" with the racist Koch and his police commissioner.

The decision to postpone was chiefly in Conyers' hands. Koch beat a hasty retreat accompanied by the angry and militant denunciation of the masses. Conyers and Rangel hid out until they could quietly sneak out of the building unnoticed. They were afraid to even inform the people in attendance that the hearings had been postponed. That job was left to the local black assemblymen and ministry who, though offended by Conyers' failure to consult with them or to inform even them of the postponement, thought it wise to stage a "peoples' hearings" to have the masses let off steam. For, as Reverend Daughtry, national chairman of the Black United Front, said afterwards: "I kept reflecting on what would happen if those people were not able to testify. There is no telling how that energy would have been directed. I am very disappointed with John Conyers ... He didn't even phone us ... we made the right decision to continue the hearings ... the leadership gathered provided the people an outlet for their grievances .. we lost the official status, but on the other side, these people, I shudder to think what would have happened if they had not had a chance to testify." (Big Red News 7/7/23). While on the one hand people militantly denounced the police, the mayor and made calls for struggle - on the other hand, over and over again, the local black misleadership repeated that of course "we are not saying all cops are bad."

THE 2ND HEARINGS

Subsequently, and from the safety of City Hall, Koch arrogantly denounced the masses at the first hearings as a "circus" and declared that he and his officials would boycott the 2nd hearings that convened on September 19th. Conyers and the local misleaders saw to it that the 2nd hearings were more restrictive. Conyers' staff carefully screened people scheduled to give testimony in order to eliminate any militant or other political remarks that would be "embarrassing" to the hearings. The over 700 people in attendance were restricted to the upper balcony on the perimeter of a massive drill-room of a national guard armory where the hearings were held; while 60 black policemen from the Guardian Association were engaged to patrol inside the hearings and "keep order."

After hearing the testimony of some 48 people, the respectable black misleaders and other liberal notables present expressed their shock and outrage and invariably concluded that the problem of police brutality in New York brings shame to the noble police profession and to the leadership it is provided by the Mayor's office.

Contrary to the impression widely given, these hearings were not intended as a forum for the condemnation of police terror nor to demand justice for the countless horrible outrages carried out by the police. No, these hearings were held to contain the people's anger, to seek reconciliation with the police and to encourage confidence in the system. This would hardly be regarded as real opposition to police terror and the racist Koch.

Police terror is not merely the result of "mistaken" policies of the racist Koch alone. It is very much a deliberate and indispensable part of the system. Consequently, one cannot stand for a true fight against police terror while appealing to Koch to be moderate, or by offering to remodel the image of the police or by putting a civilian face on the Complaint Review Board. It does not matter how much such measures are promoted as "concessions" being extracted from the state - they are measures to deceive the masses and make the attacks more tolerable, while making the need for struggle seem unnecessary or avoidable. Nor can one fight police terror by turning to Congress as the respectable black misleaders would have us believe. To fight police terror and the Koch regime what is required is systematic struggle and the organization of the masses to respond to every attack blow for blow. Only such a struggle opens the possibility of advancing demands for the stiffest punishment of the police criminals, for retribution for the victims, and prepares the masses for the inevitable clashes in the future.

The fight against racism in Chicago

Tokenism or the mass struggle

The filthy racist campaign that was whipped up in the recent Chicago mayoral elections is being continued today.

During the election campaign the Republican candidate, Bernard Epton, became the figurehead for a Reaganite program of racist terror and segregationism, of handouts to the monopolies and cutbacks for the working masses. Not only the Reaganite Republicans, but also the bosses of Chicago's Democratic Party machine rallied to the banner of Epton and actively campaigned for him as the "great white hope" for the city.

But Epton lost. And now the local heads of the Democratic Party machine have again turned to race baiting in an effort to maintain their lucrative posts in the City Council and their positions of power over the working and oppressed masses. Under the "machine" rule, Chicago has long been a city of rampant segregationism, fascist gang terror and brutal murders by the police. The current race baiting by the "machine" bosses is a signal to step up the discrimination and terror against the working masses and to take part with the racist offensive of the Reagan government.

This vile racism must be opposed! A real fight against Reaganism must be unleashed!

But Harold Washington, the newly

elected Democratic Party mayor, does not stand for such a fight. Whether it is his calls for tax breaks for the rich, or his austerity cutbacks against the workers, or his appeals to beef up the racist police department, Washington's program differs little from that of Epton or the Democratic Party machine. His disagreement with them centers almost exclusively on putting a few more black politicians into office. And, on this issue too, Washington has declared that he is more than willing to compromise.

The black, latino and white workers cannot rely on Washington in the fight against Reaganite reaction. Rather, they must build up their own class movement, a movement independent of and in struggle against the capitalist class and their Republican and Democratic Parties.

The Washington Program: No Obstacle to Reaganite Reaction

For example, Washington promised "full employment." But his concrete proposals all revolved around the need to "create a climate for business to come in." He advocated measures such as eliminating the corporate head tax, saving the capitalist monopolies some \$18 million a year; increasing the state income tax and utility bills of the working masses; and going on an

"austerity city budget" cutting jobs, wages and services. For all the fine talk of "full employment" this is just another version of Reagan's "trickle down" economics, where impoverishing the working masses to help out the rich corporations is supposed to somehow, some day, provide jobs for the unemployed.

Similarly, Washington pledged to reform the racist police department. But is he going to get rid of the killer cops? No, he proposes to hire an additional 1,000 policemen, expand the Chicago Transit Authority force and increase patrols.

Is Washington going to stop their racist attacks? Well, that would be hard to imagine since he has failed to raise a peep against any of the innumerable and well-publicized police rampages through black and latino communities over the last several years.

Since taking office, Washington has been in a rush to put his policies into practice. In his inaugural speech Washington announced the beginning of an austerity program including an immediate freeze on city hiring and a freeze on the wages of city workers. Only a day later, he stressed that "city programs are going to have to be ended and the fat removed until they are sinew and bone." He has begun a campaign for an increase in state in-

come taxes. And he is now "reassessing" his promise to not raise local taxes. Nowhere is Washington even suggesting that the burden of taxation should be shifted onto the rich. No, this is a program of impoverishing the workers.

Before a week was out, Washington even began backsliding on his promises to do away with the patronage system. He introduced a lawsuit appealing a court order that bars the city from hiring employees on a political crony basis. Washington demanded that he be allowed to hire 1,200 people who pledge loyalty to him. It seems that Washington may be against patronage only when it applies to others besides himself.

No matter how you put them together, Washington's policies simply do not add up to a fight against Reaganism. Rather they are what has become the typical program of the Democratic Party: honeyed phrases to sweeten up the bitter impoverishment and oppression of the working masses. Washington has become mayor, but it's politics as usual at city hall.

A Fight for Tokenism and the Spoils of Office

This fight over the spoils of office is being portrayed as a stirring struggle against racism.

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Condemn the U.S. Imperialist Intervention in Grenada

Continued from front page

ist rival - the Soviet Union, and to neo-colonial Cuba, that the U.S. "considers the Monroe Doctrine to be still applicable in the Caribbean." But in fact such declarations of unbridled imperialism are meant as a brutal ultimatum and warning to the oppressed peoples of the Caribbean. Either accept U.S. imperialist subjugation or face similar savage aggression as is being rained on the heads of the people of Grenada today. This is nothing but U.S. imperialist gunboat diplomacy. With the invasion of Grenada, U.S. imperialism, whose hands are already drenched with the blood of the peoples in Lebanon and Central America, has now put its bloodstained claws on the throats of the people of Grenada.

The *West Indian Voice* calls on the American people, including the West Indian community, to denounce the carnage being conducted by U.S. imperialism in Grenada, and to STAND UP AGAINST Reagan's gunboat diplomacy. Stand firmly with our laboring brothers of Grenada. U.S. imperialism must get out of Grenada!

The *West Indian Voice* just as sternly condemns domestic reaction in the West Indies which has condoned this brutal invasion and is making common cause with U.S. imperialism against the Grenadian people. In particular, we condemn the running dogs of U.S. imperialism such as the regimes in Barbados, Jamaica and Dominica, among others. These regimes, while they have always made clear their eagerness to see calamity descend on the heads of the people of Grenada, and

while they themselves applied savage pressure on the Bishop regime - are now shedding hypocritical tears of remorse over his murder and, posing as the guardians of "democracy" in Grenada, are now co-sponsoring this brutal invasion. These regimes, hardened oppressors in their own right, have sent their armed forces into Grenada, on the heels of the U.S. marines.

Reaction in the West Indies is seeking vengeance on the Grenadian people for the removal of the fascist regime of the dictator Eric Gairy, in 1979. West Indian reaction is seeking to strengthen its own hand over the affairs of the people of Grenada. The support and participation of these reactionaries in the invasion of Grenada will go down as the single most brutal crime yet, which the West Indian bourgeoisie has perpetrated against all the peoples of the West Indies.

Indeed today, that loyal stooge of US imperialism, Tom Adams of Barbados, is permitting Barbados to be used as a main staging ground for the bloody carnage that is now unfolding in Grenada. Eugenia Charles of Dominica, flew to Washington to serve as a point-man for U.S. imperialism's desperate public relations campaign to scrape up support among the American public for this invasion. Seaga of Jamaica already has his troops on the ground in Grenada participating in the bloodbath. Such treachery shows exactly the type of ruthless reactionary stuff the West Indian bourgeoisie is made of. This outrage being falsely conducted in the name of the

peoples of the West Indies will never go unanswered by the people themselves inside these countries.

Finally, the *West Indian Voice* calls on the West Indian community to mercilessly denounce those varied bourgeois forces in our community that are allied with U.S. imperialism and domestic reaction in the West Indies, and who are rubbing their hands with glee and are waving on this brutal invasion.

The working people of Grenada must be allowed to decide their own affairs. This is impossible under the guns of U.S. imperialism and the forces of domestic reaction in the West Indies. The people of Grenada must find the way to resist this criminal invasion and drive out the murdering occupationist forces.

The working people in the heart of the U.S. imperialist beast have the special obligation of not allowing U.S. imperialism a moment's rest at home. Organize the masses to come out in militant demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Grenada and other protests demanding that U.S. Imperialism Get out Grenada!

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in the service
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Condemn the Racist Persecution of Haitian Immigrants!



The Reagan regime is carrying out one outrage after another against the immigrant workers. Over the past four years the Haitian refugees and immigrants have been singled out for special persecution. While Carter and then Reagan sentenced the Haitian refugees and immigrants to concentration camps and raids at their workplaces on the one hand, the U.S government has stepped up its backing of the criminal Duvalier regime on the other. The latest outrage has been the racist slander of the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta (CDC) against the Haitian community; a raid on a New Jersey factory where one hundred and sixty-seven workers were arrested - the majority Haitians, and the U.S imperialist attempts to establish a military base in Haiti for aggression in the Caribbean region.

With Reagan as their figure head, the U.S

imperialist bourgeoisie calculates that by carrying out one brutal attack after another against the Haitian immigrants that they will cow down. But contrary to the designs of Reagan and his capitalist bosses, the Haitians in the U.S are standing up against these attacks they face and expressing their solidarity with the struggle to overthrow the Duvalier regime.

This was demonstrated on September 24th when over 500 people came out to protest against the attacks by the CDC on the Haitian masses. This was a militant and spirited protest. Starting at Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn, the Haitian and other masses denounced the CDC and U.S imperialism. Continuing in this spirit, a militant march was held along Eastern Parkway and down Nostrand Ave. to the Downstate Medical Center. A number of police, Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) and other government agents were visi-

Young's Detroit and elsewhere. But nowhere has it ever led to relief for the long-suffering black workers.

The fight against racism requires, not the tokenism of Washington, but the serious mass struggle of the working class.

FOR A REAL FIGHT AGAINST REAGANISM

The racist onslaught in Chicago must be fought. The racist bosses should be condemned at every turn and a stern mass struggle organized against discrimination and racist terror.

But such a struggle cannot be waged with the likes of Harold Washington.

Washington promised a fight. But he has already cancelled out of speaking at an anti-war rally; he has called a halt to any marches against the racist "machine" bosses; and he has busied himself with "negotiations" for a "compromise" on the City Council.

Washington promised reforms. But he himself is now presiding over the austerity attacks on the workers.

Washington promised to stand independent. But he is proving that he is just another Democratic Party politician who pledges you the sun, moon and stars on election day, but delivers cold oppression once in office.

CHICAGO ... Continued from page 5

It is true that the encrusted Chicago Democratic Party machine is racist to the core. It is true that it has for years presided over the most notorious segregation in housing and education, over widespread job discrimination and over brutal police terror. It is so racist that it desires the absolute minimum number of blacks in responsible government positions.

But Washington will not fight the "machine" racism which affects the broadest sections of the working masses. He fights only for tokenism, for a few black faces in high places.

In this, Washington has the backing of the national Democratic Party. It threw some \$70,000 into his election campaign and sent its superstars like Kennedy, Mondale and Glenn trooping to Chicago to stump for Washington. The national Democratic Party leadership understands that value of tokenism.

Tokenism is a favorite weapon of the capitalists to deceive the masses, to claim that progress is being made, to pretend that the oppressed black people are at last finding their place in the sun. Over the last decade tokenism has been made the policy in city after city, in Hatcher's Gary, in Coleman

LIBERALISM ... Continued from page 4

Koch's arrogance towards having these gentlemen help in the shaping of his policies does not alter one bit the harmful nature of the above proposals of the respectable black and Hispanic misleaders. Rather than denouncing police terror for what it is, rather than searching for some means to help the masses gather strength by developing the struggle and organization so vitally needed to confront the vicious attacks - these proposals are marked chiefly by an apologetic stand towards police terror; by a search for the means to remodel the image of the police and above all, by an attempt to steer the masses away from the path of struggle.

When the attacks do take place, and the masses are outraged, these gentlemen would more often than not call on the city, state or federal bodies to announce an "investigation" rather than see people occupy the streets with protests and demonstrations.

KOCH ... Continued from page 7

powers! For sure - when it means injecting a dose of Congressional hypocrisy and deception to convince the masses that struggle can be avoided! So Conyers and his subcommittee can go to hell. The plain reality is that it is up to the masses of people to challenge police terror and the racist Koch. It is our struggle based on the strength of our numbers, united and multiplied by organization, that is fully capable of waging systematic struggle against police terror and racist brutality. Police brutality against the masses will end only when the man-eating system of capitalist oppression is toppled by revolution, and the violent apparatus of the rich is smashed.

The investigations, as is very well known, are always stretched out to simply tire out or kill the motion of the masses. And

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bly on hand to intimidate the demonstrators. While some liberals advised against marching, the Haitian masses, joined by progressive masses and activist, eagerly took to the streets with their placard, banners, chants and slogans. The demonstrators loudly condemned the CDC slanders against the Haitians, denounced the hangman Duvalier regime, condemned U.S imperialism's support and backing of this criminal government and raised the popular slogan "What is the solution? Revolution!"

Outraged at the militancy of the demonstration, the racist police blocked the protesters from confronting the authorities at Down State Medical Center. The masses defiantly held a rally on the spot to continue to denounce the attacks against them and the provocation of the police.

The Reagan regime is hellbent on attacking the Haitian immigrants as part of its racist anti-immigrant crusade. The fact that the Federal Center for Disease Control has a campaign of blaming the Haitians for aids, the dreadful disease that the bourgeoisie itself admits it knows very little of, is being used as a basis to justify the persecution of the Haitian immigrants and increase the discrimination against them. It is nothing but a racist slander against the Haitian people. And the INS and police goons have continued to spy on and round up Haitian workers like cattle from workplaces in attempts to deport them. An example of this came on August 17th, when the INS cracked down a bag factory (Bag Bazaar) in New Jersey, arresting one hundred and sixty-seven workers. Over a third of these factory workers were found to be in the country completely legally. The other two-thirds were largely undocumented workers from Haiti, who are now being held in the decrepit Detention Center at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and in various county jails, and are now facing deportations back to the Ton Ton McCoutes of Baby Doc. This was the largest such roundup of immigrants in years in New Jersey. Mass struggle is the way to fight and beat back these Reaganite attacks.

The attacks against the Haitians are part and parcel of the attacks against the whole working class. (This is what is behind the racist slanders by the CDC, followed by the recent terroristic raid by the INS, etc.) The bourgeoisie is trying to isolate the Haitians and to nail them easier. The working class must come to the defense of the Haitian workers as part of its struggle against Reaganite reaction and the offensive of the capitalist moneybags.

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DOWN WITH THE FASCIST BURNHAM REGIME!

Hunger, scarcity, suffering and savage repression are the lot of the Guyanese working masses. A broad protest movement against hunger, unemployment and repression is developing, and has become the center of the resistance of the working people of Guyana against the unrestrained attacks of the criminal regime of the Peoples National Congress (PNC), led by Forbes Burnham. A severe crisis has long gripped Guyana's capitalist economy, which Burnham has renamed as "cooperative socialist." In their tens of thousands, workers, small farmers, the unemployed and students stare hunger in the face with no relief in sight.

Scarcity and hunger are not new at all in Guyana. For a long time now the Guyanese masses have been tragically forced to turn to the black market, paying exorbitant prices for essential foodstuffs. And in the past, government officials would frequently release food supplies into the black market to corner its profits. Now, faced with a foreign exchange crisis, the Burnham regime has come out with a food policy designed to squeeze the masses to the wall for them to root the bill and literally starve them into submission. The Burnham regime has declared the mere possession, in any form or circumstances, of certain food items (especially wheat flour - a staple item of the Guyanese diet) to be a criminal offense - subject to arrest, fines and imprisonment.

Earlier, in March, the police started conducting raids in baking shops, seizing wheat dough and injecting it with poison. Beginning in May, a long campaign was launched in which even school children's lunch boxes were searched, homes were raided extensively and people were subjected to



Striking factory workers and school children demonstrate in Guyana demanding food.

spot searches resulting in hundreds of arrests and the seizure of food items including split peas.

The working class, the poor in the towns and villages, have not been taking these outrageous attacks by simply lying down. Among the Guyanese working masses there is

to militantly denounce police terror and the Koch administration.

KOCH - A MODEL OF CAPITALIST SLAVEDRIVING, TERROR AND RACISM

From its early days to the present, the Koch administration has made it clear that it stands for "tough measures" against the masses. Koch has earned a reputation as an open advocate of the supremacy of the police as "N.Y.'s No. 1" and "N.Y.'s Finest" citizens. Under "law and order" rhetoric, Koch regularly crusades for the death penalty and just as often he pushes for legislative changes giving the police greater powers of search, arrest and detention.

Koch coolly and unhesitatingly label even the most bizarre crimes carried out by the police as justifiable and as "proper procedure". One only has to remember Koch's cynical remarks following the strangulation of Arthur Miller by the police in 1978, and his zealous defense of the police slaughter of Luis Baez - shot 21 times in 1979. Koch is a well-known Zionist. He is a self-satisfied racist - but his is not some strange sickness.

The Democrat Koch is continuing where the preceding Democratic city administrations of Lindsay and Beame left off. Under Lindsay, annual police killings in New York City hit a record of 93 in 1971 as the city sought vengeance for the rebellions of the 1960's. Even though the figure dropped to an annual average somewhere in the 30's during the early 1970's, this was not Beame's doing. Everyone could recall the police monstrosities under Beame which culminated in the bestial police shooting of 10-year old Clifford Glover in 1973 and the subsequent release, by the courts, of the cop responsible.

Furthermore, what Koch is doing mirrors what is being done on a national scale by the capitalist politicians, both Democratic and Republican. For instance, Koch's devotion to showing up a police-state apparatus in N.Y.C. under talk of "reforming the criminal justice system" takes inspiration from the measures outlined in Reagan's criminal code revision, the infamous S-1 bill, which is an offspring of more than a decade-long effort by Democrats and Republicans alike to remove mild deterrents to the powers of the police.

Similarly, on another score, the Democrat Koch, like the Republican Reagan, says that

an incensed and bitter hatred for the Burnham regime, and they began to organize against Burnham's "hated food policy."

Thus, in early May, some 6000 bauxite workers in the mining town of Linden started, and kept up, weekly one-day strikes protesting the scarcity of basic food supplies. These one-day-a-week strikes were combined with large street demonstrations chanting "No Food, no work." The one-day strikes were picked up by workers in other sectors including the militant sugar workers, and by taxi drivers who subsequently faced the seizure of hundreds of their vehicles by the fascist police. The regime struck out at the bauxite workers, subjecting them to beatings and arrests, and then declaring a reduction of their work-week to three days in order to force them back to work. But the bauxite workers were not about to back down. They replied by launching a full-fledged strike which lasted six weeks and which threw the regime further into crisis. The workers successfully defeated attempts to split their ranks, and eventually forced the fascist regime to back down.

This militant strike by the bauxite workers touched off a wave of on-going protests as workers, housewives and school children have been taking to the streets demanding food and denouncing the PNC regime led by Forbes Burnham, "the Supreme Executive Authority."

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invariably, after a year or two, verdicts are issued which safely rubberstamp the crimes of the police or, in very rare cases they are given a mere slap on the wrist.

he is "for integration" but "will never give in" to quotas in order to justify systematic discrimination against the city's oppressed. And Koch, as is well known, is a budget cutter par excellence - that is - when it comes to slashing city input into services for the poor, school children and the needy, and when it is a matter of firing city workers, teachers and other city employees.

So there isn't really much that is peculiar to Koch's traits. Quite aside from his flare for buffonery, he is a model politician of capitalist slavedriving, terror and racism. In short, Koch heads up the local front of the general offensive of the capitalist exploiters against the working masses. Right across the country, from city to city, police terror is being unleashed against the working class and people. Far from ever having become outmodded in New York or across the country, "alley justice" dispensed by billy clubs and bullets reigns supreme. This is true from Koch's N.Y. to the Detroit of Coleman Young and John Conyers. Blacks, Hispanics and other minorities are shot down on the streets like dogs. So too, in city after city, the capitalist courts, standing grand juries and civilian complaint review boards systematically cover up and rubberstamp the horrendous crimes of the police and the atrocities committed by racist gangs.

Therefore, opposing police terror and racist shootings and beatings, is an important part of the fight against the capitalist offensive against the working class; part of the struggle against the inhuman treatment and systematic oppression of the black people and other minorities by the class of capitalist exploiters. Thus, the mass outrage at police terror and the Koch regime must be put on a militant and revolutionary path.

TURN TO STRUGGLE NOT TO CONGRESS!

Could we count on Congressional or on other federal level interventions in our struggle against police brutality and racist terror? For sure - when, in the future, it comes to dispatching national guard troops to work alongside the police to suppress the working and oppressed masses, as occurred recently in Miami and as occurred repeatedly during the 1960's! For sure - when it is a matter of legislation to boost police

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be recalled that several squads of the above were rushed into Miami to call on the black masses to cool it and abandon their resistance to the police murderers of Arthur McDuffie. This "concern" led black Democratic Party congressman, John Conyers from Michigan, who heads the House Sub-committee, and various other black misleaders to identify New York along with two other major cities as cities "with particularly explosive potential" for a mass rebellion.

Conyers' sub-committee has been delegated to function as an "early warning mechanism" for the Congress, to identify "hot spots" beforehand; conduct hearings; recommend measures to the city administrations and to work in conjunction to diffuse the anger and militance of the masses before they lose faith in the "justice" and the political parties of the capitalists and big struggles erupt.

The bourgeoisie banks on Conyers as a leading personality in the Congressional Black Caucus, to channel the anger of the black masses into reliance on the Congress, and to convince them that despite all their untold woes - that the system could work for them. Conyers fits this role to a tee since his reputation dates back to the 1967 Detroit rebellion when he was outfitted with a bullhorn and was driven around, with lots of police protection, to appeal to the black masses to "be cool" and "get off the streets." He made a similar appeal in Miami in 1980.

Conyers is also no enemy of the racist Koch. In fact, they regard each other as good "old friends" dating back to their collaboration when they served together in Congress. And naturally Koch has publically expressed his high regards for the noble aims of Conyers and his sub-committee. But since the sub-committee is not here on Koch's invitation, Mayor Koch, of course, objects to the publicity being generated which might damage his re-election bid next two years, and he complains that Conyers' sub-committee is "being used" by his political opponents since police brutality is just "a problem of perception" in New York. If Conyers had his way, he would surely prefer to tailor things to suit Koch's taste. But from the beginning, the masses made it clear that they wanted no friendly chit-chat with the racist Koch but were determined instead

Concerning the stand of the Caribbean Progressive Study Group towards the CPTT

At an Internal Conference called in June 1983 to mark the 5th anniversary of the CPSPG (Caribbean Progressive Study Group), our organization took up the question of our evaluation and stand towards the CPTT (Communist Party of Trinidad and Tobago). The unanimous assessment of this conference was that the CPTT is an opportunist group and not the political party of the revolutionary proletariat in Trinidad and Tobago. The conference directed that - in view of the opportunist sabotage and rampant renegacy which are threatening the revolutionary movement in Trinidad and Tobago and which CPTT has been party to, that our assessment of the CPTT be made public through the *West Indian Voice*.

Below, we carry the resolution passed unanimously by the Internal Conference of the CPSPG. This article is written as an introduction to the resolution; to provide some background to the decision of the CPSPG conference, and which we hope would help our readership understand the significance which we attach to this question. Also, in the near future, the *West Indian Voice* will publish further materials on the opportunism of the CPTT.

* * * * *

From its beginnings, the CPSPG wholeheartedly supported the revolutionary work of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) of Trinidad and Tobago. The NLM (founded in 1974) was the Marxist-Leninist organization built by the class conscious revolutionaries who came out of the 1970 mass rebellion in that country. The NLM had raised high the red banner of Marxism-Leninism in Trinidad and Tobago. A banner-feared, hated and persecuted by the Trinidadian bourgeoisie; and trampled on and betrayed by the various revisionists and opportunists.

The Marxist-Leninist stands and vigorous work of the NLM in Trinidad and Tobago inspired many activists of the West Indian community in New York participating in the revolutionary struggles unfolding in New York at the time. The comrades, who were to later form the CPSPG in 1978, conducted extremely widespread work to popularize the line of the NLM among the working masses, students and revolutionary-minded people in New York, especially so, in the West Indian community. And in turn, CPSPG proudly took up this work. CPSPG and the NLM had no formal relations. This work was based on our support for Marxism-Leninism, which the NLM powerfully championed. A stand, which has been the cornerstone of our organization's varied work - in the struggle against racist attacks; our participation in the struggles of the broad working masses and in the unfolding revolutionary movements; and our work in solidarity with the revolutionary movements in the West Indies.

Experience in the revolutionary movements in the U.S. and in the West Indies had taught the comrades of the CPSPG to consistently oppose the parties and political influence of the rich and of opportunism, and by the same token, support the Marxist-Leninist forces of the proletariat. This, for example, also led our organization to support and develop militant fraternal ties with the predecessor organization of the Marxist-Leninist Party, USA - the COUSML (Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists). These have been militant ties, forged in the thick of struggle on various mass fronts and inspired by the struggle waged by the MLP (and its predecessors) over the years to defend the revolutionary movement in the U.S. from opportunist betrayal and sabotage. These ties have been a powerful factor pushing forward the work of our organization on all fronts.

In accordance with principle, and recognizing each other as the genuine communist organization in the respective countries, the COUSML and the NLM had formal fraternal relations. The existence of these relations, established before our organization was founded, served the interests of the revolu-

tionary movements in Trinidad and Tobago and here in the U.S. This militant, brotherly cooperation served as an important encouraging factor in the founding and subsequent work of our organization.

CPSPG's support for the NLM led us, in good faith, to extend that support to the CPTT when it was declared in August 1979. For we believed, as the CPTT claimed, that it had arisen out of the struggle waged by the NLM to establish a Marxist-Leninist party in Trinidad and Tobago. Events were to prove otherwise.

In June of 1980, taken completely by surprise, individuals in our organization were secretly contacted through a series of telephone calls from Canada by the leadership of the CPTT. Our comrades were ordered to go to Canada behind the back of our organization and the MLP, USA, for the purpose of participating in a network that was being desperately put together by the Communist Party of Canada M-L (CPC, M-L) to strangle our fraternal comrades of the MLP, USA. The leadership of the CPC (ML), violating every norm and trampling on the very spirit of Marxism-Leninism, had launched a war to wreck the MLP, USA because the MLP refused to adopt conciliatory stands towards opportunism in the U.S. and allow itself to be a mere plaything in the hands of the leadership of the CPC (ML).

We say "taken by surprise" because without saying one word the leadership of the CPTT launched such an extreme provocation - offering itself as a hatchetman for the wrecking schemes of the CPC (ML). The leadership of the CPTT did not think twice before trampling into the dust, relations established and built by the NLM, which were continued by the CPTT, and with which the CPTT had never before raised any disagreement. And the leadership of the CPTT, ignoring everything which our organization has stood for, simply saw our organization as a possible tool to be used in the desperate scheme to wreck the MLP, USA. This shocked our organization because it stood in sharp contrast to the NLM's adherence to principle.

Our organization was immediately informed of the secret orders of the leadership of the CPTT, and firmly denounced this provocation. While we refused to be drawn into any provocation against the MLP, we - in consultation with the MLP - extended an invitation to the leadership of the CPTT to come to New York and address us as an organization if they desired to be frank and to act in a proper fashion. The leadership of the CPTT refused this invitation without any excuse and, faced with our steadfast stand for principle, descended instead into wild curses and to making desperate threats and vicious blackmail in the hope of forcing our organization to its knees. Our organization passed a detailed resolution denouncing these unprincipled attacks by the leadership of the CPTT which we later sent to them and to which they never replied.

Since that time, for the past three years, the leadership of the CPTT has taken whole hog to conducting a savage and vengeful (if cowardly) war against our organization and the MLP, USA. Their methods have been to concoct and circulate dirty lies and slanders. And, they have gone to the desperate extent of banning and otherwise pressuring those activists whom they could in Trinidad and Tobago against even reading literature from our organization. CPTT prefers to conduct their war in secret, away from the eyes and ears of the proletariat. This has not at all been due to any inclination towards restraint on their part. No. This has been a mark of the unprincipled and indefensible nature of their shameful activity.

Such events made clear to our organization the need to re-examine what had transpired inside Trinidad and Tobago, alerting us that something was very wrong about the leadership of the CPTT. We did not take these provocations lightly. But we were in no hurry to come to any final conclusions, if only because of our sincere respect for the

NLM that was, and a cautious attitude to the interests of the revolutionary movement in Trinidad and Tobago. Today, the grave dangers posed by liquidationism and renegacy rampant among the opportunists in Trinidad and Tobago, and into which the CPTT has descended, make it imperative that our organization be no longer silent about the CPTT. CPTT is but one of the liquidationist groups in Trinidad and Tobago. And, it has very little to do with either the traditions or the forces of the once-great NLM.

In late 1978 the NLM entered a severe internal crisis. It experienced a number of desertions throughout its ranks. In particular, its leadership became paralyzed and broken up. This internal crisis was connected to the state of disintegration that had set into the general revolutionary movement in that country. The promising mass movements had suffered a series of serious and bitter setbacks due to the betrayal of the opportunist chiefs. The NLM was faced with overcoming the pressures brought about by the demoralization and growing passivity in the general revolutionary movement, and with rooting out its own serious ideological, political and organizational weaknesses which had simultaneously come to a head. In a true sense the NLM never emerged from this crisis.

Seizing the opportunity it saw in the weakened state of the NLM, on which it was very well informed, and exploiting the trust placed in it, the leadership of the Communist Party of Canada (ML) used its influence to replace the NLM leadership with a crew groomed in Canada by the leadership of the CPC (ML). Indeed, while the NLM was in the midst of its crisis, experiencing its most difficult moments, the present leadership of the CPTT, resident in Canada at the time and inspired by CPC (ML), was busy unravelling a whole scheme to launch an organization whose base was to be in Canada under the leadership of the CPC (ML) and which would replace the NLM. The decision to found the CPTT represented a sudden switch on the part of movers of this scheme. They were not the least bit interested in helping the NLM during its difficult moments, but anxiously awaited its collapse, carefully timing their intervention to impose a leadership which would agree to operate under the baton of the CPC (ML). These are the sordid, anti Marxist-Leninist origins of the present leadership of the CPTT. This leadership, while introducing its skepticism and deep distrust for the heritage and traditions of the NLM, sought to use the name and prestige of the NLM in Trinidad and Tobago simply in order to justify its existence to revolutionary activists in that country.

The meager forces of the CPTT include but a handful of elements who had been active around the NLM. And what is of even greater importance, is that the CPTT did not arise out of a struggle to solve the problems that had afflicted the NLM. For a true Marxist-Leninist party to have arisen out of the then existing conditions it would have been necessary, drawing on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the revolutionary movements internationally, to take patient and mature steps to sort out the yet unanswered problems that had arisen in the work of the NLM. To do otherwise, at best only invites a repetition of past mistakes and, at worst, leads to the treachery such as is represented today by the CPTT. The ceremonial founding of the CPTT was the result of the import from Canada of the dangerous opportunist deviations of the leadership of the CPC (ML) and not the result of the necessary deep-going ideological, political and organizational rejuvenation and reorganization of the NLM on a sound communist footing.

Notwithstanding its serious weaknesses and mistakes, the NLM fought for Marxism-Leninism. The NLM earned a reputation for waging uncompromising, principled struggle

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On the So-Called "Communist Party" of Trinidad and Tobago

I. The spread of liquidationism poses serious dangers to the revolutionary movement in Trinidad and Tobago. Liquidationism in the movement signifies open opposition to the working masses being politically independent from the bourgeoisie, in favor of subservience to the political influence of the bourgeoisie and particularly in tailing behind the policies of the PNM [People's National Movement] government. Above all, liquidationism is decidedly hostile to the working class constructing its own truly Marxist-Leninist communist party, forming its own political leadership.

Liquidationism is the manifestation in the revolutionary movement of the influence of the political crisis facing the bourgeoisie and especially of the liberal mood fostered by the bourgeoisie through "petrodollars." It is the result of the further degeneration of the opportunism of the followers of Soviet and Chinese revisionism in the workers' movement in Trinidad and Tobago. In recent years, the rise of liquidationism has meant the quelling of the 1980-81 strike wave; tacit support for the PNM in the 1981 national elections; the growing political merger of the Council of Progressive Trade Unions with the reactionary Trade Union Congress on the basis of TUC's politics; and finally, in the CPTU leaders joining with the TUC, the Employers Consultative Association and the Chamber of Commerce in the PNM's "Consultations on Productivity" — a process which has helped to weaken the resistance of the working masses to extensive layoffs such as is taking place in the oil industry.

The sabotage of the revolutionary movement must be fought. Class conscious revolutionaries and progressive people must wage resolute struggle against liquidationism and against renegacy from the revolutionary traditions of working people. There must be painstaking and systematic work for the positions of Marxism-Leninism, for the political independence of the working masses. Only Marxism-Leninism offers the movement a way out of the present impasse. Above all, only work for the founding of a genuine communist party — a real Marxist-Leninist advanced guard of the working class — can secure the future of the revolutionary movement.

II. These tasks require that our organization, the Caribbean Progressive Study Group (of New York), no longer remain silent on the fraud perpetrated in 1979 with the founding of the Communist Party of Trinidad and Tobago (CPTT), allegedly as the party of the proletariat in Trinidad and Tobago. The founding of the CPTT was hailed in good faith by our organization, the CPSG, in the belief that the CPTT, carrying forward the best traditions (and, to some extent, forces and mass influence) of the National Liberation Movement (NLM),

was founded on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. History has proven otherwise. The CPTT is not based on Marxism-Leninism. It is not descended from the revolutionary trends in the society nor heir to their traditions. It in no way constitutes the organized, advanced detachment of the working class in Trinidad and Tobago.

III. The founding of the NLM in 1974 was a tremendous achievement of the working class in Trinidad and Tobago. The founding of the NLM was an attempt to group the advanced elements from the 1970 rebellion under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and to constitute a Marxist-Leninist center. NLM represented the living revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism in Trinidad and Tobago. It advanced the need for building a real communist party and took up lively battle against revisionism and opportunism. This work invigorated and greatly inspired all honest revolutionary elements and won wide respect, adherence and support from the revolutionary activists and from among the broad masses. The NLM also had serious ideological, political and organizational weaknesses which contributed to its going into severe crisis in 1978 — a time when disintegration had set in in the revolutionary movement because of the treachery of the revisionists and trade union leaders, and at the time when the NLM came face to face with the problem of uprooting Maoism and consolidating its work. But these problems cannot obliterate the great historical importance of the NLM. Today and in the future, the revolutionary traditions of the NLM will belong to the proud heritage of the working class and genuine revolutionaries in Trinidad and Tobago.

IV. The CPTT can in no way lay claim to the banner of the revolutionary heritage of the NLM. On the contrary, such fiery traditions as the NLM's revolutionary spirit and its life-giving fight against revisionism have been gutted and kicked into the dust by the CPTT. In its place, the CPTT has bankruptcy and crying political impotence. The CPTT is mired in right opportunist policy dressed up in flowery language. It is not surprising that it, too, has been overtaken by the liquidationist mood that has gripped the entire opportunist wing of the left.

This is shown in CPTT's utter inability to address any burning question in the society from a truly communist standpoint; in the rightward lurch of its line in the last national elections; in its aversion to the systematic work needed to build a Marxist-Leninist party and to the carrying out of essential organized activities of a party character, such as sustaining a regular and real party press. It is shown in CPTT's inability to wage a consistent and principled struggle against revisionism and the substitution thereof of hollow phrases devoid of

content against the leading-revisionist groups, combined with trailing in the wake of these groups in practice. This all reveals that the CPTT is as bankrupt and as divorced from the society as it is from Marxism-Leninism.

V. The source of this bankruptcy lies in the liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist deviations of the Communist Party of Canada (M-L). The leadership of the CPTT did not emerge from the crisis in the NLM. Rather it was imported from abroad under conditions of that crisis and with no concern for the NLM and for the future of Marxism-Leninism in Trinidad and Tobago. There is nothing wrong with international experience; on the contrary, the wider the exposure to the experience of the revolutionary struggles internationally the greater the benefit to the movement in Trinidad and Tobago. But the lessons of this experience must be revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist in character if they are to be of value. This cannot be said of the opportunist deviations of the CPC(M-L). In fact, the CPC(M-L) has launched an international faction on the basis of negating the lessons of the international experience of the working class and substituting instead CPC(M-L)'s own deviations. Thus, the CPTT cannot rightfully lay claim to the heritage of the NLM nor to the international teachings of Marxism-Leninism. In their stead the deviations of the CPC(M-L) were imported and the result today is CPTT's bankruptcy and utter impotence. Whereas the NLM arose on the basis of deep historical roots, grouped the best revolutionary elements into a Marxist-Leninist center and embodied their connections to the masses — hence its revolutionary spirit and the powerful impact of its work — the CPTT ekes out a marginal existence characterized by empty posturing against the other revisionist and opportunist groups which simply masks the lack of any real political differences with them. The CPTT is in no way the party of the proletariat in Trinidad and Tobago. The urgent fight against liquidationism requires opposition to the CPTT, its empty posturings and opportunist practices.

VI. We of the CPSG have no doubt that the almost 10-years-old struggle begun by the NLM to wield the political leadership of the working class — its truly Marxist-Leninist communist party — will be shouldered by the class conscious revolutionaries of Trinidad and Tobago and be victorious.

For our part, our organization sets forth its views on the so-called "Communist Party" of Trinidad and Tobago and will continue its trenchant exposures of revisionist betrayal in Trinidad and Tobago and its outstanding work in support of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in Trinidad and Tobago. □

The Workers' Advocate

On liquidationism in Trinidad and Tobago

The Workers' Advocate resolutely supports the stand taken by the comrades of the Caribbean Progressive Study Group against liquidationism in Trinidad and Tobago. In the last regular issue of *The West Indian Voice* and in the article below, the CPSG has launched a detailed exposure of the renegade spirit of liquidationism which has emerged in recent years in Trinidad and Tobago.

For several years now, the Marxist-Leninist Party of the USA has been conducting a vigorous fight against liquidationism which has gripped the revisionist and opportunist circles in this country. As well, in the course of our polemic against the Maoist and liquidationist deviations of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), we have noted that the emergence of liquidationism is by no means a phenomenon unique to the U.S. A number of Marxist-Leninist parties internationally have pointed to similar phenomena in their countries. The analysis of *The West Indian Voice* regarding the situation in Trinidad and Tobago also verifies this. Indeed, the fight against liquidationism and similar phenomena is one of the burning issues facing the revolutionary movement in many countries.

The fight that *The West Indian Voice* has launched against liquidationism in Trinidad and Tobago is a continuation of its longstanding tradition of championing

the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants of the West Indies. *The West Indian Voice* is the voice of revolutionary militance in the West Indian community in the U.S. It has consistently stood up against the opportunist infatuation with the national bourgeois regimes and the local exploiters in the West Indies.

This struggle has led *The West Indian Voice* to speak out on the issue of the so-called Communist Party of Trinidad and Tobago. The CPTT claims to be the party of the proletariat in Trinidad and Tobago. At its founding in 1979, it claimed to be the continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the National Liberation Movement of Trinidad and Tobago, the Marxist-Leninist force which emerged in the early 1970's out of the heart of the revolutionary movement in that country. But as *The West Indian Voice* points out, experience has shown that the CPTT is not the proletarian party. Nor can it lay claim to the revolutionary traditions of the NLM. It is today simply another liquidationist group.

Our Party's predecessor, the COUSML, had warm fraternal relations with the NLM. It also supported the founding of the CPTT in 1979 in the belief that it represented the carrying forward of the revolutionary traditions of the NLM. But in mid-1980, the leadership of CPTT unilaterally broke relations with our Party. In a totally cavalier attitude to the principles of proletarian

internationalism, the CPTT leadership offered no reasons for its hostile act. Our Party tried to urge the CPTT leaders to abandon the unprincipled road they had chosen and called on them to return to the road of Marxist-Leninist principle. But to no avail.

The real reason behind the hostile action of the CPTT was that they became ensnared in the factional conspiracy against the MLP, USA launched by the leadership of CPC(M-L). As well, as *The West Indian Voice* points out, the CPTT has taken up the liquidationist and petty-bourgeois nationalist deviations of CPC(M-L). These deviations pose a grave danger to any organization which takes up such positions. The fate of CPTT is a graphic confirmation of this warning.

The tragedy of CPTT is a grave indictment of the CPC(M-L)'s factional activity against the international Marxist-Leninist movement. The National Liberation Movement of Trinidad and Tobago came up as a real Marxist-Leninist force out of the bosom of the revolutionary movement in that country. It held great promise for the future of the revolution and communism in Trinidad and Tobago. But the leadership of CPC(M-L) took advantage of the trust which NLM placed in them, to interfere in its moment of crisis so as to impose a leadership which agreed to subordinate itself to the factional

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Fierce fighting broke out in Regina Mundi when uniformed and undercover police attacked hundreds of people returning from a commemorative "church service" attended by some 4,000 people. The racist police were equipped with tear gas, masks, truncheons, numerous guns including the infamous "sneeze" machine guns, shielded police jeeps and even helicopters. Braving this massive fire-power of apartheid, hundreds of youths stood up to stone the police and set their vehicles on fire before they were dispersed. In Cape Town sporadic fighting also broke out. In Lamontville, Durban, fighting lasted three days on end. There the masses not only used stones but also petrol bombs to pepper the police. As well, some protesters stabbed several dogs that were set upon them by the police. Barricades of old cars, wood and tires were used as shields by the fighters from which they fought back the desperate attempts of the apartheid troops to clear the streets, contain and suppress the rebellions. The police set up roadblocks to prevent the street fighting from spreading. They shot several people, many of them innocent bystanders, as well scores were beaten and arrested. Two babies, one 7 month old and one 2 month old were brutally murdered from tear gas thrown into their houses by the racist police. Despite severe repression, and bans on their struggle, the masses stood up bravely in the spirit of the Soweto rebellions in 1976. So terrified was the bourgeoisie that they for the most part closed their businesses early. An Athlone Business and Professional Association spokesman said that its 113 member capitalists were closing their stores after 2 P.M. "as a mark of respect for those who died (read murdered) in 1976." This would be hilarious

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against opportunism in defense of the revolutionary movement and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Its vigorous revolutionary analysis and stands on the events and issues confronting the working masses and revolutionary movement provided a rallying point for all honest revolutionaries, inspiring in them great militance and confidence in their cause and provided a powerful mobilizing tool among the masses. And, the NIM evoked the spirit of building a disciplined organization of tested communists, wholly distinguishable from the flabby, liberal opportunist organizations. NIM's work established great prestige and respect for the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in Trinidad and Tobago. These traditions had to be replenished and carried forward. But instead, in practice, this heritage has been steadily undermined and has been cast into the shadows by the leadership of the CPTT.

For instance, the leadership of the CPTT has long abandoned the struggle against opportunism in the revolutionary movement in Trinidad and Tobago. Indeed, the CPTT either tailors its political positions to the fashionable stands of the opportunist liquidators, or remains impotent in the face of burning issues before the revolutionary movement. The leadership of the CPTT has frittered away the revolutionary spirit once engendered by the NIM, and has undermined the very idea of the vanguard party of the proletariat in favor, for example, of periodically floating various non-existent "organizations" just for the purposes of domestic and international consumption. This is also how CPTT hides its own face. In fact, whatever public work CPTT does conduct, is done under the name of the Trinidad and Tobago Workers Association. The CPTT has been quite unable to even sustain its own official press. In CPTT's case, this has been due to a systematic aversion to the painstaking but indispensable work of building up a true communist party. And the dance of organizational forms, behind which CPTT hides its face, is but a symptom of CPTT's liquidationist trifling with the concept of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the proletariat.

Being subordinated to the Maoist and petty bourgeois nationalist influence of the CPC (ML), the CPTT has taken a frivolous attitude towards the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on a series of questions. For exam-

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cratic reformist.

And closer to us, in Nicaragua, the actions of imperialism against Zelaya (Nicaraguan dictator who was forced out of power by the U.S. in 1909 shortly before the invasion by the Marines - WA) and even the aggression which provoked the answer of Benjamin Zeledon, did not arise because of any structural changes taking place which could endanger capitalist relations or even the relations of dependence in general, but on the basis of contradictions between national development and the particular economic and political interests of the United States.

In other words, to become the object of imperialist aggression the peoples do not have to wait to carry out revolutionary changes in capitalist exploitation; simply adopting political positions contrary to imperialism is sufficient to expect the interference, threats, destabilization, aggression and blackmail of U.S. imperialism.

Imperialist aggression - and its barking - are not necessarily indicative that things are advancing. Imperialism also acts pre-

if it wasn't such a boldfaced lie, the South African exploiters didn't close their businesses early out of "respect" for the dead, but to save their profits and property. Thus this year in Soweto on June 16th practically all the capitalist firms stayed closed. Let the bourgeoisie be terrified of the Azanian masses' liberation struggle!

In these mass struggles, in many of the clashes, boycotts of classes, demonstrations etc., opposition to the racist regime's fraudulent "Constitutional Reform" Bill has become a focal point in the struggle against apartheid. FORWARD WITH THE MASS STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID!

ple, CPTT's so-called repudiation of Chinese revisionism and "Three Worldist" politics has amounted in sum total to a few empty curses and mostly in the simple "optimistic" assurance given by its press that these are no longer problems. But in fact CPTT has no serious criticism of revisionism at all, and the liquidationist mood prevalent in the left in Trinidad and Tobago has engulfed CPTT for some time now.

By the end of 1980 (just after one year of its founding, when the bluster had died down) CPTT had entirely dropped any real denunciation of opportunism from its press. On the one hand, this period saw the outbreak of a big protest movement against the regime of the Peoples National Movement (PNM). And on the other hand, this period brought with it the first signs that the opportunist groups were openly taking politically renegade stands. Significant sectors of the opportunists began to describe the ruling PNM regime as becoming progressive and to tacitly call on the masses to support this government. While the CPTT had initially denounced this development, it very quickly and conveniently dropped all ideological and political exposures of the opportunists from its press. Indeed, since late 1980 CPTT has neither had any Marxist-Leninist criticism to offer of the opportunist liquidators, nor has taken any stand independent of the liquidationist swamp.

Furthermore, CPTT has sought to justify its abandonment of the struggle against opportunism, and to go even further. From the middle of 1981, CPTT began to issue a number of erroneous theses on the "unity of the working class" which directly and indirectly opposed the waging of any real struggle against opportunism. For instance, under the pretext that the workers were "already objectively united", CPTT began to lecture against the need to distinguish the role being played by the different political trends in the labor movement. But such advice only serves the corrupt purpose of discouraging the workers from seeing through the treachery of the labor bureaucrats and revisionists in the labor movement. Connected to this, CPTT advised against "squibbling over secondary matters" in the labor movement, in a way that opposes the idea that politics counts; that denounces concern for revolutionary politics. It should be noted that in the past, the oppor-

ventively when it senses the scope of the reforms and the evolutionary changes which may accumulate forces for the revolution. The Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua continues to carefully respect big private property, as it has said, for tactical considerations, while Reagan is saying that here we are already in a full-blown "Marxist" society.

Nevertheless, given the magnitude of the imperialist aggression against Nicaragua, the defense of the self-determination in the face of the world bourgeoisie, and the defense of the national territory in the face of the armed aggression of imperialism and its puppets, are presently the prerequisites to ensure the transition to really revolutionary transformations and changes to open the way to socialism. The anti-imperialist struggle in Nicaragua is part of the struggle of the proletariat for its class and national emancipation.

The tasks of national defense must be intimately linked to the internal class struggle.

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"special trend" of CPC(M-L). This imposed leadership had a scornful attitude to the traditions of the NIM. Step by step it ate away all that was alive and healthy in the NIM and frittered away its traditions. This is a grave crime of CPC(M-L)'s leaders against the revolutionary movement of the toilers of Trinidad and Tobago.

Despite the setback, the struggle to construct the proletarian party begun there a decade ago will blossom again. The class conscious workers and revolutionary activists will throw off the momentary liquidationist baggage and march forward on the glorious road of Marxism-Leninism.

tunists in Trinidad and Tobago were in the habit of denouncing the Marxist-Leninists of the NIM by using similiar shameful language.

The grave practical dangers that result from failing to wage the struggle against opportunism were shown during the general elections of November 1981 in Trinidad and Tobago. CPTT completely adapted itself to the liquidationist propaganda of the opportunists. The 1981 capitalist elections circus in Trinidad and Tobago put CPTT's line to a decisive test. The common standpoint of the various revisionist groups, and shared by the CPTT, was to altogether tone down the fight against the ruling PNM regime on the pretext of preparing to fight a possible regime of the bourgeois opposition party, the ONR, in the future. While stressing only the danger of the ONR, CPTT attached little significance to the role of the actual protest struggles that were breaking out against the attacks of the ruling PNM regime. Dissatisfied with the struggles that were breaking out targeting the PNM regime, and seeing no prospects for their development, the CPTT joined the other opportunists in calling for the creation of a new movement "to stop" the ONR. This only served to shield the PNM and to feed the fashionable opportunist advocacy of an alliance between the masses and the PNM. This stand of the opportunists has been a major stumbling block for the revolutionary movement in that country.

In our opinion, by its conduct in these elections - any meaningful distinction that was left between the CPTT, on the one hand, and the other opportunist groups on the other, effectively faded away before the severe test of history. Today the CPTT is but another of the opportunist groups in Trinidad and Tobago. This betrayal of the traditions of the NIM and of the guiding ideas of Marxism-Leninism is a tragic crime of the leaderships of the CPTT and the CPC (ML).

The class conscious and honest revolutionaries of Trinidad and Tobago will undoubtedly pick up the banner of Marxism-Leninism and revolution that has been trampled into the dust and will march forward to construct the party of the proletariat. History has placed this demand before them. This is the path along which the liquidationist roadblock will be broken down.

Introducing MAP/ML

On this page a number of articles have been reproduced from the Nicaraguan newspaper *Prensa Proletaria*. This is the periodical of the Movement of Popular Action/Marxist-Leninist (MAP/ML) which is a revolutionary organization with deep roots in the Nicaraguan working class and revolutionary movement.

MAP was formed in 1972. It soon developed into a revolutionary organization with strong links with the urban workers of Managua and elsewhere and among the students. It built up a revolutionary workers' organization called Frente Obrero (FO, Workers Front), which was a center of the organized working class opposition to the Somoza dictatorship. MAP rejected the reformism of the Nicaraguan revisionists and aligned itself internationally with the genuine Marxist-Leninist communist forces.

While always maintaining its separate identity, MAP maintained links with the Sandinistas in the struggle against the dictatorship. The Frente Obrero was part of the Sandinista-led Patriotic National Front (FPN).

In 1978 MAP organized the Popular Anti-Somocist Militias (MILPAS). Based mainly in the urban areas the MILPAS carried out guerrilla actions against the Somoza regime. In the summer of 1979 the MILPAS played a role in conjunction with the forces of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) in organizing the general popular insurrection which sealed the fate of the Somoza dynasty.

In March of 1979, in the midst of the revolutionary crisis when Somoza was on his last legs, the FO launched the newspaper *El Pueblo* in Managua. Issued daily in 10,000 copies, *El Pueblo* was an important weapon in the workers' hands in waging the revolutionary struggle.

Four days after the triumph over the dictatorship, the new Sandinista government disarmed the MILPAS, suppressed *El Pueblo*, and for a time jailed the MAP/ML and FO leaders. In January 1980, 140 MAP and FO militants were imprisoned for two months for their role in a series of worker strikes. The Sandinista government repressed the MAP/ML as part of its policy of conciliation towards

the bourgeoisie, who they even brought into the state council. At the same time, the Sandinistas have ended up under heavy pressure from the local bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism anyway. Thus, as a counterweight, the Sandinista government has felt the need to allow the militant elements of the working class some room to mobilize the masses in defense of the revolution. Thus their zigzag policy towards the MAP/ML.

today the MAP/ML still does not have complete freedom. The censorship and other restrictive measures which are applied against the reactionary bourgeois parties are applied to the working class organizations as well, and in practice they place a much heavier burden on the working class organizations which lack the capital and means of the bourgeois parties.

The present strategy of the MAP/ML is to defend and deepen the revolution, to place the proletarian stamp on the revolutionary process so as to bring it forward towards socialism. It strives to expose and combat the coun-

ter-revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie and landlords, and struggles to forge the class unity of the proletariat and the alliance between the workers and exploited peasants as the bulwark of the revolution. It raises the militant watchword that "The emancipation of the working class is the work of the working class itself."

The following articles reprinted from *Prensa Proletaria* reflect some of the stands and activities of MAP/ML in the complex situation now prevailing in Nicaragua.

PARA LA CLASE OBRERA



Luchar por la libertad de expresión, es luchar por el desarrollo de la PRENSA OBRERA

PRENSA PROLETARIA

Prensa Proletaria

POR LA UNIDAD DE LA CLASE OBRERA EN LA LUCHA POR EL SOCIALISMO. Valor C\$2.00
Revista Marxista Leninista FEBRERO MARZO 1982. Managua, Nicaragua.
Director: Alberto Barrios. Apdo. 611 Tel. 23787 Del Día Agosti 1c. Anexo 2 1/2 al Igo No. 628
PUBLICACION DEL MAP-ML. Esta publicación está debidamente inscrita en el D.M.C.E. y todos sus artículos están autorizados para su publicación.

"The revolution is the only way out for the toilers"

Four years ago, the Nicaraguan people broke the chains to which they had been subjected by the Somocista dictatorship and opened up a new stage in order to consolidate that triumph and achieve new revolutionary conquests. During many years, the Nicaraguan people had remained either repressed by the dictatorship or fooled by the same old song of the supposed bourgeois opposition. Events like those of January 22, 1967 convinced those who had wanted to believe or to make others believe about the supposed "patriotism" and consistency of the bourgeoisie, that only the people could bring about a solution to their own problems. The murders against the people carried out by the mercenary gangs of today, led by elements who until recently militated officially in the legal reactionary parties, show the people once again that there was not a single essential difference between the Somocismo and the "patriotic oppositional" bourgeoisie. Presently Alfonso Robelo [former leader of the bourgeois opposition to Somoza and currently a leader of the *contra* bands on the Costa Rican frontier — WA] is as much a murderer and executioner of the people as was Somoza or any other similar henchman. And this in spite of the fact that the same Robelo was even a member of the (new) ruling Junta and the decrees of the first revolutionary stages are signed by him. The reactionary essence of the exploiting classes and their political agents just shades itself like the chameleon, according to the environmental condi-

tions. The same thing occurs with the rest of the legal pro-imperialist forces in Nicaragua. Not that all of them are at present at the same level as Robelo, but in their class essence they are indeed waiting in turn for their own moments to manifest themselves more clearly. In this way elements like [the leaders of the bourgeois opposition parties — WA] Adolfo Calero (Democratic Conservative Party), Chamorro (Social-Democratic Party), Davila (Social-Christian Party), etc., have been coming out openly.

Local reaction in Nicaragua undoubtedly synchronizes its internal activity with the aggressive activities of imperialism and that includes the pastoral services of [Archbishop] Obando y Bravo and his Catholic hierarchy. It becomes scandalized when the people mobilize themselves, and plays deaf, blind and dumb when imperialism and reaction strike against the people.

The bourgeoisie speculates, sabotages, conspires, blackmails, pulls out capital, continues to steal and corrupt. Meanwhile it launches a tenacious political and ideological campaign in collusion with the external fascist and social-democratic forces and pulls along behind it the shameful revisionists and opportunists. Thus, it opens up more political space for itself.

This political space of the legal reaction in Nicaragua is being institutionalized with the approval of the Law on Political Parties. This law recognizes the "right" of the pro-imperialist forces to contend for power and guarantees their freedom of ex-

pression "according to the economic capabilities of each party and respecting free enterprise." These concessions occur at a dangerous time because U.S. imperialism is not only widening and deepening its support for the aggressive armed gangs, but is also preparing to participate more directly in the Central American conflicts.

In this context, the revolutionary tasks are all the more demanding for the forces of the proletariat in Nicaragua. The working class must take up the military tasks from its own class perspective, fighting to develop the arming of the people not only for defense, but also to guarantee the revolutionary advance in the economic and political spheres against the internal exploiting classes and against imperialism. This implies saying NO to

the institutionalization of the counter-revolutionary political activity of the pro-imperialist forces. It is necessary to further develop the levels of organization and participation of the workers and to raise their political understanding so that they do not allow themselves to be dragged along either by the tunes of regional "pacifist" bourgeoisies or by opportunism disguised as revolutionism and "flexibility."

The alliance of interests between the exploited classes, the workers and peasants, is the revolutionary answer to the new historical challenges.

The revolution of the toilers is the only way out of the crisis, of the threats and sufferings, for the peoples. Nicaragua is not the exception to this historic rule. □

"Defense should be given a class content"

The escalation of imperialist aggression against the revolution has forced all the social sectors and classes in the country to express their views to try to explain this aggression.

There are those who ask, why is imperialism attacking Nicaragua, even though it has a mixed economy and political pluralism? There are others who see the formula to avert the threat of war in the tactical discrepancies between a part of the U.S. Congress and Reagan.

Up to now, the versions expressed regarding the aggression have failed to point out which class interests Reagan represents and the class character which the defense of the revolution should have.

In other words it seems, according to some opinions, that the monopolies have nothing to do with it; that the interests of the international bourgeoisie have nothing to do with it; and that it is only Reagan and a gang

of paranoids who are responsible for the aggression against Nicaragua.

On the other hand, the latter thesis is complemented by another that believes that every Nicaraguan, including the bourgeoisie and the landowners, is going to fight against imperialism.

Those analyses, lacking in the fundamental element of the confrontation, namely which class attacks the other class, only result in creating a smokescreen which prevents one from getting to the root of the problem.

From the perspective of imperialist logic, what Reagan is doing, as the most perfect representative of an imperialism in crisis, is the only thing which world capitalism can do to try to solve its economic crisis. Or are there still people who believe that capital sacrifices itself for the benefit of the worker?

No to Reagan's War Against Nicaragua!

Below, we reprint an article from *The Workers' Advocate* of July 1st, 1983—Vol. 13 No. 5, denouncing Reagan's war of aggression against Nicaragua. Since that time Reagan has dramatically increased the criminal acts of the CIA and the murderous bands of "contras" against Nicaragua. Aerial bombing raids against the country's airport; of oil and other economic facilities etc., resulting in millions of dollars in losses; and massacres of villagers are the means which the Reaganites are using to strangle the Nicaraguan people and overthrow the government. And, it is a known fact that it is the CIA that is directing this whole imperialist onslaught. Reagan has also unleashed "Operation Big Pine II," filling the Caribbean waters and skies with warships, bombers and some 5,500 U.S. troops in "war exercises" lasting until next March. Mock blockade operations are being carried out and Reagan has threatened a "quarantine" against Nicaragua which is nothing but a blockade of ships arriving at Nicaraguan ports. Also, two new air strips have been constructed in Honduras and preparations are underway for a \$150M air and naval base for the U.S. on the Atlantic coast of Honduras. And the Pentagon plans to continue a permanent naval presence off Nicaragua, all to put out the fires that are scorching U.S. imperialism's tentacles in Central America, in particular, to crush the regime in Nicaragua and the revolution in El Salvador.

The U.S. government is waging war on Nicaragua. This is not a war of words. It is naked aggression with guns and troops.

Naked Aggression

Reagan has unleashed 7,000 CIA-armed and trained counter-revolutionaries against Nicaragua. From



Masses rally in Managua against U.S. imperialism.

camps in Honduras and Costa Rica the CIA is now directing their terror raids of murder, rape and destruction into Nicaragua. Most of these mercenaries are former members of the hated National Guard of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza. The undisguised aim of this CIA/Somocista invasion is to topple the Sandinista government, and to crush the people under a restored Somoza-style dictatorship.

All the tried and tested weapons in Washington's arsenal of destabilization are being brought to bear against Nicaragua: economic blockade, subversion, threats and blackmail.

U.S. warships and warplanes swarm the Nicaraguan coast and airspace. And 100 more U.S. military personnel are being dispatched to Honduras to beef up the U.S.-puppet army there as a striking force of provocation and aggression against Nicaragua.

Imperialism Wants to Restore the U.S. Jackboot

Reagan's drive to strangle Nicaragua is a monstrous crime against a small and poor people. The Reaganites find the Sandinista government to be incompatible with their preference for death squads and fascist dictators. So they think nothing of trying to break the Sandinista regime, no matter how ruthless the means.

Behind the criminal CIA invasion stands a whole system of imperialism. Imperialist aggression defends the superprofits of the monopoly capitalists who hold power in this country.

When the Nicaraguan people rose up and overthrew

the Somoza dictatorship a hard blow was struck to this imperialism. For four decades Somoza's tyranny had guarded the U.S. multinational companies which drew superprofits off the desperate poverty of the workers and peasants. Now Nicaragua is giving Reagan and the billionaires nightmares about falling dominoes as the will to live free of the U.S.-backed dictators is setting all of Central America ablaze with popular revolt.

To restore the U.S. jackboot in Nicaragua the imperialists will stop at nothing. When their superprofits and other "vital interests" are at stake, no crime is too brutal or too extreme. Yesterday we saw this in Viet Nam; today we see it all over again in Central America.

Hands Off Nicaragua!

The Nicaraguan revolution was a giant step forward for the people. Contrary to the ravings of Jeane Kirkpatrick and the Reaganites, the Sandinista government that came to power in this struggle is not a Marxist-Leninist one. This is unfortunate because the revolution would be that much stronger if it were. The new regime is weakly formed; and it is ideologically unclear, being influenced by bourgeois, social-democratic and revisionist (mainly Soviet and Cuban) trends. Nevertheless the gains won by the workers and peasants in the revolution are of enormous value for advancing their revolutionary cause.

The heroic people of Nicaragua are not about to give up the freedom won at so much cost without a fight. Each new atrocity of Reagan's "freedom fighters" against the people is multiplying their unbending hatred for U.S. imperialism. A firm resistance has been thrown up against the invaders. "No Pasaran!" is the watchword on the lips of the armed people — the CIA mercenaries "Shall Not Pass!"

Here in the U.S. let us also declare a firm NO! to the CIA invasion of Nicaragua. The American workers and progressive people must not let Reagan have his way. Our demand is that the Nicaraguan people must have the elementary right to self-determination. They must be allowed to determine their own fate, to live free of the bullying and dictate of the U.S. imperialist overlords.

Solidarity with the Nicaraguan people against the CIA invaders!

U.S. imperialism, hands off Nicaragua! □

The Boland-Zablocki amendment

The Democrats want to cover the tracks of the CIA invaders

Reagan's latest policies of gunboat diplomacy in Central America have resulted in widespread indignation among the people. Under these conditions, the Democratic Party bigshots in Congress are once again stepping forward to wring their hands over Reagan's decisions.

But this is pure posturing. Far from being opponents of Reagan, the Democrats are in fact his partners in aggression. The fight against U.S. intervention in Central America cannot rely on

the Democratic politicians.

Just take a look at the recent much-touted Democratic "opposition" to Reagan's covert aid program for the Somocista *contras* against Nicaragua. Last December, the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives passed the Boland amendment. This ostensibly banned all U.S. covert aid for the *contras* for the purpose of overthrowing the Sandinista government. Far from being a real obstacle in his path, this resolution didn't bother Rea-

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The interesting question is whether the answer being given is correct. There is no tactical solution which will force imperialism to back down. The example of the massacre of the Palestinian people is very illuminating. The Salvadoran guerrillas' constant declarations in favor of a dialogue have also not stopped the stepping up of U.S. intervention in favor of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie and oligarchy.

Imperialism is so faithful to its interests that it attacks at the smallest hint of a perspective that might have unfavorable results for it. And many

times it attacks not because the government of a given country speaks to it without the respect it thinks it's due, but rather because the class dynamics which events take lead to unforeseeable situations. ...

U.S. imperialism...financed the overthrow of Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 because he was pushing for reforms which did not break through the capitalist framework but which opened possibilities for the masses to push beyond the reforms. Nobody can accuse Arbenz of being more than he was, a consistent bourgeois-demo-

gan very much. All along he has simply chosen to lie that the aid for the *contras* is not for the aim of overthrowing the Nicaraguan government.

This spring, as the *contras* stepped up their raids against Nicaragua and it became impossible to deny what they were up to, the Democrats began to complain that Reagan had violated the Boland amendment. But did they therefore take any serious action against Reagan? Not a chance. Instead they began to work for a refurbished version of the Boland amendment. This resolution, the Boland-Zablocki resolution, was passed with much fanfare on July 28 by the House of Representatives.

But this is just another empty resolution. If the Democrats let Reagan violate the last resolution, why can't he disregard the next measure with impunity? Besides, even if the Boland-Zablocki amendment were to become law and Reagan promised to agree to it, this resolution still wouldn't put a stop to the aggression against Nicaragua. The Democratic plan is simply to oppose covert aid for the *contras* while supporting giving overt aid of \$80 million to "friendly governments" in the region, especially the Honduran

regime. But everyone knows that the Honduran military which rules that country is fully integrated into the CIA machinery for training and backing up the *contras*. Thus, if the Democrats were to have their way, it would only mean that the *contras* would get their money from Honduras instead of the CIA directly. Big difference!

Clearly the Democrats do not intend to stop Reagan's CIA plots against Nicaragua. Rather, by funneling money to the Somocista thugs by indirect means, the Democrats only want to keep U.S. imperialism's hands clean in the sordid invasion. The Democrats are upset that Reagan's covert operations have become widespread public knowledge — hence they are interested in devising a new way to hide the criminal hand of U.S. imperialism.

Reagan's aggression cannot be fought by the empty congressional resolutions of the Democratic Party liberals. We have to fight by relying on the strength of the working masses, by organizing protests, demonstrations and other mass actions. The mass movement must be built independently of both the capitalist parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. □